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REVIEWS
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While the lute was the aristocrat of instruments, it was also the instrument of aristocrats. A number of royal patrons established important associations with specific lutenists (Christian IV of Denmark with John Dowland, for instance), and lute players occasionally were rewarded by their masters with exceptional financial rewards. Albert de Rippe, for example, received the handsome annual salary of 600 livres from the French King François I and was able to become the owner of a large country estate.

This issue of the *Journal* presents two studies that focus on the royal environment in which the lute was so often found. These studies concern two widely differing periods within the lute’s long history. The Mantua of Isabella d’Este was Albert de Rippe’s training ground and among the most musically active courts of the early 16th century. The lutenists here were servants whose main task was to enhance the self-esteem of their royal patrons. On the other hand, Count Anton Losy was a dilettante in the finest sense of the word—a man whose privileged position allowed him to develop a genuine talent and act as his own patron.

William F. Prizer, who writes of the Mantuan lutenists, is Assistant Professor of Music at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His study of music in Mantua has been carried on over a number of years and has resulted in a number of important publications, most notably a study of the frottola of Marchetto Cara.

There is little we can add to the moving tribute to Dr. Emil Vogl contributed to us by the well-known Austrian lute scholar Josef Klima. We feel privileged to be able to publish Dr. Vogl’s detailed account of the life of Johann Anton Losy completed shortly before the author’s death in 1977. A second part of this study, focusing on Losy’s music, will appear in the 1981 *Journal*.

Our final article comes from Gerhard Christian Söhne of Munich. Mr. Söhne is uniquely qualified to unravel the mysteries of Renaissance lute design. He began advanced studies at the Technische Universität in Munich and later studied history and Germanics at Munich’s Ludwig Maximilian Universität. Under the influence of Douglas Alton Smith and Robert Lundberg, he intensified his research into lutes and lute making. In 1979 Mr. Söhne spent two months measuring lutes in the Vienna collection as a paid guest of the Austrian government; his studies will be incorporated into the forthcoming new catalog of the plucked instruments in that collection. He currently makes lutes in Munich.
Isabella d'Este's grotta nuova (Palazzo Ducale, Mantua), showing the intarsia doors depicting instruments. (Foto Giovetti, Mantua)
LUTENISTS AT THE COURT OF MANTUA IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES*

By William F. Prizer

The court of Mantua was one of the most important musical centers in northern Italy during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Ruled by the Marchese Francesco II Gonzaga (1466-1519) and his wife Isabella d’Este (at Mantua from 1490 until her death in 1539), Mantua was a principal center for the development of the frottola, Isabella’s favored genre; the court also supported a chapel responsible for sacred music and a group of wind players for the music of processions, dances, and other ceremonial occasions.

Mantua, which lies in southern Lombardy approximately twenty-five miles south of Verona, also supported some of the greatest Italian lutenists, singers, and composers of the day. Under the patronage of Isabella d’Este, the three major composers of the frottola, all also lutenist-singers, were employed: Marchetto Cara, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and Michele Pesenti. In addition, the court had for various lengths of time the lutenists Serafino dall’Aquila, Pietrobono of Ferrara, Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa, Roberto d’Avanzini, Bernardino Aldrati, and Agostino Tedesco, among others.

*This study is a companion piece to a similar article on wind players in Mantua to appear in Rivista italiana di musicologia, entitled “Bernardino Pifaro e i tromboni e pifferi di Mantova.” The basic research for both articles was undertaken during the summer of 1976, while I held a Summer Stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and during the academic years 1976-77 and 1977-78, when I was Leopold Schepp Music Fellow at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence. I am grateful to both for their support.

1 On music in Mantua at the time of Isabella, see Walter Rubsamen, Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943); Alfred Einstein, The Italian Madrigal (Princeton, 1949) 1, pp. 34-53; Claudio Gallico, Un libro di poesie per musica dell’epoca d’Isabella d’Este (Mantua, 1961); and William F. Prizer, Courtly Pastimes: The Frottola of Marchetto Cara, UMI Research Press Studies in Musicology (Ann Arbor, 1980). On the chapel at Mantua, see also Prizer, “La Cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventenno del Cinquecento,” Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del Rinascimento (Mantua, 1977), pp. 267-76.
Many of these names have been forgotten today; nonetheless they are important: not only did they perform at one of the major courts of their day, but together they formed the background from which came Alberto da Ripa, one of the greatest lutenists of the era. Though no documents on Alberto have emerged from the Archivio di Stato in Mantua, he was securely Mantuan and seems to have spent much of his youth there, until approximately 1528.\(^2\)

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, it will present brief biographies, based on documentary evidence, of the major lutenists in Mantua in order to show the background of da Ripa and the musical forces of a major court of the early sixteenth century. Second, it will examine the instruments played by the lutenists, demonstrating the flexibility required of virtuosi of the day. Third, it will close with a discussion of the varied duties of these musicians in the life of the court. This study, although concentrating on Mantua, also sheds light on the activities and instruments of lutenists at other Italian courts.

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Lutenists at Mantua

Marchetto Cara\(^3\)

Marchetto Cara was born in Verona around 1465 and was probably educated as a singer and priest at the School of Acolytes there, although he apparently gave up the priesthood to return to secular life in 1497.\(^4\) From at least 1494 he was employed as a singer and lutenist by the Gonzaga at Mantua, performing for their entertainment and for that of visitors at court. From at least 1511, he was also maestro di cappella of the court chapel, responsible for the direction of both sacred and secular music. One of the most prolific frottolists,\(^5\) Cara was also one of the major lutenists of his generation and was continually lauded for his playing in Mantuan documents and by outsiders. In 1515, for example, Venetian ambassadors visiting Mantua heard "Marchetto and another perform


\(^5\)Approximately 125 works are ascribed to Cara in contemporaneous sources; he is surpassed by Tromboncino, with approximately 190 works.
certain songs with two lutes better than one had ever heard before."

In a well-known passage from Baldessare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, Cara is singled out as an example of a gentle style of performance:

Nor does our Marchetto Cara move us less [than Antoine Collebault, called Bidone] in his singing, but only with a gentler harmony. For, in a manner placid and full of mournful sweetness, he softens and penetrates our souls, exquisitely impressing a delightful sentiment on them.

Cara died in Mantua in late October 1525.

Bartolomeo Tromboncino

Bartolomeo Tromboncino, like Cara, was born in Verona around 1470. The son of a Bernardino Piffero ("the shawm player"), he was probably educated through the apprentice system by his father and other members of the Veronese civic band. Better known as a composer and trombonist, Tromboncino was also a lutenist of renown: Hieronimo Cassio's *Libro intitulato cronica* of 1525 contains a premature epitaph for the musician, in which he is praised for his ability on the lute.

He will sing again to us with his divine voice
He will still compose with such celestial notes
He will still play with his sonorous lute.

His sweet notes, his lovely style,
His lute, his plectrum, and his welcome voice
Still resound in the ears of all.

Tromboncino was in Mantua by 1489 when he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici, declining to come to Florence as a

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8 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528, but copied in 1524), Libro primo, Capitolo 37.

9 Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, pp. 36-37.


12 Published in Jeppesen, *La Frottola* 1, pp. 148-49.
trombonist. He remained in Mantua as a singer, lutenist, and composer until perhaps 1504, although his career there was a stormy one. He left Mantua suddenly in 1495 to return to his father, a shawm player in the services of the Doge of Venice; in 1499 he killed his wife Antonia after having returned home to find her with a certain Giovanni Maria di Triomfo; and in 1501 he again left Mantua, raising the ire of Francesco Gonzaga. By 1506 he was in Ferrara, where he remained until at least 1513. He is next heard from in Venice in 1521, where he apparently stayed until 1535, the date of the last known notice concerning him.

Michele Pesenti

Michele Pesenti was a major frottolist as well, also from Verona, and was a priest, probably educated with Cara at the School of the Acolytes. Pesenti seems, however, not to have given up the cloth as did Cara. Indeed, the last notice of him comes from 11 May 1528, where he is listed as the rector of the Church of Saints Fermo and Rustico in Verona, and he is consistently referred to as “Pre” (= Padre or Father) Michele throughout his life.

Pesenti was born about 1470, the son of Alberto and Umilia Pesenti. His first known position was in Ferrara, where he served the Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este from around 1504 to at least 1515. It is possible that Pesenti served in Rome as an instrumentalist to Pope Leo X during the period around 1520, although this seems unlikely, since this “Michele da Verona” is listed only as a shawm player in Rome and never as a lutenist, singer, or priest. In the early 1520s Pesenti was in Mantua, where he served Federico II Gonzaga

13 Tromboncino’s letter is published in Jeppesen, La Frottola 1, p. 145, and in Francesco Luisi, La musica vocale del Rinascimento (Turin, 1977), p. 70.

14 On Tromboncino’s career in Mantua, see Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, pp. 55-59. Isabella’s letter to Francesco describing Tromboncino’s murder of his wife is translated there on p. 57; it is also published in Jeppesen, La Frottola 1, p. 146 and in Luisi, La musica vocale, p. 71.


16 Jeppesen, La Frottola, pp. 158-59, documents Pesenti in the service of Cardinal Ippolito in 1504. Lewis Lockwood has documented the musician in Ippolito’s service until 1515, when the Cardinal asks his brother, Duke Alfonso d’Este, to have Michele arrested. I am extremely grateful to Professor Lockwood for this information.

(1500-1540), son of Francesco and Isabella.\(^{18}\) He returned to Verona in 1525, where he became rector of Saints Fermo and Rustico, and died, in all probability, in May 1528.\(^{19}\)

Several documents show that Pesenti was a lutenist. During 1504 he wrote his patron Ippolito d'Este that he had loaned his lute to a nobleman in Venice,\(^{20}\) and on 25 January 1524, Leonora Gonzaga of Urbino wrote her brother Federico concerning five plucked string instruments, the specifications of which were given by Pesenti\(^{21}\); in order to give instrument specifications, Pesenti surely must have played them.

Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa\(^{22}\)

Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa (1470-1530) was one of the most renowned of the Gonzaga lutenists: not only was he included with Gian Maria Giudeo among the most famous lutenists of the early sixteenth century in Marcolini's preface to his edition of Francesco da Milano's *Primo libro d'intabolatura* (1536), but he was also lauded by Filippo Oriolo da Bassano in his poem of 1519-1522, *Monte Parnaso*.\(^{23}\)

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18 On 13 July 1524 Federico Gonzaga made a gift of twenty-five lire to "Pre Michele da Verona, nostro musico" (L.M. No. 24, f. 190v). The following abbreviations are used for the sources throughout this study:

B. = Busta
L. = Libro
L.M. = Libro dei Mandati
L.D. = Libro dei Decreti

Arc. Not. = Archivio Notarile Antico
Est. Not. = Estensioni Notarili

Unless otherwise noted, all documents are from the *Archivio Gonzaga* of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua. I should like to thank the staff of the archive for their kind aid during the course of research for this study.


20 Jeppesen, *La Frottola* 1, p. 158.

21 See pp. 21-22 below for the documents concerning these instruments.

22 On Testagrossa's biography, see Stefano Davari, "La musica a Mantova," *Rivista storica mantovana* 1 (1885), pp. 23-71 [23-27] and [38-40]. A reprint of Davari's article with an appendix listing documents not included in the original work has been published by Gherardo Gherardini (Mantua, 1975). Page references to Gherardini's edition are included here in brackets after the original pagination.

Testagrossa was born on 9 April 1470 in Pavia, then a part of the dominion of the Sforza, the son of one Agostino.\textsuperscript{24} His career was not an easy one, for unlike his sometime Mantuan colleague Cara, who served the Gonzaga continuously for over thirty years, Testagrossa changed positions frequently. Not only did he work in Mantua on three separate occasions, but he also worked in Milan, Bozzolo (twice), Parma, Urbino (twice), Ferrara, and Casale Monferrato during the years 1492-1525. He thus served all the major northern Italian courts of the Renaissance during the course of his career.

Testagrossa’s first post was apparently in Milan, for he was there in 1492 when Beltramo Lapacino listed him, together with Serafino dall’Aquila and Franchino Gaffurius, as a singer of \textit{strambotti}.\textsuperscript{25} He was in Mantua by 1495, when Isabella sent him to Brescia to test new viols she was having made there.\textsuperscript{26} Testagrossa remained in Mantuan service until 1503, although he left briefly in 1501 because of insufficient pay.\textsuperscript{27} By the end of 1503, however, Testagrossa was no longer in Mantua but had moved to Bozzolo, where he was employed by Federico Gonzaga, son of Antonia del Balzo and head of the cadet branch of the Gonzaga that ruled there.\textsuperscript{28} Testagrossa stayed in Bozzolo only two years, for by 1505 he was in Parma in the service of Galeazzo Pallavicino, where he remained until 1507.\textsuperscript{29} In 1507, he went briefly to Bozzolo,\textsuperscript{30} but shortly thereafter returned to Mantua.\textsuperscript{31}

Testagrossa left Mantuan service yet again in 1510; Isabella sent him to Bologna, where he was to meet Prince Federico Gonzaga, first...
son of Isabella and Francesco, and was to be the young prince's music teacher during his stay in Rome.\textsuperscript{32} The lutenist wrote to Mantua on 1 July asking permission to enter the service of Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere in Urbino; Francesco Maria offered to "give me the position of a man-at-arms without having to go to battle, which is worth 120 ducats, and then 24 ducats in [assigned] taxes, which totals 144, and then his Lordship will supply the remainder up to 200, and will give me the expenses for three to eat well and three horses, and then, to spite Gian Maria Giudeo, he will give me as soon as his Lordship arrives in Urbino, a benefice of 100 ducats a year for my son."\textsuperscript{33} Isabella answered on 11 July, unwillingly giving him license.\textsuperscript{34}

Davari believed that Testagrossa remained in Mantuan service\textsuperscript{35}; however, no trace of him can be documented in Mantua or in Rome in the succeeding years. Indeed, Federico's music teacher in Rome was a certain "Maestro Domenichino."\textsuperscript{36} It seems more likely, therefore, that Testagrossa did go to Urbino in 1510, although he had left this post, too, by 1513, when he was in Ferrara in the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. On 14 June of that year, the Cardinal wrote to Francesco Gonzaga:

\begin{quote}
Messer Giulio Capone of your Excellency's Guard has in his hands a lute belonging to Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa, my musician, which is very good, and, even though I have repeatedly requested him to send it back, nonetheless he has not deigned to do it. For this reason, it has occurred to me to turn through this [letter] to your Excellency whom I ask to deign to see to it that I have this lute, assuring you that, if I receive it, I shall hold it as a precious gift from you . . .\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{32} Federico was to be the hostage of Pope Julius II, assurance that Francesco, to be released from a Venetian prison, would not go against his alliance with Venice. See Alessandro Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II," \textit{estratto} from \textit{Archivio della R. Societ\'a Romana di Storia Patria} 9 (1886).


\textsuperscript{34} "Ti faremo intender che nostro costume non fo mai di negar licentia a chi ce l'ha dimandata" (B. 2996, L. 28, f. 12r).

\textsuperscript{35} Davari, "La musica," p. 69 [25].

\textsuperscript{36} See the letter of 27 November 1510 from Bologna, in which "Domenichino cantore del Illustissimo Signor Federico" asks Isabella for his salary (B. 1147, f. 335r) and the letter of Marchetto Cara of 7 December 1515 to Federico, in which Domenichino is called "maistro de canto di Vostra Signoria" (published in Prizer, \textit{Courtly Pastimes}, Document 109).

\textsuperscript{37} Appendix, Document 2.
The peripatetic lutenist apparently left Ferrara in the same month; he is next seen in Casale Monferrato in 1517,\textsuperscript{38} and by 1522 had again returned to Mantua,\textsuperscript{39} only to leave for Urbino in 1525, where he apparently finished his days.\textsuperscript{40} He died, according to Gaurico’s horoscope, in December 1530.\textsuperscript{41}

Testagrossa was one of the most important lutenists at Mantua and was therefore an integral part of the milieu that produced Alberto da Ripa. Indeed, it is even possible that he could have taught Alberto during his last Mantuan sojourn.\textsuperscript{42}

Testagrossa is often mentioned also as the teacher and associate in Mantua of Francesco Canova da Milano.\textsuperscript{43} That Testagrossa was Francesco’s first teacher is based on a statement in Gaurico’s horoscope of the former musician\textsuperscript{44}; but, given the revised biography above, it is difficult to imagine when Francesco could have studied with the older master. It is possible, of course, that the young Francesco (b. 1497), who surely must have been studying by the age of fifteen (i.e., by 1512), may have gone to Bozzolo, Mantua, or Urbino to study with Testagrossa, but it is more likely that Gaurico simply chose a famous Milanese lutenist of the generation preceding Francesco as his teacher. In fact, the one instance cited as an actual meeting between Francesco and Testagrossa proves to be false,\textsuperscript{45} for the “Zoan Francesco da Milano” mentioned by Bertolotti as having traveled to Venice with Testagrossa proves not to be the lutenist but rather a Giovanni Francesco Collo da Milano, master of the Mantuan stables.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{38}See p. 31 below for the letter showing the lutenist’s move to Casale. Professor Lewis Lockwood kindly informs me that Testagrossa was in Ippolito’s service from January to June 1513.


\textsuperscript{40}Letter of Leonora Gonzaga of Urbino to Federico Gonzaga, 7 July 1525 (B. 1071); published in Antonio Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII (Milan, [1890]), p. 25.

\textsuperscript{41}Dorez, La Cour du Pape Paul III, p. 231n.

\textsuperscript{42}For Testagrossa and others as teachers at court, see p. 30 below.

\textsuperscript{43}See, for example, Vaccaro, Oeuvres d’Albert de Rippe, p. XI. H. Colin Slim, however, argues that the Francesco da Milano in Mantua was not the lutenist. See Slim, “Francesco da Milano (1497-1543-44). A Bio-Bibliographical Study, I (The Biography),” Musica Disciplina 18 (1964), pp. 67-68.

\textsuperscript{44}Dorez, La Cour du Pape Paul III, p. 231n, and Slim, “Francesco da Milano,” p. 66.

\textsuperscript{45}Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{46}See Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, pp. 50-51.
Giacomo da San Secondo

Giacomo di Tessoni da San Secondo, son of one Pietro Tessoni, was apparently from the village of San Secondo near Parma. He worked not only in Mantua, but also in Ferrara, Milan, Urbino, and Parma between 1493 and 1525. The first notice known of San Secondo comes from 1493, when he was borrowed from Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan by Francesco Gonzaga. With the death of Beatrice d’Este in 1497 or with Ludovico’s fall from power in 1499, he presumably moved to Mantua where he remained, however, for only a short time. Guido da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, wrote to Isabella in 1501, requesting the musician. Isabella answered on 23 July that San Secondo had left, going first to Parma and then back to Milan.

By 1503, San Secondo was in Ferrara, for Lucrezia Borgia wrote Isabella on 26 March:

I have heard through Messer Benedetto Capilupi, your secretary, that you want Giacomo da San Secondo to come for several days, even though his remaining here could not be more convenient to these most illustrious Lords and to me. Being always desirous of pleasing you, as is my duty and wish, I have decided to postpone everything [here] and thus with good wishes I send him to your Excellency. That San Secondo returned to Ferrara is shown by a letter of Pietro Bembo to his brother Carlo of 15 July 1503, in which he complains about the quality of some strings: “the strings that you sent us for the viola were not good. This was seen in the presence of the duchess [Lucrezia Borgia] while Giacomo da San Secondo was playing on them.”

47 San Secondo’s family name is given in Marchetto Cara’s will; see Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 137.

48 There is no factual basis for the belief that San Secondo was the lira da braccio player depicted as Apollo in Raphael’s Parnassus and therefore no reason to believe that he worked in Rome. See Emanuel Winternitz, Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art, 2nd ed. (New Haven, 1979), pp. 200-201.

49 Letter of Francesco to Ludovico, 11 July 1493 (B. 2961, L. 2, f. 2r); partially published in Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, Mantova e Urbino (Turin, 1893; reprint Bologna, 1976), p. 108. In the same year, a “Jacomo, sonatore da violla” is listed in the service of Ludovico (Guglielmo Barblan, Viva musicale alla corte sforzesca, Storia di Milano 9 [Milan, 1961], p. 805).

50 Letter of 12 July 1501 (B. 1608).

51 B. 2993, L. 12, f. 69v.

52 Appendix, Document 3.

San Secco may have moved from Ferrara to Urbino, for he is mentioned by Castiglione in his eclogue *Tirsi*, performed in Urbino during Carnival of 1506: "He is called 'Secondo,' but he is first of all with his voice and playing."54 The musician is again mentioned by Castiglione in the *Courtier*: "I marvel at the audacity of those who dare sing to the viola [da mano] in the presence of our Giacomo San Secondo."55

San Secondo was back in Mantua by 1517, when he is mentioned as returning from Casale Monferrato.56 He was undoubtedly in Casale as a part of the celebration of the betrothal of Maria Paleologo to Federico II Gonzaga and remained at the Gonzaga court until at least 1525, when he witnessed Cara’s will.57

Bernardino Aldrati, called "Zoppino"

The name of Bernardino Aldrati, called "Zoppino" or "the little lame one," is little-known, even among historians of the Renaissance lute. Nevertheless, he enjoyed a certain reputation during the early sixteenth century, even being listed among the famous lutenists in Oriolo’s *Monte Parnasso*.58

Very little is known concerning Zoppino. He was the son of Johannes Aldrati,59 and was a lutenist and viol player.60 The first Mantuan notice of the musician occurs on 23 April 1511, when his

56 Letter of Andrea Coscia to Isabell, 9 February 1517 (B. 746).
58 See Slim, "Musicians on Parnassus," pp. 146 and 152. Slim conjectures (p. 163) that Oriolo might also have had in mind Gieronimo Zoppino da Ferrara (fl. ca. 1540). The identification of Oriolo’s Zoppino as Bernardino Aldrati seems much more likely, both because the dates of Aldrati’s activity conform more closely with the dates of Oriolo’s poem (1519-1522) and because Gieronimo Zoppino was an organist and Oriolo includes "Zoppino" among the lutenists. The Mantuan Teofilo Folengo mentions another Zoppino in his *Maccheronee* (edition of 1522). This musician, however, is a street balladeer, and it is unlikely that Oriolo would have placed him on Parnassus. See Giulio Cattin, "Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze nelle Maccheronee di Teofilo Folengo," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 183-84.
59 In Marchetto Cara’s will, to which Zoppino was a witness, he is listed as "Bernardino, son of the late Johannes Aldrati, musician"; published in Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, Document 137.
60 Benvenuti, *Andrea e Giovanni Gabrieli*, p. LV.
money and belongings were stolen,\textsuperscript{61} and the last notice is in Cara’s will in 1525, mentioned above.

Roberto d’Avanzini

Roberto d’Avanzini was a lutenist and singer in Mantua from at least 1512 to 1560.\textsuperscript{62} He was probably from Rimini,\textsuperscript{63} and was born about 1500.\textsuperscript{64} Roberto is important to this study for his relationship to Cara and for his duties,\textsuperscript{65} because up until Cara’s death in 1525, Roberto is virtually always associated with him in the documents. In 1512 and 1513 Cara and Roberto were sent to entertain Duke Massimiliano Sforza in Cremona and Milan, where they sang and played for the Duke.\textsuperscript{66} In 1524, a certain “Turroto” is dispatched to send Cara’s, Roberto’s, and others’ instruments to Federico at his villa in Marmirolo\textsuperscript{67}; and in 1523 Federico directed his Treasurer as follows:

Understanding that there happens to be in Mantua a German who has very good lute strings to sell, we want you to buy six ducats worth and to give them to Messer Marco [Cara] or to Roberto [d’Avanzini], our musicians . . . \textsuperscript{68}

What was Roberto’s role in the performance of Cara’s music? It seems likely that he functioned as the better-known musician’s tenorista, playing and singing one or more lines of a piece while Cara played the remainder.\textsuperscript{69} In a letter of 1512 he is called Cara’s

\textsuperscript{61}Letter of Francesco Gonzaga to Pico della Mirandola (B. 2918, L. 214, f. 38v); published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 55.

\textsuperscript{62}The first mention of Roberto in Mantua is dated 12 August 1512, when Francesco Gonzaga gave him fifty ducats (L.M. No. 12, f. 32v).

\textsuperscript{63}In a mandate of 25 November 1512, he is called “Ruberto de Ariminio” (L.M. No. 22, f. 127r).

\textsuperscript{64}Roberto died on 22 January 1560 at the age of 60 (Registro Necrologico No. 7, f. 6v); published in Bertolotti, Musici alla corte del Gonzaga, p. 22, but in a garbled form with the mistaken date of 20 January and a mistaken age, 60. The actual document reads as follows: “22 januarij 1560. . . . Messer Ruberto Cantor in Contrada Unicornu, morto de la doglia. Infermo giorni otto, de età de anni——–60.” D’Avanzini is probably the “Rubertino Mantovano” mentioned by Ganassi as a virtuoso on the “violon”; see Silvestro Ganassi, Lettione seconda pur della pratica di sonare il violone d’arco da tasti (Venice, 1543; reprint Bologna, 1970), f. G 4v, Chapter XX; and Slim, “Francesco da Milano,” p. 76. Roberto was made a Mantuan citizen on 10 November 1526 (L.D. No. 38, f. 14r) This, together with his long Mantuan service, would account for his being called “Mantovano” by Ganassi.

\textsuperscript{65}On his duties, see p. 29.

\textsuperscript{66}On this trip, see Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, pp. 43-45.

\textsuperscript{67}Published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 133.

\textsuperscript{68}Letter of 23 October 1523; published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 129.

\textsuperscript{69}On the tenorista, see Nino Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 19 (1966), p. 141; and
"coadiutore," in this context, that is, his accompanist or tenorista\(^7^0\): on 11 January 1515 Isabella, then in Rome, wrote her secretary Benedetto Capilupi, the following letter:

Benedetto... Also we want you to find out from Marchetto the whereabouts of our viola that he [Marchetto] had and that Roberto was using and have him give it to you and that then you have made a good, strong case and send it to Bugatto, who will in turn send it to us through the normal way together with the padding, because we want to give it away...\(^7^1\)

That Isabella would tell Capilupi to go to Cara rather than directly to Roberto to find the viola certainly indicates that the two musicians' activities were closely related. Performances by two lutes at exactly this time have already been documented here.\(^7^2\) Although the word "viola" can have several meanings, the most likely here is "viola da mano" or vihuela, an instrument that was extremely popular in Mantua during the early sixteenth century.\(^7^3\)

Other Lutenists in Mantua

In addition to the seven well-documented lutenists discussed above, there were other lutenists in Mantua, some of whom stayed only for a brief time. Pietrobono of Ferrara made his residence at the court from 1482 to 1483,\(^7^4\) and Serafino dall'Aquila sang and played at court from 1494 to 1495 and again in 1497.\(^7^5\) In 1491 a Ferrarese courtier recommended a young Hungarian contralto who sang well with lute to Isabella,\(^7^6\) and a certain Don Acteon was sent to Ferrara from Mantua in 1494 to study lute with Pietrobono.\(^7^7\)


\(^7^0\)Published in Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, Document 64.

\(^7^1\)Published in Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, Document 102.

\(^7^2\)See above pp. 6-7 for a performance of songs by two lutes, one Cara, and the other perhaps Roberto.

\(^7^3\)See below, pp. 20-21 for other vihuelas in Mantua.

\(^7^4\)Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 117.


\(^7^6\)Letter of 24 October 1491 (B. 1232, f. 97); partially published in Davari, "La musica a Mantova," p. 64 [20]; and Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121.

\(^7^7\)Letter of 12 July 1494 (B. 1233).
Agostino Tedesco arrived in Mantua in 1500 from the Imperial court, but moved to Ferrara by 1505, and Alessandro Folengo, also called "Pinsanfera," worked in Mantua from at least 1519 until 1528. Finally, a Niccolò Citaredo, from Milan, is given Mantuan citizenship on 28 September 1514.

Other musicians worked in Mantua, and several of these must have been lutenists, though documents do not specify their instruments, calling them simply "cantore" or "musico." At the very least, some thirteen professional lutenists worked in Mantua between 1490 and 1525, although at any given time, the maximum documentable number is seven (1523-24), and a more usual number is four in service at the north Italian court.

* * *

The Instruments of the Lutenist

The instruments played by these lutenists at Mantua seem to have belonged not to the musicians themselves, but rather to the court, and were assigned to the players for use. This practice is shown often in Mantuan documents when Isabella gave away instruments and when musicians left the court. Isabella wrote to Andrea Coscia in Casale Monferrato on 27 April 1518:

By our present muleteer we are sending you a lute and a box of scented water. We ask that you give the lute in our name to the most illustrious Marchese [Guglielmo Paleologo], saying to his Excellency that we heard several days ago that he wished to have a good, large lute and that, finding ourselves to have a good one that our Marchetto [Cara] used for a time, we decided to send it to his Excellency even though, as we say, it is used, thinking that [the Marchese] must care more about the good [sound] of the same than its [physical] beauty. We have repaired it as well as possible and if it were not unlikely to find one as good as this in Venice, we would

78 Letters of Erasmus Brasca to Francesco Gonzaga, 30 January 1500 (B. 544), and Alfonso d’Este to Isabella, 15 February 1505 (B. 1189). The former letter is published in Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, p. 25. The Agostino Tedesco listed by Oriolo in Monte Parnasso is most probably not this Agostino, since he is listed there as a wind player (Slim, "Musicians on Parnassus," pp. 144 and 150). Rather he must be the trombonist Agostino who was the brother of the shawm player Michele Tedesco and who was requested by Lorenzo de’ Medici in 1489. See Bianca Becherini, "Relazioni di musici fiamminghi con la corte dei Medici, nuovi documenti," La Rinascita 4 (1941), pp. 107-108.

79 See Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, pp. 25 and 34 and Pietro Canal, "Della musica in Mantova," Memorie del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti 21 (1879), pp. 680-81. Neither Bertolotti nor Canal realized that Folengo and Pinsanfera were the same musician, a fact shown in a document of 21 September 1519, where he is called "Alexander de Folenghia, dictus Pizamfara" (Libro de’ Patenti No. 5, f. 424r).

80 L.D. No. 34, f. 44v-45r.
have tried to see that his Excellency got one. But we believe that a
better one could not have been found, nor perhaps one as
good... 81

That musicians played instruments belonging to their patrons is
shown also in the correspondence concerning Testagrossa. In 1503,
the lutenist left Mantua with several instruments belonging to the
court, 82 and in 1510, when he wrote asking to leave Mantuan
service, he assured Isabella that “the instruments of your Ladyship
are safe in my house.” 83

What sort of instruments did these musicians play? Documents
from Mantua, as well as other centers, indicate that lutenists played a
wide spectrum of instruments. Lutes were, of course, their principal
instruments, and these were built, even in the late fifteenth century,
in a variety of sizes. On 12 June 1497 Isabella wrote her sister-in-law
Elisabetta of Urbino: “I understand that your Ladyship, after the
death of Tondo, had one of his large lutes (‘liuttogrande’). If, as we
hear, you do not use it because it is too large, I ask you to please [give
it to me].” 84 Isabella wrote Lorenzo da Pavia, her instrument maker in
Venice in 1506: “We have received the small lute, which is good.” 85
Finally, on 4 July 1497, she wrote to Lorenzo:

Maestro Lorenzo: Serafino [dall’Aquila] has told us that he saw a
lute of ebony there in Venice. We want very much to have one, so
we ask you to make us one, or have one made by whomever appears
[apt] to you; make it good and medium-sized, that is, neither too
large nor too small. But we require you to make it of such a size that
when it is strung, it will have two steps (‘voce’) higher than the viola
you made, which is a little low for our voice... 86

The same designations for the sizes of lutes are found
throughout the period of Isabella’s residence in Mantua. On 16
September 1500 the Marchesa wrote Lorenzo da Pavia inquiring as to
the delivery of two lutes and asking him to “finish first the smaller

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81 Published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 120. See also the viola played by
d’Avanzini given away by Isabella, p. 16 above.
82 Appendix, Document 1.
83 “Li instrumenti de la Signoria Vostra sono salvi in casa mia.” Letter of 1 July 1510
(B. 1147, f. 303r).
84 “Intendendo che la Signoria Vostra doppo la morte de Tondo hebe uno suo liutto
grande; quando lei non lo operi como intendo non fa per essere troppo grande, la prego
voglia compiacerne a me” (B. 2992, L. 8, f. 80v). See the letter of 27 April 1518, quoted
above, for a liuto grosso.
85 “Havessimo etiam il liuto piccolo, quale è bono” (B. 2994, L. 19, f. 98r).
86 Appendix, Document 4.
one because we need it more." 87 Lorenzo himself wrote in 1504, promising to come to Mantua and bring a "liuto grande." 88 Additionally, Federico Gonzaga wrote to his brother, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in 1523, asking him to find a lute by the most famous maker of all, Luca Maler:

Wishing to have a lute by the hand of Luca Maler, who lives in Bologna, we ask your Lordship to be pleased to order one of your servants to look for the said Maestro Luca and to see if he has anything that would be good for us and the price he is asking, informing him that we would like a middle-sized lute ("un lyuto mezano"), that is, neither too large nor too small, and very good, and if your Lordship will advise us, we shall send the money to pay. 89

Five days later, Ercole answered:

I received your letter in which you commanded me to look for a Maestro Luca who makes lutes, and to send you right away a liuto mezano. Thus, I did it and had selected two from a great number, 90 and I am sending them to your Excellency. I am sending you two because I was not certain of the size [you wanted]. Your Excellency has only to command me, for I have no greater pleasure than to obey and serve you, to whose good grace, humbly kissing your hands, I commend myself. Bologna, 24 March 1523. 91

These instruments, then, were undoubtedly lutes in at least three of the four most popular tunings: the "liuto piccolo" was the soprano lute in A; the "liuto mezano," the alto in G; and the "liuto grande" or "grosso" was either the tenor in E or the bass in D. 92 These would likely be a part of the arsenal of instruments used by the professional lutenist, who would then select the size of lute needed for a particular piece, ensemble, or voice range. Contemporaneous Italian intabulations for lute and voice show just this exchange of instruments: Franciscus Bossinensis' two books of frottola of 1509 and 1511 require lutes in D, E, G and A. Of these,

87 "Finendo prima el piu piccolo perho che ne havemo magiore disconzo" (B. 2993, L. 11, f. 84r).
88 Letter of 26 September 1504 (B. 1890, f. 345).
89 B. 2998, L. 274, f. 15v; published in Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, p. 34.
91 Appendix, Document 5.
overwhelmingly the most common is A, followed by E.\textsuperscript{93} Andrea Antico’s book of frottole of 1520 calls for lutes in the same keys but in different proportions: the most common is lute in D, followed by lute in E.\textsuperscript{94} These figues may call into question the practice of transcribing the lute music of Spinacino, Dalza and Capriola for G lute, for to judge by the three above collections, it was the least popular: only 5.5\% of Bossinensis’ books are for this instrument, and only 7\% of Antico’s.

If lute was the major instrument of lutenists, it was by no means the only one, for courts could not afford the luxury of having a player for each instrument. Documents from Mantua and elsewhere indicate that the professional lutenist was often a jack-of-all-trades, playing both plucked and bowed strings as well as, on occasion, winds.

On 6 December 1503, Federico Gonzaga of Bozzolo wrote to Isabella:

Having recently received a letter from your Excellency in which you wrote that Giovanni Angelo [Testagrossa] had left without your permission and had recently joined me and that he had five instruments, that is, three viols (“vyoloni de archetto”) and two vihuelas (“spagnolj”). I was delayed in answering you because Giovanni Angelo was not here. I have asked him about the instruments and he answered that your Excellency had loaned the three viols to Signor Ludovico, my brother, but I have them with me because my brother loaned them to me and I shall send them back to you right away together with one of the two vihuelas, which Giovanni Angelo has with him. Concerning the other, he says that

\textsuperscript{93}Of the 126 pieces in the two Bossinensis books, 78, or 62\%, are for lute in A; 29 are for lute in E, 12 for lute in D, and only 7 for lute in G. See Benvenuto Disertori, \textit{Le frottola per canto a liuto intabulato da Franciscus Bossinensis} (Milan, 1954), p. 95.

\textsuperscript{94}Of the 29 pieces still present in whole or fragmentary form in Antico’s book, 15, or 52\%, are for D lute; 10, or 34\%, for E lute, and only 2 each for G and A lute. I am grateful to Miss Elaine Fuller of the University of California, Santa Barbara, for this information; Miss Fuller is preparing a modern edition of Antico’s print. The literature on this book includes Jeppesen, \textit{La Frottola} 1, pp. 56-59 and 133; and Francesco Luisi, “Le frottola per canto e liuto di B. Tromboncino e M. Cara nella edizione adespota di Andrea Antico,” \textit{Nuova rivista musicale italiana} 10 (1976), pp. 211-58. It is possible, of course, that indications of pitch in the Bossinensis and Antico books give directions not the lutenist, but rather to the singer. Thus, “la voce del soprano al terzo tastò del canto” (“the voice [begins] at the [pitch of the] third fret of the chanterelle”) may be intended to give the voice its starting pitch for whatever lute was chosen. It seems likely, though, that both possibilities were adopted at the time. Although an amateur lutenist may have had only a single lute, I have tried to show that a professional lutenist did have lutes of different sizes at his disposal. There seems to be no reason to assume that he would not have followed the directions of Bossinensis and Antico and have chosen the lute intended to go with the written pitch of the voice.
his Excellency, our Lord the Marchese [Francesco Gonzaga] had it and he has not gotten it from him.\(^95\)

Presumably, if Testagrossa had had viols and vihuelas belonging to the court, he must have played them. Indeed, the same Testagrossa had been sent to Brescia in 1495 to test three viols that Isabella was having made.\(^96\)

The same kind of indirect evidence of an ability to play instruments other than the lute is found in reference to Michele Pesenti; on 25 January 1524 Leonora of Urbino wrote to Federico Gonzaga:

Already several months have passed since Messer Raffaello Ermanzino, my secretary, informed me that your Excellency had requested to have made several citaroni of the sort that Father Michele Veronese, your musician, had described to him: thus, learning from me your Lordship’s wishes, I ordered him to have them made and to order the maker on my behalf to use every diligence in making them good and of the sort that would please your Excellency. And even though they are late, because the maker has taken a long time and the aforesaid Messer Raffaello has been ill, nonetheless as soon as I received them, I ordered that they be sent to your Excellency.\(^97\)

On 14 February Leonora wrote again: “that the cyteroni sent to your Excellency have been judged good and have pleased you, has been for me a source of the highest content.”\(^98\) Again, if Pesenti described in detail how the instruments were to be made, then surely he was able to play them as well.

At first, these instruments seem to have been chitarroni, an impression perhaps strengthened by a further description of the instruments in a letter from Ermanzino, written on the same day as Leonora’s first letter, 25 January 1524:

The most illustrious Ladyship the duchess, my patroness, sends to give to your Excellency the citaroni that you asked me to have made. And if it is late in satisfying your wish, you will take into account the long infirmity I have undergone and the tardiness with which this master does all his works. Nonetheless, as soon as they

\(^95\) Appendix, Document I.


\(^97\) Published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 130.

\(^98\) Published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 131.
were finished, I did not delay in sending them to you, and there are five because the maestro wanted to make an extra small one for the higher octave ("l’ottava del maggiore"). Neither did I fail to warn this master to make them good, and according to the measurements sent [by Pesenti]; if they are according to the wishes of your Excellency I shall be very content.\(^{99}\)

This document clouds the instrument in question, for chitarroni would hardly be made for the higher octave; however, as an earlier document shows, these instruments were a consort of citterns. Raffaello Ermanzino wrote from Gubbio on 25 May 1523: "I shall not fail to have made, with every diligence possible the four citterns ("cethre") that your Excellency requested, nor to ask the maestro, who is in Urbino, to be quick so that they will be good and made soon."\(^{100}\) What Federico Gonzaga ordered and Pesenti presumably played was, therefore, a chest of citterns in different sizes. These five instruments were surely intended for court lutenists to play—Pesenti, Cara, Testagrossa, and others.

In 1519, Federico Gonzaga ordered his treasurer to pay "Rigo" Trombone five ducats for a viola Federico had given to the lutenist Alessandro Folengo.\(^{101}\) This may have been either a viola da mano or a viola da arco, but it was clearly an instrument other than a lute. Further evidence that lutenists played bowed strings is shown by a document that, although in the Mantuan archives, relates to the Papal court at Rome:

Yesterday I went to his Holiness [Pope Leo X], whom I found at the Belvedere in secret with the treasurer and the Archbishop of Florence. In the antechamber was the most Reverend Cardinal of Ferrara and the Cardinal of Ancona. I visited his Holiness, and then Gian Maria Giudeo made music with viols, which lasted a long time.\(^{102}\)

Nor were lutenists’ duties confined to the playing of string instruments: in Milan in 1475, Stefano de Alemania is described as a “shawm and viola player”; he may be the same as Stefano of Munich,


\(^{101}\) Letter of 6 October 1519 (B. 2966, L. 260, f. 56r).

citaredo, mentioned in 1463.\textsuperscript{103} Again, when in 1518 Testagrossa offered Federico Gonzaga "my old lute as well as two large ones with five very good viols... also a most beautiful chest of recorders, another of krummhorns, and another instrument that is called a fagot, which is a beautiful thing,"\textsuperscript{104} he may well have been playing them himself. That lutenists did, in fact, play wind instruments is confirmed by a portrait in the museum of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan of "Francesco del liuto," most probably Francesco da Milano.\textsuperscript{105} Francesco holds in his hand, not a lute, but rather a transverse flute; in the lower right-hand corner is the scroll of a bass viola da gamba or violoncello.\textsuperscript{106} This is ample testimony to the flexibility of early sixteenth-century lutenists, which included the ability to play other plucked and bowed strings and often winds in addition to lute.

* * *

The Duties of Lutenists at Court

The myriad circumstances calling for the performance of a court's string players can be discerned from the study of many of the courts of Renaissance Italy. Documents relating to Urbino, Florence, Perugia, Bologna, Milan, Casale Monferrato, and Ferrara, as well as the Papal court in Rome show that the musicians participated in the court's official ceremonies and in its private entertainments. The players performed both indoors and outdoors, at banquets, in dramatic presentations, and for the dance. Not only did they play and sing for the entertainment of their own patrons, but they also performed for noble visitors at court, accompanied their lords on journeys, and were loaned to other courts. Additionally, they entertained the sick and the children of their patrons and conducted court "schools" in their instruments. All of these activities of court string players are seen at Mantua under Francesco and Isabella; evidence from the Mantuan archives, when combined with references from other courts, illuminates the central role of the singer-lutenists in court life.

\textsuperscript{103} Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," p. 53.
\textsuperscript{105} Slim, Francesco da Milano," p. 82.
\textsuperscript{106} Slim, "Francesco da Milano," p. 82 and Plate II, after p. 82. The portrait is also reproduced in Dorez, \textit{La Cour du Pape Paul III}, after p. 232, and in Flavio Testi, \textit{La musica italiana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento} (Milan, 1969), 2, Plate after p. 697.
Among the public occasions at which court string players were most in evidence were banquets, dances, and even processions, for by the later fifteenth century, the hierarchy of “haut” (loud) and “bas” (soft) instruments was breaking down: loud instruments now performed “concerts” indoors while lutes and viols occasionally performed outdoors. Gian Francesco and Rodolfo Gonzaga, after a 1463 banquet at Verona in their honor, heard “two singers with a lute in a garden beneath the window [who] sang many Venetian songs and strambotti.” In 1465 and again in 1469, the Priors of Perugia instructed Francesco di Enrico da Firenze, “canturinum cum viola,” to sing and play in the main piazza every day during the summer and on feast days during winter.

Lutenists also took part in outdoor processions. At the head of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s carnival song “Quant’è bella la giovinezza” in a Florentine manuscript is written: “song composed by the Magnificent Lorenzo de’ Medici, which he had done at this carnival for the Triumph of Bacchus and Arianna, where they sang the following song. [It was] composed for the lute [and] was a beautiful thing.” Again, at the entry of the Cardinal of Sanseverino into Bologna in March 1512, there were, in addition to the usual shawms, trombones, and trumpets, two young boys seated on a triumphal float “as beautiful ornaments, who played most exquisitely, one a violetta, the other the lute.” Lute, fiddle, and harp are also shown in Gentile Bellini’s Procession in the Piazza San Marco of 1496.

Other official celebrations, both outdoor and indoor, called for the appearance of the court strings. Banquets consistently required their presence to play not only before and after, but also during the meal itself. In 1461 two German players of “viola et de cembalo” were paid to perform during Borso d’Este’s meal at Belfiore, outside...

112 Detail reproduced in Testi, La musica italiana 2, Plate after p. 838.
Ferrara. Eight years later, in 1469, Sforza Maria Sforza, visiting the Este court, wrote to his mother: "Yesterday, we did not go into the countryside, but at dinner we had diverse pleasures of harpsichords, lutes, jesters, and Maestro Giovanni Orbo, who recited beautifully, more than usual." Isabella d'Este herself, while dining in 1513 at Casalmaggiore, near Milan, heard lute, then after dinner "Madonna Camilla, first alone with viola and then accompanied by Madonna Susanna without [viola] sang."

But the meals described above were relatively simple musically; large banquets had not only elaborate dishes but elaborate music as well. One of the best known of these, a banquet at Belfiore given by Ippolito II d'Este on 20 May 1529 for fifty-four persons included no fewer than nine separate musical entertainments. In addition to several courses accompanied by wind instruments and voices, there was music for harp, recorder, and harpsichord; another work for dolzaina, viola da gamba, two "cornamuse," and a cittern ("cetra"); another for three recorders, three "cornamuse," and a viola da gamba; a singer to the lira; and a final grand "Concerto" of music by Alfonso della Viola consisting of "six voices, six viols, a lira, a lute, 'citara,' a trombone, a bass recorder, a tenor recorder, a 'sordine,' and two keyboard instruments, one large and one small."

The great variety of music at this Ferrarese banquet seems to have been typical of elaborate banquets throughout the Italian peninsula. In Rome in 1505, for example, the Cardinal Grimani gave a feast in honor of the Venetian ambassadors that featured sixteen separate courses, each with its own music; of these at least six used strings, including harp, "violete," "viole," and two viols.

Although perhaps less elaborate than the two feasts just described, three other Roman banquets merit attention, for they show aspects of music at banquets not seen elsewhere. First, Federico Gonzaga attended a banquet in Rome in October 1512:

115 "Me condussero in Rocha ben apparata et con lauto disinar. Stetili fin passate le vintiuna hora non senza honorevole spasso, però che Madonna Camilla prima sola con la viola et poi accompagnata da Madonna Susana senza uno, cantorono." Letter of Isabella to Francesco, 24 September 1513 (B. 2996, L. 30a, f. 26v-27r).
Last Sunday Messer Bonifacio Parmesano gave the Ambassadors [from Parma] an honorable and magnificent supper, or rather a huge meal, that lasted almost three hours, having performed both before and after the meal comedies, eclogues, moresche, and music; and everything was done sumptuously, and the feast lasted until nine hours after sunset. Signor Federico [Gonzaga], being invited, ate there, and was taken to the head of the table with all the ambassadors below him. They estimate that this feast cost Messer Bonifacio nearly 500 ducats, and he has been praised by everyone for his magnificence.\textsuperscript{118}

Second, a later letter, sent on 6 October 1520 by the Mantuan ambassador to Rome, Baldessare Castiglione, to Federico Gonzaga demonstrates the musical forces necessary for an elaborate banquet:

[On] the day of S. Cosimo, our Lord [Pope Leo X] had a beautiful feast. He invited twenty Cardinals, many prelates, and all the ambassadors to [midday] dinner. Also there were fifty-two musicians, all dressed as mendicants, who made music of voices and of diverse instruments all together. Afterwards, there was a comedy.\textsuperscript{119}

Finally, on 17 January 1526 the Mantuan ambassador to Rome, Francesco Gonzaga (not to be confused with Isabella’s husband) reported on Isabella’s visit with Pope Clement VII:

Yesterday, our most illustrious Madame [Isabella] went to visit and to pay her respects to our Lord [the Pope]. . . . . The cavalier Franceschino [Cibo] took her Ladyship into the room where our Lord ordinarily eats, and having prepared there a beautiful meal of confections, fruits and other things, [the Pope] then had come Francesco da Milano, most excellent player of the lute, as perhaps your Excellency knows, who with two companions played music with two lutes and a viol that was of the greatest pleasure and delight, so that one can believe that this Francesco has no equal in this sort of music, [and he] appears to me, with what little knowledge I have, [to be] rare in this world.\textsuperscript{120}

Nor was Mantua without elaborate banquets. On 21 November 1532, Alfonso d’Este gave a banquet there that included music for

\textsuperscript{118} Letter of Stazio Gadio to Francesco Gonzaga, 24 October 1512 (B. 860); partially published in Luzio, “Federico Gonzaga ostaggio,” p. 39 of the estratto.


\textsuperscript{120} Appendix, Document 8; partially published in Alessandro Luzio, “Isabella d’Este e il Sacco di Roma,” estratto from Archivio storico lombardo 35 (1908), pp. 114-15 of the estratto. This letter prolongs the documented stay of Francesco da Milano at the Papal court for a further year and makes all the more likely Professor Slim’s conjecture that the lutenist left Rome around the time of the Sack (“Francesco da Milano,” p. 69).
viols and lira, as well as vocal pieces and trombones and cornetti.\textsuperscript{121} In August 1512, during the second Diet of Mantua, Isabella gave a dinner for the assembled prelates at which there were “songs, instrumental pieces, and great enjoyment.”\textsuperscript{122} The Mantuan author Teofilo Folengo, in his \textit{Orlandino}, dedicated to Federico Gonzaga,\textsuperscript{123} also describes a banquet in which three lutes and a bass viol play a “concerto.”

Although Folengo has the strings move aside after the feast to make way for a dance, string instruments often participated on these occasions, too. It is true that shawms and trombones were the more usual dance instruments of the time, but the use of strings for more delicate dances is documentable throughout the period. Folengo himself, in his \textit{Maccheronee} (1521), mentions “lire, recorders, citterns, [and] lutes” for the dance,\textsuperscript{124} and Guglielmo Ebreo, a fifteenth-century dancing master, includes as dance instruments lute, harp, and organ, in addition to the normal shawm and three-hole pipe and tabor.\textsuperscript{125}

In Ferrara in 1529 at the banquet discussed above, cittern, lute, harp, and recorder played for a galliard,\textsuperscript{126} and Sabadino degli Arienti, in his \textit{De triumphis religionis}, an encomium to Ercole I d’Este written in 1497, describes a fresco in the palace of Belfiore depicting young gentlemen and ladies dancing by a fountain “to the sound of \textit{cytare} (guitars or citterns), \textit{tibie} (recorders or shawms) and to the sound of a harp played by a lady.”\textsuperscript{127}

Just as string players were called upon to play for banquets and the dances that often followed them, so also were they required to perform in the comedies of Plautus and others that formed an integral part of the court’s celebration of the pre-Lenten Carnival season and at other special occasions throughout the year. For the most part, the music for the comedies and “representations” took place during entr’actes (\textit{intermedii}) of the drama, although

\textsuperscript{121}Brown, “A Cook’s Tour,” pp. 240-41.
\textsuperscript{122}Letter of Amico della Torre to Federico Gonzaga in Rome, 20 August 1512 (B. 2485); published in Alessandro Luzio, “Isabella d’Este di fronte a Giulio II negli ultimi tre anni del suo pontificato,” \textit{Archivio storico lombardo} 49 (1912), p. 115.
\textsuperscript{123}Quoted from Cattin, “Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze,” p. 212.
\textsuperscript{124}Quoted from Cattin, “Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze,” p. 193.
\textsuperscript{125}“Pifare, organi, liuto, arpa o tamburino con flauti”; quoted from Otto Kinkeldey, \textit{A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance} (New York, 1939), p. 34.
\textsuperscript{127}Brown, “A Cook’s Tour,” p. 219.
upon occasion, the musicians actually took part in the action.\textsuperscript{128} Thus for example, Serafino dall’Aquila wrote a representation of Voluptuousness, Virtue, and Fame for Mantua in 1495, in which he himself “dressed very lasciviously as Voluptuousness, arrived with lute in hand [and] began to sing.”\textsuperscript{129}

Comedies elsewhere also show the use of the lute. In Ferrara, the court at which Roman comedy saw its rebirth,\textsuperscript{130} there were three \textit{intermedii} during a performance of the \textit{Menaeachmi} of Plautus in 1491: the first was a \textit{moresca} (a vigorous, costumed dance-mime); the second, “Apollo with a lira who sang several elegiac verses and behind him were the nine muses who sang several songs with lute [and] with such harmony and sweetness of voice that one could not ask for better”; the third was another \textit{moresca} danced to the beat of a drum.\textsuperscript{131} Again in 1499 at a performance of another play of Plautus in Ferrara, the \textit{intermedio} at the third act consisted of music “by five persons singing with lutes a sweet and lovely song, behind five damsels.”\textsuperscript{132}

Other courts also produced comedies in which music had a part. In Bologna in 1496, a dramatic eclogue was presented, in which a shepherd sang to the lira,\textsuperscript{133} and Pope Leo X presented in Rome during the Carnival of 1519 a comedy in which shawms, “cornamuse,” cornetti, “viole,” lutes, recorder, and portative organ performed.\textsuperscript{134}

Although most of these dramatic presentations were given during carnival season, some were also presented to honor visitors at court, whenever they might arrive. Federico II Gonzaga, for example,

\textsuperscript{128} On music in court drama, see Nino Pirrotta, \textit{Li due Orfei da Polizzano a Monteverdi. Con un saggio critico sulla scenografia di Elena Povoleto}, revised ed. (Turin, 1975), pp. 45-142, and, on the instruments used, esp. pp. 53-63; also, Wolfgang Osthoff, \textit{Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in der italienischen Renaissance} (Tutzing, 1969), 1, pp. 124-69.

\textsuperscript{129} Letter of Giovanni Gonzaga to Isabella d’Este, 25 January 1495 (B. 2110, f. 202-205); published, among other places, in Mario Menghini, \textit{Le rime di Serafino dei Ciminelli dell’Aquila} 1 (Bologna; 1894), pp. 267-70.


\textsuperscript{131} Letter of Ermes Maria Sforza and Giovanni Francesco da San Severino, 14 February 1491; quoted from “G.,” “Nozze e commedia alla corte di Ferrara nel 1491,” \textit{Archivio storico lombardo} 11 (Bologna, 1886), p. 752.

\textsuperscript{132} Letter of Isabella d’Este to Francesco Gonzaga, 26 February 1499 (B. 2113); partially published in Alessandro d’Ancona, \textit{Origini del teatro italiano}, 2nd ed. (Turin, 1891), 2, pp. 276-77.

\textsuperscript{133} Letter of Floriano Dulfo da Gonzaga to Francesco Gonzaga, 8 July 1496 (B. 1144); partially published in d’Ancona, \textit{Origini del teatro} 2, pp. 370-72.

\textsuperscript{134} Pirrotta, \textit{Li due Orfei}, pp. 55-56.
to honor the visit to Mantua of Emperor Charles V in 1532, had comedies performed outside the carnival season. Federico wrote to his lutenist Roberto d’Avanzini, apparently away from Mantua, on 26 October 1532:

Because for the visit of the Emperor, which will take place soon, we have decided to have several comedies prepared to entertain his Majesty [and] for which music is necessary, we want you, as soon as you receive this [letter], to come to Mantua to us, where you will learn what needs to be done. . . .

Processions, banquets, dances, and comedies formed the most visible public duties of string players at court, but other more private entertainments were required as well. The visits of members of the nobility were not only occasions for comedies, but were also times when musicians simply played for the guests’ enjoyment. In 1461, for example, Florentine ambassadors in Milan were entertained “day and night” by lutes, harps, shawms, and other instruments. In Mantua itself, Cara often sang for guests; for example, in 1502 he and his first wife sang and played for Giuliano de’ Medici, Carlo Bembo, and a “Monsignor Belocho” of France, all of whom were visiting Mantua.

Not only were musicians required to play for guests, but they also traveled with their patrons and were loaned by them to other courts. Schivenoglia, a fifteenth-century Mantuan chronicler, reports that Margaret of Bavaria, wife of Federico I Gonzaga (1441-1484), returned to Bavaria for a visit in 1473 and took with her “instrumentalists, singers, and dancers dressed in Italian fashion.” Pietrobono of Ferrara traveled to Naples in 1473 to bring Eleonora d’Aragona as bride of Ercole I d’Este and in 1487, he accompanied Ippolito I d’Este to Hungary. Cara traveled to virtually every court in northern Italy, as did Tromboncino; and Giacomo da San Secondo was loaned to the Gonzaga by the Sforza, as well as by Lucrezia Borgia, and was loaned in turn by the Gonzaga to other courts.

135 B. 2934, L. 305, f. 186v-187r; published in Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, p. 22.
137 Published in Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 14.
140 See Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, pp. 42-46 and 57-61.
141 See above, p. 13.
If such trips were taxing on the musician, he still had more mundane tasks at home. Here he provided entertainment for his patron and family. In 1513 Cara, on a wearying trip to Milan to perform for Massimiliano Sforza, was summarily called home by the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga to sing for him while he lay in bed undergoing a cure for syphilis. The lutenist Alessandro Folengo reported to his patron that he had been playing for the sick Alvise Gonzaga, and in 1532 d’Avanzini and Paolo Pocino, a singer at court, were ordered to sing for the sick Ferrante Gonzaga.

Musicians also sang for the children of their patrons. In 1458 Zannino dall’Arpa, an improvisor in the service of Ludovico Gonzaga, was called back from the country villa at Cavriana, where he had been entertaining Ludovico’s young children, and d’Avanzini and Pocino received the following order in 1537: “Because it is necessary for the Marchese our son [Francesco III Gonzaga, born 1533] to sleep, we order you to come immediately to Mantua as quickly as possible and to play for him.”

Finally, court musicians also instructed students in their art. Pietrobono of Ferrara taught students from Milan and Mantua and Mantuan musicians had students as well: these might be young apprentices, as in the case of Cara’s teaching Roberto d’Avanzini, or they might be servants of other courts. Thus Cara taught Giovanni Domenico, servant of Bernardo Dovizi, Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico.

142 Cara wrote from Milan on 7 January 1513 that Massimiliano “is so addicted to and inclined toward music that we are never allowed to rest, day or night.” Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 80.
143 See Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 79, and, on Francesco’s syphilis, ibid., pp. 21 and 174, note 85.
144 Letter of 1 November 1521 (B. 2500).
145 Letter of 25 July 1532 (B. 2934, L. 305, f. 54r); published in Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga, p. 21.
146 Letter of Barbara of Brandenburg to Ludovico Gonzaga, 6 September 1458 (B. 2095).
149 Roberto is called Cara’s “alevo” in a letter of 22 November 1512; see Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 64.
150 Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Documents 110 and 111.
In addition to teaching apprentices and other future professional musicians, the lutenists and singers of Mantua also taught their patrons. A certain Domenichino was Federico Gonzaga's singing master, and Isabella wrote to Anna d’Alençon, Marchesa of Casale Monferrato:

I have heard that the most illustrious Lord Marchese [Guglielmo Paleologo] has taken into his service a player of the lute named Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa. I suggest to your Ladyship that it will be well to have our most illustrious common daughter [Maria Paleologo, fiancée of Federico Gonzaga] learn from him because he has a delicate hand and a wonderful way of teaching. I also was his student [and] even if I have brought him little honor, it was not his fault.

Again, when Testagrossa asked to be re-admitted to Mantuan service in 1518, he offered to teach Federico, Ferrante, and Alvise Gonzaga.

* * *

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the lutenists of Mantua, as well as those of other courts, served in virtually every facet of court life, from public ceremonies to private entertainments. Singing, playing a variety of string instruments as well as winds, they could suit the tenor of their playing to almost any court function, whether held outdoors or indoors. They were expected to play and sing for processions, at banquets and at the dances and comedies that often followed them, as well as for visitors and for the relaxation of their patrons. They traveled to other courts and also instructed their employers and others. In his letter of 1518 mentioned above, Testagrossa offered Federico Gonzaga a musician from Asti for his servant; although Testagrossa’s claims are somewhat inflated, his description of the young musician is indicative of the kind of flexibility demanded of court musicians:

He is a good musician and hears and sings his part well and is secure in the [art of] music; he plays both his written part and an improvised part on viol and he is a man who, while singing and playing, can help a companion who has lost his place [in the music] find it again, and he also composes well. Then, if your Lordship were to go to France or any other country, he is sufficient as an outrider and herald, and he can even argue a case in Rome.

151 See above, p. 11.
152 Appendix, Document 9.
153 Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, Document 122.
154 Ibid.
APPENDIX

Documents

Document 1: Letter of Federico Gonzaga of Bozzolo to Isabella d'Este. 6 December 1503 (B. 1801).

Illustrissima et Excellentissima Domina mea Observandissima. Havendo questi giorni passati recepta una de la Excellencia Vostra et inteso quanto la mj scrive circha che Joanne Angelo sia partito senza licentia de quella, et novamente aconzatosi mecho, et che habia negli manj cinque pezi de istromenti, cioè tri vyoloni de archetto e doi spagnolj, ma perchè ala recepta di quella esso Joanne Angelo non gli era, per questo sono retardato insino a questa hora a fargli provisione, per la qualcosa ho adomandato a luj che ni è de li sopradicti istromenti, et me responde che la Excellencia Vostra prestò al Signor Lodovico mio fratello li tri vyoloni, li quali ho apresso dj me perché esso Signor mio fratello me gli prestò, ma subito li remandarò a quella insiemj cum una de li doy spagnoli, laqualj Joanne Angelo ha apresso di se; de l'altra mj dice che l'eëla Excellencia del Signor Marchese nostro et da che ce la dette non gli è più pervenuta alj manj.... Bozuli, VI decembris 1503.


Illustrissime ac Excellentissime Domine Cognate et Domine mi Observandissime. Messer Julio Capone della guardia de Vostra Excellencia ha nelle mani uno leuto de Joanne Angelo Testagrossa, mia musico, quale è molto bono, et se bene io li ho facto fare grande instantia che lo voglia restituire, non dimeno non l'ha voluto fare perilche mi è parso per questa mia recorrere da la Excellencia Vostra cum la quale la supplico voglia fare opera che io habbi dicto leuto. Certificandola che se lo haverò, lo tenerò per uno caro presente da quella, alla cui bona gratia di continuo me recommando, et que felix valeat. Ferrariae, XIII junij 1513.


Illustrissima Signora Cognata et Sorella Honorandissima. Havendomi a questi di passati facto intende la Excellencia Vostra per Messer Benedicto Capilupi, suo secretario, el desiderio che quella tenia della venuta de Jacomo da San Sicundo per alcuni di a Vostra Signoria, anchorchè la stantia del dicto qui non porria più grata a tucti questi Illustrissimi Signori et a me, essendo desiderosa come è mio debito et desiderio sempre gratificarla, m'è parso postponere el tucto et così di bono animo mandarlo alla Excellencia Vostra.... Ferrarie, die XXVI martij 1503.

Punctuation, capitalization, and diacritical marks have been added and abbreviations realized by the author, both in the Appendix and throughout this study. For the meaning of the sigla of sources, see note 18.
Document 4: Letter of Isabella d’Este to Lorenzo da Pavia. 4 July 1497 (B. 2992, L. 8, f. 86r).

Maestro Laurento: Seraphino ne ha referito havere veduto uno liutto lì in Venetia de ebano. Desiderassissimo grandamente haverne uno, però ve pregamo che vogliate farne o farne fare a chi ve pare che sia bono et mezano, cioè non troppo grande né troppo picolo; ma adverite a farlo de tale grandezza che quando sia acordato che l’habia due voce più alte che non ha la viola che facesti, la quale alla voce nostra è pur un poco bassetta, come dal presente latore meglio intendereti a bocha, et quanto più presto et meglio serimo servite, tanto più ne sarà grato. Mantuac IIII julii 1497.


Illustrissimo et Excellentississimo Signore mio et patrone unico. Ho hauto una sua nellaquale mi commanda che io faccia cercare uno Mastro Lucha che fa liuti et subito mandarli uno liuto mezano. Cusì io ho fatto et ne ho fatto cernere dui de uno gran numero et li mando alla Excellentia Vostra. Io gie ne mando dui perché qualche volta non havesse errato nella mesura. Vostra Excellentia se degni commandarmi che io non ho il maggiore apierezte che ubedirla et servirla, alla cui bona gratia humilmente bassandoli le mani me li racomando. Bononie, XXIII ma[r]tij MDXXIII.


Illustrissimo et Excellentississimo Signor mio Observandissimo. La Illustrissima Signora Duchessa mia patrona manda adonare a Vostra Excellentia le citaroni che quella me comise facesse fare, et se tardo si è satisfatto al desiderio suo, quella ne incolpi una infirmità longha ch’io ho patito et la tardità quale serva questo maestro in tutte l’opre sue. Tuttavia non si è manchato, subito sono stati finiti, de mandarli a Vostra Excellentia, et sono cinque perché uno piccolo de più ne ha voluto fare il maestro per l’ottava del magiore; nè si è manchato de advertire ditto maestro ad farli boni. Et secondo le mesure mandate, se serano secondo el desiderio de Vostra Excellentia, ne haverò grandissimo contento... Pisauri, XXV januarii 1524.


Illustrissimo et Excellentississimo Signor mio... Heri andai dal Nostro Santità, qual ritrovaì a Belvedere in segreto cum el thesorero et l’Arcevescovo di Fiorenza. In l’anticamera era el Reverandissimo Cardinale de Ferrara et Monsignore Cardinale de Ancona v[i]site el Nostro Santità et poi la musica di violoni che fece Zoanne Maria Judeo, la qual durò molto... Roma, 26 julij 1513.

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Signor Patrone mio Singularissimo. Heri Madama Illustrissima fu ad visitare et fare riverentia a Nostro Signore. . . . Il cavagliero Franceschino condusse Sua Signoria in la stantia dove Nostro Signore manza hora ordinatamente, et havendo preparata li una bella colatione de confetti di zucharo, frutti et altre diverse cose, fece doppiu venire Francesco de Milano, excellentissimo sonatore de liuto, come forsi deve sapere Vostra Excellentia, con dui compagni che fecero musica con dui liuti et uno violone che per un pezzo fu de grandissimo piacere et delectatione, però che si può credere che esso Francisco non habbia pare in simel sorte de musica, parendome, per il pocho iudicio che ho, raro al mondo. . . . Romae, XVII januarij 1526.


Illustrissima et Excellentissima Domina Affînis et Soror Honorandissima. . . . Ho inteso che lo Illustrissimo Signor Marchese ha tolto al servitio suo uno sonatore de leuto che si chiama Zoanne Angelo Testagrossa. Ricordo a Vostra Signoria che'l serà bene che la facci imparare da lui la Illustrissima nostra commune figliola perchè l'ha una delicata mano et optimo modo de insignare, essendo io anchor stata discipula se ben poco honore gli ho fatto, ma da lui non è mancato. . . . Mantuae, XXIII novembris 1517.
ON THE GEOMETRY OF THE LUTE

By Gerhard Christian Söhne

Beauty arises from the number, figure, and collocation of the several parts, which must be united into a whole with an orderly and sure coherence and agreement of all those parts.

Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatione*, 1452.

I—Introduction

The Renaissance lute is among the most beautiful of all musical instruments. Since the time of Al-Kindi (fl. 824), the first Arab theoretician from whom musical writings have survived, the lute was used by philosophers in the Near East as a vehicle for explaining ideas about musical and numerical proportions. It is my premise that similar arithmetical and geometrical principles were responsible for the beauty and logic of lute design through the late Renaissance.

Although very many different body shapes were in use in Renaissance lute construction, a closer look at the instruments reveals certain common principles between them. For example, the upper part of a belly outline (that is, the outline of the region close to the neck), usually constitutes a curve with a steadily increasing bend towards the neck.¹ The lower part (the outline of the region around the bridge) begins very flat at the bottom, becomes more

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Editors' note: A German language version of this article appeared in the April, 1980 issue of Gitarre + Laute. Figures 3 through 13 were drawn by Mr. Söhne.

¹The interpretation of the Michielle Harton lute by David Edwards in his “A Geometrical Construction for a Lute Profile,” *Lute Society Journal*, Vol. XV (1973), page 48, simply assumes a circle segment for the upper part of the outline. This would be very unusual for a lute maker of Harton's qualities; Edwards's assumption is based on a reduced illustration in an article, not on the original lute.
Fig. 1) Diagram of a lute belly, Henri Arnault of Zwolle.
curved in the middle, and then flatter again until it reaches the upper curve.

This specific form of belly outline in Renaissance lutes is particularly noticeable if one compares it with that of simpler, late medieval lutes. Figure 1 shows a sketch from the famous handwritten treatise by Henri Arnault of Zwolle (ca. 1450), which is, to my knowledge, the only direct guide for the construction of a lute profile existing in Europe. What other medieval sources we have are iconographic; there are no surviving instruments from that period. An especially informative example is the massive lute found in an oak carving of Pythagoras by Jörg Syrlin the Elder in the choir stalls of Ulm Cathedral (figure 2).

The bottom part of both these medieval lute outlines is produced by simply drawing a semicircle. On the other hand, the flat-bottomed pear shape detectable since about 1470,\(^2\) allows the bridge to be placed further down and, therefore, the sound to become clearer and richer in upper harmonics. This change may be connected with the transition in performance practice from *schlagen...mit federn* ("striking with the quill") to *zwikhen* ("plucking [with the fingers]") to use Hans Judenkünig's words of 1523. The loss of clarity caused by the softer finger tips had to be compensated for somehow.

According to Arnault's treatise, the upper part of the medieval belly outline ends in a small circle segment. In the carving by Syrlin two circles intersect at a sharp angle. Both designs have their advantages. Arnault's outline effects a greater volume in the cavity above the rose, obviously considered particularly important for acoustical reasons.\(^3\) Syrlin's design, however, is more stable at the neck joint. The upper part of the later Renaissance lute outline—with its steadily increasing survature—is evidently a compromise between these two versions.

The development of the Renaissance lute did not culminate in a standardized form, as did the violin later on. Magno Dieffopruch and Vvendelio Venere (Tiefembrucker?), two masters by whom relatively many instruments still exist, build slim, pear-shaped lutes as well as rounder ones, the latter with approximately half-round or flatter shells. We can assume from this that different shapes were not a question of geographical variety, but of adaptations for various purposes. *Cum grano salis:* The more penetrating-than-sweet sound of

\(^2\)In Italian paintings. For example, the "Birth of Christ" by Piero della Francesca (1470/75) today in the National Gallery, London shows two lutes of this type. Due to perspective representation, they appear slightly distorted, but Piero's mastery of perspective, nevertheless, allows assumptions to be made from them.

\(^3\)The shape of the shell shows an augmentation of this tendency; see further below.
small, flat lutes might have been favored for ensemble playing; the deeper, wider forms for melancholy solo playing; the big flat forms for continuo playing; and so forth.

Is it sensible to look for mathematical concepts even in Renaissance lute profiles? Or should we assume that lute-makers arbitrarily deviated from elementary geometrical figures for the acoustical and static reasons mentioned above? Ernst Gottlieb Baron writes in 1727:

...the essence depends entirely on the luthier. He knows the appropriate mathematical proportions, so that the cavities, height, depth, length, and width fit together uniformly. This uniformity (egalité) is the reason that an instrument, whether it be of Italian, German, or French wood, sounds good.\(^4\)

This late testimonial confirms the necessity of mathematical proportions for purposes of sound. In the period before the change in aesthetic thinking brought on by Mannerism, the mathematical disciplines of the quadrivium were of towering importance for aesthetics. The quadrivium included arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and especially music.\(^5\) A classical statement of this view is given by the great architect and humanist of the early Renaissance, Leon Battista Alberti:

Outline (finitio), we will call a certain correspondence of those lines that measure the dimensions numerically: length, width, and height. The rules of outline can be best extracted out of that in which Nature clearly and impressively reveals herself to be significant and admirable. And actually, I always find Pythagoras confirmed, that she remains similar to all her creations....The self-same numbers, which effect the harmony of voices to sound pleasant in the ears, also fill the eyes and the soul with extraordinary joy. And thus, I will borrow the laws of the outline from the musicians, who explored these numbers....\(^6\)

The observation, traditionally assumed to have been made by Pythagoras, that the musical intervals, experienceable by the senses, refer to certain numerical proportions of oscillating frequencies or


\(^5\)In the Middle Ages and later, music was regarded as the theory of numbers. In Cassiodor's definition: "musica est disciplina quae de numeris loquitur, qui ad aliquid sunt his qui inventiuntur in sonis." See B. Münzelhaus, Pythagoras musicus (Bonn, 1976), p. 15.

\(^6\)L.B. Alberti, De re aedificatoria, IX, 5.
Fig. 2) Pythagoras, from a choir stall in the Ulm Minster by Jörg Syrlin the Elder, 1469-74.
Fig. 3) Tenor lute by Vvendelio Venere, 1582, after a full-size drawing by the author.
string lengths, was the initiation of a complete interpretation of the cosmos based on measure and number. This interpretation was common knowledge throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance; instrument building, standing as it does between music and craftsmanship, must especially have been in communion with it.⁷

In this article we shall discuss how Pythagorean thinking may have affected the principles of instrument construction. This we shall do with the aid of some examples of Renaissance lutes. At the same time, we must recognize that the only function of these hypothetical constructions would have been to realize the earlier acoustical intentions and experiences in a form that was as simple as possible and aesthetically satisfying.⁸

II—Arithmetic

The tenor lute by Vvedelio Venere, which formerly had seven courses and today is in the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente in Vienna,⁹ has one of those classical outlines—to judge by the surviving specimens—of the golden age of lute building around 1600 (figure 3). If one extends the upper end of the belly profile to make a closed figure (because of its narrow neck a great deviation from Venere’s plan or template is not possible), the most important outer measurements turn out to be integral multiples of a specific unit, the modulus. For example, the length of the belly is 11 M (= moduli), and is divided by the rose with a diameter of 2 M in the ratio of 6 M: 5 M. The maximum width is 7 M and its position is 3 M away from the bottom edge of the belly.

Regarding the accuracy of these measurements: The actual diameter of the rose is 93.9 mm measured lengthwise and 94.3 mm measured crosswise, and the modulus is thus taken to be 47 mm corresponding to the mean radius of the rose. The actual width of the belly is 331.5 mm (7 M = 329 mm), which could hardly correspond more closely. What the lutemaker actually needs in

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⁷ According to medieval Arabic scholars, the lute was an invention by “greec geometricians.” See Münzelhau, p. 33.


⁹ Label: “In Padoua Vvedelio Venere/de Leonardo Tiefembrucker/1582”; No. C. 36. For permission to measure this and the other lutes discussed here, I am indebted to Dr. G. Spiess of the Städtisches Museum in Braunschweig, Father Alfons of Stift Kremsmünster and, particularly, Dr. Kurt Wegerer, director of the Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.
practice are the proportions of the mold on which he builds the shell. To these dimensions will be added, on the actual finished instrument, the thickness of the staves: in the case of the Venere 2 x 1.25 mm. The distance from the center of the rose to the bottom edge of the belly is 288 mm (6 M = 282 mm). After we have subtracted the thickness of the shell and endclasp, there still remains a deviation of 3 to 4 mm. When trimming the bars under the belly it can easily happen that the belly, and with it the rose, is not situated exactly in accordance with the original intention. In spite of evidently using very exact molds, Venere was somewhat more careless in the construction itself. His roses, too, sometimes deviate quite a distance from the axis of the belly (as, for example, in figure 9).

The numbers 7 and 11, represented in the width and length of the outline, certainly have not been chosen at random; they have a very special place in the theory of musical intervals. In ancient music theory, numerical relations (audible as concordant intervals when transferred to string lengths) are formed by using the numbers 1 through 4 or their multiples. Thus, the basis of harmony was the number 10, which, in the form of the so-called tetractys \( \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \), is presentable as the sum of the first four numbers. (Incidentally, the knowledgeable Syrlin uses the pentagram as well as the number 10—with certain geometric compromises—in the rose of his carving of Pythagoras.) These numerical relationships are the same as the ones that Alberti, in a continuation of the above quote, calls necessary for harmonic conception of length, width, and height in architecture. From audible intervals it is, therefore, possible to derive visible rectangles and parallelepipeds. The diapente (fifth), for example, is audible as the interval between mese and nete diezeugmenon, to use the terminology of the ancient Greek tetrachord system, in today's notation: \( \cdot \cdot \); its arithmetical correspondent is the ratio 2 : 3; the geometrical correspondent, a sesquialtera rectangle (1½ times longer than wide); and, to complete the quadrivium, in astronomy, the spheric-harmonical relationship between the moon and Mars.\(^{10}\)

In the medieval musical practice of Odington and others, and later, at the end of the fifteenth century, in musical theory, the number 5 and its multiples, denoting the natural third, were introduced into the arithmetic of tones (and later, by Palladio, into architecture). Therefore, 7 and 11 are the only remaining of the first twelve numbers not in use in the occidental system of intervals.

\(^{10}\)Münzelhau's gives a comprehensive summary of the medieval Pythagorean tradition.
Expressed in modern terms—that is, in partial tones rather than in terms of monochord divisions—the 7 (using C as a base) defines a tone between a and b-flat and the 11 one between f and f-sharp.

In any case, it would be understandable from the thinking of the time that the inventor of our lute form assumed that the preference of certain intervals, and therefore, the unequal resonance of notes, could be avoided by utilizing the unmusical proportion of 7 : 11. With the choice of the smallest possible ecletic intervals, the outline still satisfied the aesthetic maxim of small numerical proportions. Of course, as seen from our positivistic point of view, it is incorrect to expect an actual acoustical enrichment to ensue from this proportion but, according to the Pythagorean doctrine that audible relationships were visible and vice versa, this is not necessarily decisive.

The uncritical transference of the laws of resonance found on monochord strings into completely different mediums was practiced repeatedly at the time. The transference of the doctrine to metal hammers, for instance, is physically incorrect by modern standards, but it nevertheless survived for more than a thousand years, from the time of the ancient Pythagoreans up to Marin Mersenne, who finally disproved it empirically. It was said that Pythagoras had discovered the intervals in the harmonic clanging of a forge, in which four hammers, whose weights corresponded to the ratio 6 : 8 : 9 : 12, were used. Even John Dowland still tells this story in full detail in the Varietie of Lute Lessons of 1610.

The use of the proportion 7 : 11 now allowed the lutemaker to build in numerical proportions of the modulus without obtaining musical intervals. Figure 4 shows Vvendelio Venere’s lute in a square grid. This representation is by no means an anachronism imposed by our era of graph paper; in fact, grids were often used in Renaissance painting and architecture. In the outline, all the whole numbers from 1 to 11 are represented. The number 10 appears once again in the cap, the length of which is exactly 470 mm or 10 M.

III—Geometry

It is not possible to draw a regular belly outline from the numerical proportions alone. Thus, we must now switch from arithmetic to geometry. For problems involving constantly changing curves in mathematics before 1500, the use of Archimedean and logarithmic spirals and conical sections were known. Owing to the properties of the upper part of the belly outline, the ellipse is the

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11 See, for example, G. L. Hersey, Pythagorean Palaces, Ithaca, 1976.
only possible solution. Of the numerous ways of construction, the most practicable one was that which Wendel Dietterlin depicts in his *Architectura...* of 1598 for designing columns (see figure 5). In this case, it is a design of the entasis, that steadily curved increase in a column’s diameter towards its base, which symbolizes its supporting function.¹²

Figure 6 shows the application of this construction to the upper curve of the lute’s belly. On the horizontal diameter that dissects the

¹²The punctual construction of the ellipse was known in the Middle Ages through the transmission of Arabic mathematicians; see A.P. Juschkewitsch, *Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1964), p. 288.
Fig. 5) Diagram of a column.

profile at its maximum width, we have drawn a circle around a point lying to the right of the lute’s center line. The segment of the center line located between the circle and the horizontal diameter is divided into eight equal parts. (Although this differs from Dietterlin’s method, the division into eight is sensible here, because the upper part of the center line is already divided into eight parts by the modulus.) We now draw a horizontal line through the first mark from the bottom and a vertical line from the point where this meets the circle. The intersection of this vertical line and a line parallel to and 1 M away from the horizontal diameter marks the first point of the elliptical curve. The other seven points are found in the same manner.

Fig. 6) Elliptic curve for the belly outline’s upper part.
If one makes 5 M the radius of the auxiliary circle, a curve can be drawn that is identical to the one of Venere's belly outline. This curve, of course, does not correspond exactly to the points found by the arithmetic division of the same space. Even the ancient Pythagoreans painfully realized that geometrical proportions can seldom be expressed in rational numbers; therefore, they changed their doctrine into a dualistic one. The root of all things could not be the Number alone; the irrational proportions, first found and proven in the pentagram \(2 : [\sqrt{5} - 1]\),\(^{13}\) were set up as the counterparts to the Ratio, as the indefinite (*apeiron*), a sort of life-giving force that is as impossible to understand by Reason as the irrational numbers are to be expressed in rational numbers. To unite both was a matter for the gods—we are left with good approximations such as found in Venere's lute.

In order to draw the lower part of the belly outline, three circles are necessary. The first has already been drawn—it is the auxiliary circle mentioned above, which again confirms the correctness of the design. The most fitting center for the second circle is at the (for now) mysterious place \(\left( \frac{-7}{6} M, - \frac{2}{3} M \right)\), if one takes the horizontal diameter and the center line as a Cartesian coordinate system. How one can obtain these and all other necessary points “from scratch,” using only compass and straightedge, is shown in figure 7.\(^{14}\)

The initial form is a square, which is extended on the top to create a sesquialtera rectangle. The corners of the square and of the rectangle, as well as the intersections with these of a vertical axis, provide nine points, which we now connect with each other. In two places within this figure, horizontal lines passing through are divided into seven equal parts. The position of these horizontal lines can be found by connecting the intersections marked by the four smaller rings. The lower line is the horizontal diameter, and the center of the rose lies on the upper one. The larger rings mark the centers of the second circle for the lower curve, which also result from this diagram. The third, lowest circle has its center somewhere up high, probably at the top of the whole outline (figure 8). If one accepts this most


\(^{14}\) The first appearance of this diagram’s base figure is in the architectural manuscript by Villard de Honnecourt (ca. 1240), edited by H.R. Hahnloser, 1935 and later depicted by several architects and painters of the Renaissance (Serlio, Rivius, Alberti, Dietterlin). The excessive musical interpretation undertaken by the Viennese school of harmonics seems to be too speculative.
Fig. 7) Determination of the fundamental points.

Fig. 8) Geometrical parameters for Venere’s tenor lute.
plausible solution, then the total length from the bottom to the top of the figure is equal to $(5 + \frac{1}{6}\sqrt{2753} - \frac{2}{3}\sqrt{17}) \times M = 10.996\ M$, which is an extremely close approximation of the number 11. With our modulus of 47 mm the total deviation amounts to only 0.2 mm.

The center of the rose divides the segment of the center line between the auxiliary circle and the horizontal diameter quite exactly in a proportion $3 : 5 \left(\frac{5}{8}\sqrt{22.75}\ M = 2.98\ M\right)$; deviation from 3 with a module of 47 mm: 0.9 mm). Thus, every other of the segment's eight divisions marks the position of a transverse bar; for clarification in figure 6 the rose is drawn in. From the bottom edge of the belly, the center of the rose now lies on the fifth part of this second division, which corresponds to the description of barring given by Marin Mersenne. Of course, the position of the bars can be marked later, when constructing the belly, by tracings of a compass, but this does not contradict a previous establishment of the bar positions by means of a more encompassing design.

The reason for this superimposition of the modulus division by a second division for the bar positions might again be an attempt to avoid musical proportions, just as with the previously considered 7 : 11 ratio, which only concerned the surface of the belly. But, as can be seen in figure 3, the second division is not adhered to exactly. Instead, the bars are fixed a little bit below or above the division points according to the acoustical experiences of the luthier.

IV—The inch

The outline discussed above is, through its enclosed system of arithmetic, geometric, and musical possibilities of interpretation, undoubtedly unique and probably was correspondingly popular. The lute by Hans Burkholtzer, 1596, in the Viennese Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, is based on the same design; in this case the modulus is 46.8 mm. Both lutenists, Burkholtzer of Füssen and Venere, building in the Füssen tradition, may have used the same unit of measurement—for example, a foot of 282 mm comprised of twelve inches of 23.5 mm.\footnote{See F. Hellwig, "On the Construction of the Lute Belly," Galpin Society Journal, Vol. XX I (1968).}

\footnote{The two manuals Dictionnaire Universel des Poids et Mesures Anciens et Modernes (1840) and H.J. v. Alberti, Mass und Gewicht (1957) do not give the Füssen measures. Generally their data, based upon collections of the 19th century, is less reliable for much earlier times. For reasons that merchants of the day presumably were responsible for, measures has the tendency to shrink in spite of all attempts at standardization. See Hecht, p. 140.}
Another curious fact is suggested by the hypothesis that the modulus of ca. 47 mm might have a connection with the south German or northern Italian birthplace of the classical lute. The roses were mostly cut from printed patterns, out of which one cut the appropriate size. Well over half of all roses can be traced back to five more-or-less freely modified basic patterns. Their diameter is consistently 94 mm (equal to two of our moduli); enlargements and reductions are relatively rare. Therefore, Vvendelio Venere might have obtained the basic measurement for the conception of his lute outlines from these rose patterns. Another explanation would be that the system of the profile discussed, together with the rose designs, goes back to the initial time of the Renaissance lute; thus, it would portray the archetype for all later lute outlines.

An objection to our figure 7, however, results from these reflections. If Venere’s unit of measurement was an inch of 23.5 mm, then a further division of his 14 inch wide belly into seven parts would, of course, be unnecessary. But Venere has left us another body with the same proportions, but with a modulus of 50 mm. This is the lute of 1578, now converted into a guitar, which today is in the Städtisches Museum in Braunschweig. It follows, therefore, that—probably within certain limits—the same system of proportions could be used for lutes of differing sizes. Of course, Venere did not use the measuring units of different cities, but rather, at least in one of the two mentioned cases, he defined the modulus from the desired size of the lute.

V—Other examples

Two other lutes from the Renaissance tradition will give us the opportunity to discuss what general meanings can be derived from the acquired results. The interpretation of these instruments is less conclusive; it should be taken as only a suggestion.

The two descant lutes by “W·E,” products of Vvendelio Venere’s workshop, are somewhat problematical, because they have no lining at the edge of the belly. One of these instruments is shown in figure 9. If an original lining existed, as on the other two lutes discussed here, then it would be easier to judge how much the outline suffered through repairs. The four halves of the descant lutes’ outlines deviate significantly from each other at the bottom part.

The strong decrease of the radius of curvature towards the neck lets one expect the center of the auxiliary circle to be close to the belly’s center line. If we assume the proportion of the horizontal

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17 Label as in footnote 9 with the date 1578; No. 48.
18 Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente, Vienna, Nos. C. 39 and C. 40.
diameter's length to the upper part of the center line to be $10M : 11M$ ($M = \text{ca. } 21.5 \text{ mm}$), then an elliptical curve with an auxiliary circle of $6M$ radius is suitable. The center of the rose at the division point $4 : 7$ also fits into the system (figure 10). The cut-through part of the rose (without the cut in the border) is 67.6 mm wide on lute No. C 40 and 70.7 mm on No. C 39; the latter measurement corresponds
approximately to one third of the horizontal diameter. The upper circle of the outline’s lower part will here probably not be identical with the auxiliary circle, but, as stated before, findings are not so reliable in this region.

As a third example, we choose the little eleven-course lute of 1627 by Jacob Langenwalder. This is one of the latest specimens of the older tradition, with which the baroque lute construction, arising after the time of the Thirty Years War, clearly broke. As the edge of the belly is protected by a lining, the outline remains reliable. It is distinctly asymmetrical—the bass half is rounder than the

19 Label: "Jacob Langenwalder/flesen 1627"; Stift Kremsmünster, No. 4.
descant. With our system (figure 11), it is easy to extend the asymmetry over the whole curve, but, of course, a mistake when glueing the belly to the shell would have had similar consequences. Whether this is intent or fate cannot be determined; in cello building in any case, arbitrary asymmetry for acoustical reasons is known.

VI—Shell outline

There are various possibilities for deriving the shell’s outline from the belly outline, three of which are used in the lutes discussed

Fig. 11) Geometrical parameters for a lute by Jacob Langerwalder, 1627.
The general tendency on Renaissance lutes is to move the point of maximum width (that is, depth) towards the neck and to increase the depth of the upper region. The first method (figure 8) is to incline the half of the belly outline around the coordinate point (0/1 M) until it reaches the thickness of the neck. As is easy to see, the curve—in this case its upper part—must be shortened a little, if one wants to obtain this angle of the neck joint. The second method (figure 10) consists of moving the belly outline upwards and lengthening it at the bottom by the choice of other circles. The Langenwalder lute is an example of a slightly flattened body (figure 11). Here the upper end of the outline is used as the turning point.

Regarding the body outlines, one must consider that the sources of error in construction are greater and the deteriorations of the body curves through age are significantly more than those of the belly. To what extent the body curve was inclined, lengthened, or shortened in comparison to the belly, can only be estimated today.
In conclusion, let us look again at the two late medieval lutes mentioned at the beginning. In their very simplicity they can, in fact, confirm some of our hypotheses.

For Arnault's construction (figure 1), the starting point is, as in our system, the maximum width: here it is the diameter of the lower semicircle. Its radius is subsequently divided into five parts, in order to determine the position and diameter of the rose and the placing of the bars. The centers of the circles for the upper part of the outline lie on the original circle. What is cause here and what effect is difficult to say; in any case, the choice of a five part division and these specific circles result in a proportion of length to width which is very close to 13:10 (to be exact: \(5 \times (4 - \sqrt{2}) = 12.93\) M). Here again is shown, as in our Venere lute of 1582, the attempt to gain arithmetic proportions by means of geometrical methods. (That the number 13 represents the third ecmeleic partial is doubtless accidental.)

In Syrlin's carving of Pythagoras, one finds the simplest lute form one could possibly imagine. Here geometry and numbers coincide, by way of exception, through the use of the 3:4:5 right triangle (marked in figure 12 by small circles). The triangle on which this design is based was known long before Pythagoras, but became linked with his name in the Middle Ages. It allowed the practical use of the Pythagorean theorem regarding right-angled triangles (here: \(3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2\)). Through the triangle together with the lute's rose, the lute's rose, the symbolic headgear, and the ethical maxim found at the base of the carving, Master Syrlin supplies us with a cross section of all the spheres of Pythagorean philosophy, and thus offers us a neat example of the excessive symbolic fantasy with which artists and craftsmen in the Renaissance were endowed.

\[20\text{ See Münzelhaus, p. 33f.}\]
With the death of Dr. Emil Vogl on June 3, 1977, musicology lost its most significant connoisseur of lute music in the Bohemian lands. Friendship with Dr. Vogl was a gift; everyone who had contact with him experienced his readiness to help, his great knowledge, and his kindness towards others. He liked to talk about his musical research, spoke with love of his forest cabin and of the birds that appeared there as guests, or of the hedgehog that picked up the remains of each day’s meals in the evening. Never, however, did he talk about his most difficult time, the years spent in the concentration camps; nor did I ever hear a harsh word about the people who had done such evil things to him. For what I know about those years I am grateful to his widow, Rouzena Voglova, who made a harmonious home for him after the hard years of persecution.

Emil Vogl was born in Prague in 1901 and studied medicine at the German University in that city under Professor Biedl. Even during his student years he served as a research assistant (wissenschaftliche Hilfskraft) and later as first Assistent. He lost his specialist practice (internal medicine and cardiology) in 1939 upon the invasion of the Germans. In the Lodz concentration camp he was used as a physician to treat gypsies ill with spotted fever. He became sick himself and, although he later recovered, suffered damage to his
heart and liver. As a convalescent in a Polish preservation camp, he concealed children due to be liquidated at the risk of his own life. (In 1968 the newspaper *Kurier Polski* printed a description of his self-sacrificing activity under the title “We thank you, Doctor!”) Further stations were Auschwitz and other camps, where he shoveled coal and did other forms of extremely hard physical labor as an invalid forced to endure a bullet hole in his foot (the result of a “prank” by an SS man).

At the end of the war Dr. Vogl returned to Prague suffering from lung damage and with edema in his foot. His mother and sister had died earlier in a concentration camp. In Prague Dr. Vogl became the director of a home of Jewish orphans. Here, he brought starving children from the Sudeten German camps and cared for them. On the dissolution of the orphan homes he became an internal specialist and cardiologist at a State clinic, and later its chief-of-staff. He retired from practice in 1969 due to the state of his health.

Even during his years as a medical student he was interested in music and attended musicological lectures given by Professor Becking (who was shot in Prague in May, 1945). He dedicated his entire free time to musicology, and his publications were characterized by scrupulous philological exactitude. He increased his collection of calligraphed tablatures untiringly, and just as untiringly he sought out concealed musical sources. His publications appeared mainly in German, but some were published in Czech.

A guitar player, Dr. Vogl was encouraged by the publications of Hans Neemann to occupy himself with the lute and its tablature. Playing the lute became his main source of strength for his extremely taxing professional duties. Next to Count Losy and his contemporaries, he was interested primarily in the French lutenists. Unfortunately, he only played for an intimate circle of friends. For them, however, he unfolded the interwoven voices of the *style brisé* in such a manner that one could easily comprehend how this new musical style had conquered all of Europe. Dr. Vogl did not teach the lute, but anyone could consult him for advice and help. In this sense the lutenist Ludmilla Beranova was his student; she concertized not only in Czechoslovakia, but also performed in Vienna at the famous Festival.
Index of the works of Emil Vogl, M.D.


translated from the German by Douglas Alton Smith
JOHANN ANTON LOSY: LUTENIST OF PRAGUE

BY EMIL VOGL

for Růžena

Foreword

A lengthy paper devoted to the life and works of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal is in need of some justification. In several earlier articles based upon archival material, I attempted to present information about the lives of a number of Bohemian lutenists, and among them I devoted one short study to Losy, the father of the lute in Prague. In those papers I primarily attempted to clarify uncertainties concerning Losy's life and to correct errors that had been made by earlier researchers; it was not my intent to give a detailed account of his life or of his surviving works.

The present study attempts to gather together everything known about the activities of the great Prague lutenist. There are several reasons for making this attempt. First is the fact that Count Losy, as wealthy and influential a man as he was, did not remain a mere dilettante as did so many of his noble contemporaries. Through his works, of which only a portion has come down to us, Losy shows himself to be more than an amateur of his instrument; his talent and


training enabled him to achieve higher things. Second, he and the somewhat older Esajas Reusner are the sole representatives of the early German baroque school of lute playing and, thus, are of considerable importance. The proof of their importance rests on the fact that their music continued to be quoted long after their deaths. Measured by the number of surviving manuscript copies, the esteem of Losy's work is equalled only by that enjoyed by Ennemond and Denis Gaultier. Last, but not least, Losy's school of lute playing constitutes an essential part of Bohemian musical history.

Most of our knowledge about Losy comes from the pioneering publications of Adolf Koczirz, although later articles added further information. To me was left primarily the collection of what was already known. I have been able, however, to clarify the long-disputed date and place of Losy's birth, to find a portrait of him in his youth, and to solve the question of the guitar compositions that circulate under his name.

All this would not have entitled me to publish a lengthy study on Losy, had I not been able to assemble an index of his known works. This index will appear, together with a discussion of the composer's music, in the second part of this study to be published in the 1981 volume of the present Journal. It is to be hoped that this index will be enlarged by later discoveries.

I wish to express my deepest thanks to the staff of the Prague University Library and to the Music Division of the National Museum in Prague for assisting me to obtain material.

'Testudo notissimum in nostria partibus instrumentum; nam tanta per omnes domos quocunque te vertis in Triurbe hac Regia, Lautnarum est copia, ut nescio quot Maximorum Palatiorum, in casu hujus probandi asserti, tectis ex integro construendis succerrere cum ein posses.
Thomas Balthazar Janowka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae*, Prague, 1701.

In his important study of Austrian lute music, published in 1918, Adolf Koczirz presented a brief biography of the Prague lutenist Johann Anton Losy, Count of Losinthal. The title of Koczirz's study defines a time span between the years 1650 and

1720. During this period in Bohemia, which then was part of the Austrian monarchy, the lute experienced an unexpected flowering of activity. This activity, however, suddenly died out around the year 1720. Shortly before and after this year the triumvirate of the Bohemian lute died: first Aureus Dix, soon thereafter his friend Antoni Eckstein, and finally Johann Anton Losy. It is not by chance that the period chosen by Koczirz corresponds to the span of Losy's life.

Before we examine Losy's life, however, it is important to briefly survey the influences under which Bohemian lute music stood at that time. It was Denis Gaultier who had had the greatest influence on the European lute in the seventeenth century. His life falls into the period between 1600 and 1672, and in his works we find the music of the broken Parisian style in its purest and most authentic form. His students—Charles Mouton, Dubut, Dufaut, and Germain Pinell (the court lutenist to Louis XIV)—remained in Paris. The younger French lutenists, however, were forced to seek a living outside the country. These included the members of the Gallot family, Le Sage de Richee, Jacques de Saint-Luc, as well as others whose names we do not know. After about 1700 there was scarcely a lutenist of reputation left in France; the instrument and its music were no longer in demand and had been supplanted by the harpsichord.

If we pursue the further development of the European lute style, we may be surprised to see the center shifting from the westernmost part of Europe, France, to the easternmost German-speaking region, Silesia. One can speak with justification of a "Silesian lute school." Only the connection of this region with sixteenth century Polish culture can offer us an explanation for this curious phenomenon: the sudden flowering of a new lute music in seventeenth century Silesia. The high level of Polish lute music in the preceding period, and the preference of the ruling Polish house for it, helps explain this singular state of affairs: the new style from the West was able to sink its roots in the fertile soil prepared by the Polish lutenists of the sixteenth century.

Let us recall the names of some of these Polish lutenists. Although by birth not a Pole (his origins were Saxon), Valentine Greff Bakfark served at the Polish court of Sigismund II and later lived in Vilna and Cracow. He died in Padua in 1576 during flight from Poland. In his circle was Adalbert Dlugorai, born in 1550, who had been active at the court of Samuel Zborowski before being forced to flee to the king Stefan Barthori in 1583. Jakob Polak (Jacques Polonais) lived in Paris as the royal lutenist. The Polish courts attracted many sixteenth century lute virtuosi, among them.
Diomedes Cato from Venice. A later example, that of Antoine Gallot, a member of a widespread family of French lutenists, shows that lute players from many countries sought and found their livelihood in Poland. Gallot served at the court of Sigismund III and undoubtedly did not practice the new Parisian style.\(^4\) This power of attraction probably continued in Poland even after the disappearance of the polyphonic Renaissance style into the seventeenth century; again and again we come across the names of Frenchmen at Polish courts.

In France the new Parisian style had been cultivated by a circle of independent artists who were supported by wealthy music lovers, as well as by some members of the lower aristocracy. In Silesia, however, under different national conditions, the new style was cultivated in different circles. There it found its home in the bourgeois family. The lute in Silesia often was cultivated from one generation to the next. One need only think of the Weiss and Kropfganss families, where it endured for three generations, and of the Reusners, where it lasted for two.

As an example of this inherited art in a bourgeois Silesian family, let us cite the Kropfganss family. The eldest, Johann Kasper, was a student of Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee, one of the French emigrants mentioned above. His son Johann (I) remained a merchant, but cultivated lute playing as a dilettante. His teachers were his father as well as a certain Meley, again a Frenchman. His son, Johann (II), became a student of Silvius Leopold Weiss and eventually became professional lutenist at the house of Count von Brühl in Dresden. His brother, Johann Sigismund, and his sister, Elenore, were also known for their skill on the lute.\(^5\)

The founder and master of the new style in Silesia was Esaias Reusner the Younger. His father also had been a lutenist and composed a collection *Musikalischer Lustgarten* (Breslau, 1645) in the old Renaissance tuning. The younger Esaias was born in 1636 in Löwenberg (near Liegnitz), became a page to the Swedish General Wittenberg, later entered the service of the Imperial Commissar Müller, and subsequently that of the Countess Radziwill. He was initiated into the secrets of the new French style by an unknown Frenchman. We find him later in the service of Prince Georg von Liegnitz und Brieg, to whom he dedicated his first publication


Deliciae musicae. This print was republished after his death under the title Erfreuliche Lautenlust. A book of lute songs on religious texts appeared in 1679, the year of his death. At this time he was serving at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, in Berlin.

Reusner the Younger is credited with establishing the order of dances in the lute suite; previously, as in the sequence of movements by a composer such as Pierre Gaultier, they had been left to the whim of the performer. At the beginning of his suites, Reusner often placed not an allemande, but a movement other than a dance, which he called “Sonata” or “Praeludium.” A similar sonata movement is found among the rarely encountered works by Achazius Kazimir Huelse, who according to Baron was valet to Count Losy and the Count’s lute teacher. This title, otherwise absent in suites at this time, as well as the composer’s given names, suggests that Huelse may have belonged to the Silesian circle of lutenists. It must be remembered that Silesia was still part of Austria at the time and communication between Silesia, Prague, and Vienna was quite easy because of this union.

A comparison between the courante from Reusner’s A major suite and the often copied “L’Homicide” by Denis Gaultier from the Hamilton Codex will serve to show the changes that the French style underwent in its migration to the East. The Frenchman’s composition retains its lightness even in its descent into the basses, whereas the same movement into the low register gains a new and different meaning in the work by the Silesian. It becomes a point of departure for an expression of gravity, the texture retaining its dark and melancholy coloring until the end.

The Polish noble Riwitzki also belongs to this period and to this circle of lutenists. According to Baron, he lived at the court of the Polish King Augustus II and died in 1712. Jakob Kremberg was another lutenist who came from Poland, but he was of German descent. He was born in Warsaw about 1650, studied in Halle and Leipzig, and served in the courts of Dresden, Stockholm, and London. His Musikalische Gemütsergetzung was published in 1699.


8Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Study of the Lute (1727), translated by Douglas Alton Smith (Redondo Beach: Instrumenta Antiqua, 1976), p. 68.

9Baron, p. 69.
In later times, which are beyond the scope of this study, Silesia continued to produce important lutenists, including Silvius Leopold Weiss, certainly the greatest lutenist of the late baroque, who was born in Breslau in 1686. His connections with Prince Philipp Hyacinth Lobkowitz (who wrote for the lute himself), his visits to Prague beginning in 1717, and his acquaintance with Count Losy, show us the bonds that existed between lutenists in Silesia and Prague. The tombeau Weiss wrote on Losy’s death in 1721 became famous and demonstrates the esteem in which Weiss held the Prague master. Anton Gleitsmann, a student of Weiss and son of the Kapellmeister Paul Gleitsmann, visited Prague after 1716 and, according to Baron, “profited well there.” The name of his teacher in Prague is not known. It was clearly not Losy because of the latter’s advanced age and high social position, but other possibilities include musicians in Losy’s circle: Aureus Dix, Antoni Eckstein, or the Benedictine priest Iwan Jelinek, who lived not far from Prague. Thanks to the activity of Count Losy, Prague played a leading role in lute music. Aside from those musicians known to us by name, there were doubtless numerous others who cultivated the lute in private circles.

These examples should be sufficient to demonstrate the significance of Silesia to the history of the German lute and to show the mingling of Polish and German names and influence. A detailed study of Silesian lutenists and the search for the roots of their art in the Polish Renaissance awaits the author who can undertake the project with an open mind.\(^{10}\)

Turning to the lute music of Austria, we find that Adolf Koczirz has portrayed this subject in an exemplary manner.\(^{11}\) He did, however, include some lutenists only tenuously connected with the Austrian area. Among these are Rochus Berhandzki, court lutenist to the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel; the French Marshall Count Tallard, an important lutenist who was executed in Bregenz; the French emigrant Jacques de Saint-Luc; and the Netherlander Adam Ginter. Even Theodor Herold does not belong among the list of Austrian lutenists, since he was Kapellmeister at the court in

\(^{10}\) Other Silesian lutenists include Meusel, a student of S.L. Weiss and Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760), the last important lutenist and a major historian of his instrument. Weiss’s brother, Johann Sigismund, and sister were also respected lutenists, as was Freiherr Bogislaw von Bronikowski, who came from Oppeln. His polonaise and minuet for lute appear in a 1752 manuscript (Berlin 40633).

\(^{11}\) Beside the titles cited in footnote 3 above, Koczirz contributed the study “Bohmische Lautenkunst um 1720,” Alt Prager Almanach, Prague, 1926 and the anthology Wiener Lautenmusik im 18. Jahrhundert, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, 1942.
Mainz. The Neapolitan musician Giuseppe Porsile belongs to only a limited degree, being an opera composer who wrote only a few insignificant minuets for the lute, probably at the wish of the Empress-Widow Amalia. None of these musicians can be considered part of the Viennese School, so far as one can speak of such a school at all.\textsuperscript{12}

The Viennese lutenists were bourgeois employees of the court or noble amateurs. As with the Silesians, one finds changes among those who sought to compose in the style of the Parisian masters. The first was the court chaplain Johann Gottlieb Peyer, who wrote a manuscript "Lusus testudinis tenoris gallici, Teutonici labore textus" in the broken style. The court servant Ferdinand Ignaz Hinterleithner was somewhat younger. He composed and had published several lute concerti; these inaugurate an entire series of trios for bowed strings and lute in which the strings double the outer voices of the lute part. It appears that the function of the lute may have changed in the environment of Viennese society. Instead of making music in an intimate circle gathered around the player, it seems to have become necessary to make the music of this quiet instrument accessible to a larger audience. Probably the lute was played in a large room where the sound of the instrument would have been lost. Therefore, the treble and bass voices were doubled, although the intimate nature of lute music was fundamentally changed.

Andreas Bohr von Bohrenfels and Wenzel Rudolf von Radolt constitute the group of noble dilettantes. Only a few works by the former are known.\textsuperscript{13} The latter left a printed volume of concerti for several lutes and mixed groups of strings. One work apiece were left by Emperor Josef I himself and by Mathais Gabriel Frischauf. Johann Georg Zechnèr composed a few mediocre minuets, a sign of the minuet mania that broke out in Viennese society at that time.

Certainly the most important of the Viennese to dedicate his talents to the lute was Johann Georg Weichenberger.\textsuperscript{14} Born in 1676 in Graz, he was one of the music-making officials at the Viennese court. His works survive in several Bohemian manuscripts and his trios for lute, violin, and bass often show the influence of Losy, who was a generation older. Losy often appeared in Vienna on official

\textsuperscript{12}The group of lutenists that Koczirz assembled in a group labeled "Prague" was considered Austrian, since Prague belonged to Austria in 1918 when Koczirz published his principal work on this subject. Today only Losy and his circle (Dix, Eckstein, Lobkowitz, Jelinek, and a few others) should be considered the Prague lute school.

\textsuperscript{13}See Salzburg Ms. M. III, Prague Ms. II.Kk 73, and Haslemere Ms. II. B. 2.

\textsuperscript{14}Hoffmann, \textit{Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens}; Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," pp. 60-64.
business, and we can assume that the Viennese lutenists clustered around the famous and influential Count. Without doubt some attempted to imitate his style. Weichenberger's solos show a different style from his trios, and we can only guess at the reason for this apparent disparity. He died in Vienna in 1740.

The Viennese lute era closes with compositions for the expanded 13-course lute in works by the aristocratic Anton von Gaisruck and Ferdinand Count von Bergen. The minuets of Ferdinand Seidel and the compositions of Karl Kohaut, who brought a new brilliance to the lute concerto, do not belong to the baroque, but to the rococo era of Maria Theresia.

We are now ready to turn to a discussion of Bohemian lute music before Losy. Only a few names and few musical monuments of Bohemian lute music have been preserved from the period around 1600. Judging from the exclusive use of German tablature, Bohemia was under the influence of its western neighbors. Johann Arpin Dorndorf left a lute book with the title "Prima pars tabellaturae continens Choreas et Galliardas."15 He was certainly of Czech descent. Like so many of these manuscripts, this one was probably a pedagogical work. It contains hardly any original compositions; it is comprised mainly of dances and transcriptions of both secular and sacred songs. The second compiler of such a book was Nikolaus Schmall von Lebendorf, the scribe of Jarolaus Borzita von Martinics, who came from Beraun. Probably he was born to a Protestant family and converted to Catholicism; otherwise his service to a Catholic noble would have been unthinkable. After the flight of his patron, who was passively involved in the Prague Defenestration, Lebendorf also disappeared. Nothing is known of his further fate. Like Dorndorf, Lebendorf's collection of 1613 is a collection of foreign compositions: dances, songs, and variation/passamezzi alternate with each other.16

Two anonymous fragments augment the small number of tablature books written on Bohemian soil. We also know of two German lutenists who were active in Bohemia, probably for only a short time around the turn of the century. One, Valerius Otto, was organist at the Thein Church. His principal work, Newe Paduanen, Intraden und Currenten (Leipzig, 1611), contains dances for a consort of viols. The other, Matthäus Reymann, was born in Thorn and served as preceptor in a noble household. His lute book, Noctes

15 Now in the Zwickau Ratsschule Bibliothek, Ms. CXV3, catalogue no. 50.
16 Now in the National Museum in Prague, Ms. XXIII F 174.
Musicae, was dedicated to four members of the Cejka family and published in Heidelberg in 1598.17

Until the appearance of Losy, we know of only two artists in Bohemia who wrote in the new broken style. One was the above-mentioned teacher of Losy, Achaizius Kazimir Huelse. The other was Johann Berthold Bernhard Bleystein de Prag, whose little variation "Adieu de sa maitresse" has survived. After the year 1700, however, lute playing became so widespread in Prague that, according to Thomas Janowka in the epigraph to this study, one could cover the roofs of the palaces in Prague with lutes.

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Past historical studies of Johann Anton Losy have contained much imprecision and even fantasy about the life of this great Prague lutenist. Much of this inaccuracy can be traced to errors in the reports of eighteenth-century commentators.18 An inspection of the archival material, however, reveals much valuable information about the Losy family. Particularly useful entries about the family survive in two studies in the Czechoslovakian State Archive in Prague. The first set of entries are found in the collection of the genealogist Johann Wenzel Dobrzensky, Count of Dobrzenic.19 The others, probably compiled for estate purposes upon the death of the lutenist, are in the Schumann collection.20

According to both sources the family came from the Canton Grisons in Switzerland and bore the name Losy de Losys.21 The


18 Although Losy was mentioned by name in Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee's Cabinet der Lauten (Breslau, 1695) and Johann Mattheson's Das neueroeffnete Orchestre (Hamburg, 1713), where a pun is made on the names "Losy" and "Weiss" (p. 276), no biographical accounts of Losy were published during the lutenist's lifetime. A letter written by Johann Kuhnau concerning a musical competition in Leipzig involving Losy, dated 8 December, 1717, was printed in Mattheson's Critica Musica, 1725, Vol. 2, p. 237. An important biography appeared in Baron's Study of the Lute, 1727, pp. 66-68, much of which was reprinted in Johann Gottfried Walther's Musikalische Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1732). In his Grundlage zu einer Ehrenpforte (Hamburg, 1740), Mattheson published a report of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, who had visited the lutenist several times during his stay in Prague between 1715 and 1717. The comments of Kuhnau and Stölzel are cited below.

19 Czechoslovakian State Archive, Prague, Dobrzenksy Collection No. 592.

20 Czechoslovakian State Archive, Prague, Schumann Collection No. 440.

21 The Frenchified spellings "Logi" and "Logy" are first encountered in the collection Cabinet der Lauten published by Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee in 1695. We must bear in mind that the Losy family came from the South German dialect area. In this region the "s" is pronounced "sh." Thus, the name was probably pronounced "Loschi" even by its bearers. Just this phonetic spelling ("Loschi") appears in the titles of several of the
genealogy always falsely cites Purs as the name of the home town. Purz in Canton Grisons is doubtless meant, however, since a town with the name "Purs" does not appear in Swiss gazetteers. In a decree of 1647, by which Johann Anton Losy the Elder, father of the lutenist, was elevated to the old aristocracy, his Swiss heritage is specifically mentioned. Signed by the Emperor in Klattau in Bohemia, the same document also mentions a cousin, Balthaser de Mora, who was in the Imperial military service and likewise described in the decree as Swiss.\(^{22}\)

The earliest member of the family to be cited in the Dobrzensky genealogy is a Losy de Losys (no forename is given), who married a woman from the Lugami family. From this marriage was born Thomas Losy de Losys, who in turn married a woman from the family de Mora "ex matre de Brochis." Three children were born of this union: Johann Anton (father of the composer), Johann Baptist, and a daughter Jakobina. The latter two remained their entire lives in Switzerland.

Before pursuing the career of Johann Anton Losy the Elder, we should mention a side branch of the family, whose name often appears in the Prague archives and causes some confusion. Johann Baptist remained, as indicated above, in Switzerland. After his marriage to Maria (whose maiden name is unknown), a son Sebastian Losy was born in Purz. Sebastian followed his uncle to Bohemia, was supported and promoted by him, and finally became royal director of the salt mine in Linz, Upper Austria. On 15 June, 1676 he was raised to the nobility, granted an improvement in his coat-of-arms, and given the title "von Losenau." Three sons were born to Sebastian Losy von Losenau: Sebastian Gregori, Johann Libori, and Johann Baptist. The last studied in Prague at the Jesuit University, wrote a dissertation entitled "Misellenea et utroque jure excerpta,"\(^{23}\) and became licentiate. He died the following year and was buried in the St. Galli Cemetery in the Prague Old Town. The Losys von Losenau can be traced in Prague into the nineteenth century. One of them, a son of Sebastian Gregori von Losenau, Heinrich, owned a house (conscription no. 832) on Langengasse in the Prague Old Town.\(^{24}\)

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lutenist's works found in manuscript copies. The spellings Logi, Logy, Loggy, and others, also occur. In this study I will consistently use the orthography Losy, although the French spelling still appears today in many music editions. It is high time that we give back to the composer Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal his real family name.

\(^{22}\) This decree is published in Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p. 75.

\(^{23}\) University Library, Prague, Sign 65 E 4706.

\(^{24}\) František Ruth, *Kronika královsky Prahy* [Chronicle of the Royal City of Prague]. Prague, 1904, p. 236.
The father of the lutenist Losy, Johann Anton Losy de Losys, was born about 1600 in Switzerland, but came to Bohemia as a young man, as did so many other adventurers and mercenaries, lured by the business opportunities spawned by the Thirty Years War. The first reference to his stay in Prague dates from 1627 when he bought the house “At the three little bells” (“Zu den drei Glöckchen”), conscription no. 182, on what is today Thungasse.25 The sum the young Losy had to pay was not small: 300 florins. From this we can surmise that either he had brought money from home or had already become a wealthy man through successful business ventures. The house had belonged to the Court Surgeon, Andreas Steinmann, who left Bohemia after the Battle of White Mountain due to his Lutheran faith. As we shall see, many of Losy’s other properties were obtained through such opportunities.

Johann Anton Losy de Losys entered the service of the Bohemian Court Chamber and soon became Councillor of the Exchequer and Deputy of the Salt, Beer, and Wine Council on the basis of his commercial ability and good fortune. This appointment laid the foundation for his great wealth. This he further increased by making loans and by deliveries to the army. In the registers of the Fonds militaire in the Czechoslovakian State Archive we often find his name under various orders and commands for supply deliveries.26

On 1 November, 1643 Losy the Elder married Anna Constancie Koller, the daughter of Bartholomäus Koller zu Lerchenried and his wife Elizabeth, née Gruber von Grubeck, in St. Michael’s Church in Vienna. This marriage produced six children: four girls and two boys. Anna Constancie appears to be the eldest daughter; she later married Johann Freiherr von Sporck. A second daughter Katharina Elizabeth married Karl Joachim Count von Breda, died in 1726, and was buried at St. Michael’s in Prague. The third daughter Maria Therese became the wife of Count Ferdinand Christoph von Scheidler. She died in 1696 and was buried in the family crypt at the Hibernia Church in Prague. The presumed youngest daughter was Maria Josepha, who married Johann Anton Baron Pacht von Rajova and died in 1754 in Brünn. She and her fiance at the time were godparents in 1690 to Josepha, the child of the lutenist Antoni Eckstein.27

The two sons of Johann Anton Losy the Elder were the musician of the same name and his younger brother Johann Baptist.

25 Ruth, p. 1045.

26 Václav Liška, Studie o Praze pobělohorské III. Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hl. m. Prahy [A Study and History of Prague after the Battle of White Mountain. Collection of the Prague Historical Society III], Prague, 1935.

27 Vogl, “Aureus Dix und Antoni Eckstein,” p. 44.
The birth dates in the Dobrzensky collection are in part improbable and in no way binding. Johann Baptist seems to have been born in 1652, since there exists a decree of adulthood by his father from the year 1673, and at that time this status was legally set at the age 21.  

Like his brother the lutenist, Johann Baptist studied at the Jesuit University in Prague and finished with a dissertation in 1668. In this slim booklet he sings the praises of the emblems on the Losy coat-of-arms: the crowned Austrian eagle, the swan with a star in its beak, in the middle an F. III (the initials of Emperor Ferdinand III), a mailed fist protruding from a tower gate, three white stripes on a dark background; the shield is borne by two crowned lions; above the shield are three helmets and again the heraldic eagle and swan, all crowned by the initials F. III with the Austrian imperial crown. Johann Baptist is cited in German as poeta academicus.

We learn something of the life of the younger Losy from documents in the Czechoslovakian State Archive in Prague. The life of this young nobleman from a very rich household, however, does not present a pretty picture. In 1677 a merchant and citizen of Prague, Malthasar Septier, requests house arrest for the young Losy and demands payment of 1126 florins, 23 Kreuzer. Similar sums are demanded by the tailor Peter Wolkin for goods delivered, and Donat Häussker Freiherr von Heyden exacts the payment of borrowed money. The total debt upon the death of the younger Losy about 1686 amounted to the considerable sum of 45,887 florins. Johann Baptist Losy appears to have belonged among those profligate Prague youth of wealthy houses, who recklessly squandered their paternal money.

Besides his commercial ability, Losy the Elder also possessed considerable personal courage. This was demonstrated in 1648 at the close of the Thirty Years War when, through betrayal, the Swedes were successful in capturing the Prague Kleinseite on the western bank of the Moldau in a sudden attack. The Imperial troops withdrew fighting to the right bank of the river and students successfully defended the Charles Bridge, so that the enemy was unable to enter the Old Town. By circling the city, the Swedes tried to enter the besieged city from the east. Here Losy the Elder

28 State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM 35/11.  
29 State Archive, Prague, Sammlung Wunschwitz: "Gentilita/symbola/Ilustrissimi Familiae Losyaniae/honori et amori...decta Joanne Baptisto Losy, Sac. Rom. Imp. Comite de Losyntal...anno MDCLXVIII."  
30 State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 31/3, 5, 6, 12.
distinguished himself in defending a breach in the fortifications of the Porzicz Gate. He displayed his intrepidity to such a degree that he was raised to the Bohemian crown nobility in 12 December of the same year and received the title of baronet. During the defense of Prague he armed a free company of nobles and Imperial servants with weapons by his own means, personally commanded the company in battle, and later borrowed money to repair the bulwarks. We even know the names of his officers: his lieutenant was Wenzel Jezberowski, later vice-secretary of Bohemia; his ensign was a certain Benedikt Smolik.\(^\text{31}\)

By a decree of 14 August, 1655, Losy the Elder was granted the title of count and the designation “von Losinthal.” In some documents the spelling is given as “Losimthal,” or even “Losymthal.” The village of Neulosinthal, near Losy’s Tachau possessions, received this name only after the granting of Losy’s title; earlier it had been called Neudonhausen.

Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal the Elder died on 22 July, 1682 at the age of 82 and was buried in the family crypt in the Hibernia Church. This crypt lay in one of the thirteen chapels in the church and was dedicated to St. Antony of Padua. No archival references have survived concerning the mother of the lutenist, Anna Constancia, during the life of her husband. Proceedings against her, however, were instituted upon the liquidation of debts of her younger son Johann Baptist. In 1687 Ernst Steühan demands the payment of 45 florins and adds that he had served as a bookkeeper for sixteen years and the sum of his earnings had been withheld.\(^\text{32}\) Anna Constancia died in 1690 and Losy wrote a tombeau for her that has survived in guitar transcription.\(^\text{33}\)

Old Losy was the model of the baroque man. Thegrand scale of his commercial ventures and his recklessness combined with personal courage were typical of the feudal men of his time. He was unsentimental in his transactions, without sensitivity for the needs of others, and pursued his goals inconsiderately. He had a debtor, who had gotten behind in his payments and offered payment later, thrown into debtor’s prison by four musketeers.\(^\text{34}\) He fought in court with the heirs of the architect Santini de Bassi over small sums,\(^\text{35}\) and for years conducted a lawsuit seeking to obtain the

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\(^{31}\) Antonin Rybicka, *Měšané a studující v r.1648* [Citizens and Students in the Year 1648], Prague, 1870.

\(^{32}\) State Archive, Prague, Sign. NM L 31/4.

\(^{33}\) Prague National Museum, Ms. X L b 209.

\(^{34}\) State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/2.

\(^{35}\) State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/1.
village of Kuriman, only to lose in the end. His intractable will to be in the right can be seen in a letter to the Prague magistrate, in which he protested against the chimney sweep Demartini, who "through carelessness almost caused a fire in the attic of his palace." No artistic inclinations, such as stand out so clearly in his elder son, are evident in him, although he seems, through the engagement of the lutenist Achazius Kazimir Huelse as the valet of his son, to have supported the latter’s tendencies to musical education; at least he did not hinder them.

The family possessions, which consisted of landed estates and houses in Prague, were divided by the elder Losy into two estates in fee-tail under the names of his two sons. These were united after the death of Johann Baptist into one estate and fell upon the death of the elder Losy to the older brother Johann Anton, the lutenist. The possessions of the Losys were so great that Stötzels’s report that Losy the musician drew 80,000 florins annually from his estates in rent does not seem implausible. Many of these properties in Bohemia had been bought cheaply as they had been affected by the Thirty Years War and were burdened with large debts. Losy the Elder acquired other properties from the confiscated possessions of Protestants who had to leave the country after the Battle of White Mountain. Of particular importance was a building Losy bought in 1637 on Hibernia Street (Hybernergasse or Hybernská) in the Prague New Town from Franz Chiesa. Like Losy, the Chiesas were foreigners, who had gained importance as tax inspectors of the Salt, Beer, and Wine Council. Chiesa had bought the building for speculative purposes earlier the same year from the agents of the widow of the executed Commissar of the Diet, Valentin Kochanowzki from Prachttitz, for 3600 of Meissen currency. In 1648

36 State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/9.
37 Prague City Archive, letter of 23 July, 1678.
38 Johann Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte (1740), new edition by Max Schneider, Berlin, 1910, p. 171.
39 An example of such a purchase is the land, castle, and town of Tachau. On 6 May, 1664 an appraisal of this property was decreed by the governor of Bohemia (see Josef Stachlow, Geschichte der Stadt Tachau, Tachau, 1878). The extensive lands were valued at 265,682 Rhenish florins. Losy acquired them for 116,000 and 1000 florins deposit, less than half the appraised value. The purchase was confirmed in December of the same year by Emperor Leopold I. It should be mentioned, however, that the castle was burned down by the Swedes in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years War, the villages of the dominion were deserted, and the fields untended and gone to seed. An example of the deprivation and misery of the people during the war was the village Černikov, which belonged to the dominion of Steken. Before the war in 1615 it had 170 inhabitants; in 1646, still before the Swedish attack, there were only 28 souls left. The population increased only slowly after the war; Černikov had just 36 inhabitants in 1653.
Losy bought the adjoining building from Ferdinand Anton Chiesa for 9000 florins and a hundred *Thaler* deposit. This house, too, had been confiscated from a Protestant, Müllner von Mühlhaus. The third adjoining house, actually only a ruin, he bought for one hundred *Thaler* from Daniel Archezius and the widow Ludmila Jemnicka. The value was only in the land; the house was uninhabitable.

About 1660 Losy commissioned the Italian architect Carlo Luragho to rebuild the three buildings into a palace. The result still carries the construction number II/1033, Hibernia Street 7. The palace had a large garden, a lovely loggia that connected the side tract with the main building, and inside one still today finds painted ceilings and stucco-work. The façade was redone in the eighteenth century by the architect Philipp Heger, after the building no longer belonged to the Losys. In the middle projection he added a columned portico with balcony to the main portal; this was removed in 1936. After the male line of the Losys died out, the palace came into the possession of Count Windeschgrätz and later Count Kinsky, Beethoven's patron. Kinsky sold it to a Viennese insurance company, which in turn sold it in the nineteenth century to the Social-Democratic Party. Today the palace serves as a Lenin Museum.

A second important Losy property was the estate and castle Steken in the Strakonitz District of Southern Bohemia. In 1638 Losy the Elder had been awarded the estate of Johann Anton Eggenberg, gentleman of Krumau, but only in 1648 could he establish his right of possession. Steken is a rectangular castle on a gently rising, but rocky, hill in the midst of an English park, now gone to seed, with a lovely arcaded courtyard and a chapel dedicated to St. Barbara. Above the portal and in the great hall the Losy coat-of-arms can still be seen today. The castle has now been converted into a home for the elderly.

Steken Castle, somewhat apart from the great military road to Southern Bohemia, was the sole possession of Losy to escape the war. The house in the *Kleinseite* had been plundered and rendered uninhabitable by the Swedes when they captured the left bank of the

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40 State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/8.

41 Losy the Elder acquired many other properties, of which the following might be mentioned. In 1648 he bought the Hammerstadt estate in the Czaslau District from Burjan Ladislaus von Waldstein, who had gotten excessively in debt (see J. Siebmacher and R.J. Maraviglia, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, Nuremberg, 1886). The estate consisted only of farm buildings; a palace or livable house was missing. In 1654 Losy the Elder bought the land and castle Čenice near Brandeis on the Elbe (Marie Haasova-Jelinkova, *Berni rula 18, Kraj Kouřimski* [Steurrolle 18, Kauzimer Kreis], Prague, 1952) and increased his holdings the following year through the purchase of Winteritz near Kaanen in Northern
The façade of the Losy palace on Hibernia Street, Prague, as it appears today. (Photograph by D.A. Smith)
Moldau in 1648 and the palace on Hibernia Street was not yet built, the property consisting of two uninhabitable buildings and a ruin. Fear of epidemic and death by starvation would have led the family to take refuge in the castle in Southern Bohemia after the liberation of Prague, in which Losy had personally taken part with his company. Steken had been spared the plundering of the withdrawing soldiers of General Württenberg. Here in Steken, later to become the widow’s seat of the musician’s mother, undoubtedly was born the lutenist Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to establish Losy’s exact birthdate and, along with previous writers, have had to content myself with an assumption about his birthplace. In all probability, however, Steken is the birthplace of the composer; the genealogical collection of Count Dobrzensky in the Prague State Archive, indeed, gives it as the birthplace of all the children of the House of Losy. On the other hand, Dobrzensky clearly is incorrect in giving the date of birth as 1684. One secure point in Losy’s life is the date of his graduation as a Doctor of Philosophy. This occurred in the year 1668. Thus Dobrzensky’s date is obviously false. The confusion over the birthdate is made all the greater by Ernst Gottlieb Baron in his Study of the Lute, where together with such misinformation as Losy being ennobled for his outstanding lute playing, we read that Losy at his death was “approximately 80 years” old. It is clear that the age of Losy at death has been confused with that of his father.

The year of Losy’s death has always been known as 1721. Therefore, it was only a matter of finding out which parish in its diocese included the palace on Hibernia Street, in which Losy died. I was fortunate enough to find in the church records of the parish of St. Heinrich in the Prague New Town that Losy was 71 at his death. We may, therefore, assume that Losy was born about 1650. This date gains credence when we remember that Losy’s brother, Johann Baptist, was declared legally of age by his father in 1673 and, thus, probably born in 1652 as the younger brother of the musician. In all

Bohemia (see Friedrich Bernau, Geschichte der ehemaligen Herrschaft Winternitz, Komotai, 1877). From the heirs of Colonel Philipp Husmann von Namedy he acquired the town and dominion of Tachau. In 1664 Losy the Elder appointed a new burgave of Tachau, the Italian Anton Casanova de Juri. His son Johann Anton Casanova received his doctorate in 1669 at the University of Prague “under the Protectorate,” as it reads in the title of the dissertation, of the young doctor of philosophy Johann Anton Losy, the lutenist. The Losys must have had close connections with the Casanovas; on 19 January, 1659 old Losy was godfather at the christening of a younger brother of the future doctor of philosophy. The christening took place in the Church of St. Galli in the Prague Old Town and the child was christened Carolus Josephus Joannes.

42 Baron, p. 68.
likelihood, Losy's birthdate will never be precisely established. The church registers for Steken, which lie today in the State Archive in Wittingau, begin only with the year 1687; the preceding ones were destroyed by fire.

The first date in Losy's life that can be securely documented is his matriculation in the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. Koczirz cites the entry from the "Matricula seu album universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis." This book was removed from Prague during World War II and is now lost. It contains the years 1654-1723, beginning with the year of the uniting of the Jesuit College with the rest of the Charles University. According to the entries in this matriculation book, Losy matriculated in 1661. The entries on the completed baccalaureate and the awarding of the doctorate in the philosophical faculty have been preserved. According to the latter, Losy received the baccalaureate on 6 June, 1667 and graduated as doctor of philosophy on 15 August, 1668. We should not be surprised that an 18-year-old noble from an influential Catholic house could receive this academic degree at such an early age, especially when we consider the course of study in those days. Losy could enter the collegium parvum or the studia inferiora at age nine; the prerequisite was the ability to read and write. Until this point he was probably educated by a tutor. After six years of studia inferiora, which corresponds to today's middle school—more preparation was not required—he commenced at 15 his studies in the philosophical faculty of the university. The study of philosophy, which at that time was the domain of the Jesuits, lasted three years. The object of study in the first year was logic, in the second year physics was read, and studies were ended after the third year with metaphysics. To these studies were added instruction in ethics and mathematics during all three years. If we consider the preceding process, it will not appear impossible that Losy could have attained the degree doctor of philosophy at age eighteen. For this reason it is unnecessary to postulate an earlier birthdate.

Losy published his dissertation, in accordance with the taste of the time. This publication contains the only known portrait of the young Losy and is the only portrait to survive. Koczirz, who first called attention to this publication, probably never saw it, otherwise

44 "Matricula universitatis Prag /ensis,rectorum/decanorum/professorum et speciatim in facultate philosophica/graduatorum ab anno unionis /MDCLIV...." Archiv der Karlsuniversitäti, Prague.
45 Alois Kroess, Geschichte der böhmischen Gesellschaft Jesu, Vienna, 1938.
he could not have missed the picture. For his description of the thesis, he relied on a study by Paul Knöttl, who mentioned Losy's dissertation in the course of his description of the library of Freiherr Jobst Hilmar von Knigge. The copy now in the University Library in Prague originally came from the collection of the Prague Lobkowitz family. The volume contains several graphics, which have nothing at all to do with the thesis. They have been described by Pazaurek, who mentioned them during the compilation of the graphic work of Karl Skreta, but without mentioning the topic that concerns us here.

Losy's thesis is a thin, large, folio volume bound in parchment. It contains some printed pages of the actual thesis and seven pages of copper engravings. The title Conclusiones philosophicae, seu philosophia Margaritis exornata betrays its dedication to Empress Margarete, the wife of Emperor Leopold I. The text of the dissertation is almost unreadable today with its baroque convolutions, and contains numerous more-or-less appropriate quotations from classic Latin authors. The primary goal is the glorification of the House of Hapsburg and particularly the Imperial couple, Leopold I and Margareta of Spain. The most valuable part of the publication is the seven copper engravings (28x38 cm) by the Prague painter and graphic artist Karl Skreta (1610-1674). Pazaurek describes only six of the seven leaves, but does so very well.

The first leaf, for us the most important, is a dedication to the Emperor who, clad in Roman armor, receives a shell with a pearl from the hand of the Madonna with the Christ child nestled against her. In the background Nereids and sea-gods symbolize the marine power of Spain. Above them waves the Spanish flag. In the foreground stand men with symbols of generosity and loyalty—the open eye in the palm of a hand and hunting hounds. We, however, are most interested in the youth in the right foreground. He wears the costume of the period after the Thirty Years War, has long locks of hair, and looks admiringly up at the Madonna. Before the Emperor he unrolls a thesis, which has his name in its title. This is the 18-year-old Count Losy, the later-celebrated lutenist.

Such dedication pages were common at the time and Skreta executed several others. Together with the engraver Bartholomäus

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46 Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p. 76.
48 University Library, Prague, Sign. 65 A 24.
49 Gustav Pazaurek, Karl Skreta, Prague, 1889.
The first leaf of Losy's thesis.
Kilian the Younger from Augsburg (1630-1696), he illustrated the dissertations of Karl Maximilian Lazansky, two brothers Sternberg and Ferdinand von Althan, and Johann Walderode von Eckhausen.\(^50\)

Like so many young nobles from rich houses, Losy probably embarked upon the customary cavalier’s tour of European capitals after the successful completion of his studies. We have no direct references to it, except for the notice in Rybicka in which he speaks of Losy’s trip to Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium, but without mentioning the source of his information. The fact that Losy visited the European capitals after his graduation seems not improbable if one thinks of the cavalier tours of Johann Adam von Questenberg, lord of Jaromerice in Moravia, from the years 1697 to 1699, in which he even records payments for instruction with a lute teacher in Italy.\(^51\) We know of Losy’s stay in Leipzig about 1697 and of a musical contest between him, Hebenstreit and Kuhnau.\(^52\) On hearing Hebenstreit’s playing Losy is said to have exclaimed, “I have been in Italy, heard all the beautiful things music has to offer, but nothing like this ever met my ears.” Thus, a stay in Italy for Losy is probable, but he could not have heard much that was new in lute playing there, since at that time the lute in Italy was in its period of steepest decline. On the other hand, he could have been introduced to one or another of Denis Gaultier’s students in Paris and taken lessons. Losy’s precise knowledge of the broken Parisian style testifies to intimate acquaintance with the art of this center of the at-that-time new lutenistic art. Whether his model was Charles Mouton, Dufaut, or another student of Gaultier cannot be determined.

After the death of his father in 1682, when Losy was 33, he took over his share of the inherited estate, and after the premature death of his spendthrift brother he became the sole heir and thereby owner of both combined estates and of the entire wealth that the elder Losy had accumulated during and after the war. Johann Anton Losy, Count von Losinthal was also heir to high state office. He held the office of Councillor (Kammerrat) to the Bohemian Crown. His office compelled him often to travel and stay in the Imperial capital, Vienna. There he lived in his house, a garden building on the Gasse zum Stadtgut in the Leopoldstadt District.\(^53\) In Vienna he consummated both of his marriages and there his children were born.

\(^{50}\)Pavel Berger and Jan Herain, *Karel Skreta*, Prague, 1910.


of whom two died at an early age. Losy was first married to Sophie Polyxena von Grosseg, who died in Vienna on 21 October, 1696 at the age of 40. This marriage produced a son who died in 1685 shortly after birth. After the death of his first wife, Losy married the Countess Franziska Claudia Strassoldo. Before the marriage he requested the encumbrance of 50,000 florins upon his property at Tachau, payable to his bride. Losy's signature is preserved in this document.\textsuperscript{54} A second signature survives in another document pertaining to the freeing from indenture of an orphan, a certain Franz Baloun from Ctenice.\textsuperscript{55} From this second marriage were born two children: a daughter Maria Anna, born 3 February, 1703, who died after two years, and a son Adam Philipp, born in 1705. Adam Philipp was the last of the Losy line. He lived primarily in Vienna, inherited the musical talent of his father, and periodically played contrabass in an amateur orchestra made up of cavaliers from the court. He died on 21 April, 1781. Since there was no male heir to inherit the great wealth of the estate, this fell after years of legal proceedings, which appeared in book form,\textsuperscript{56} to Johann Nikolaus Count von Windischgrätz.

Above we made reference to an exclamation made by Losy that is supposed to prove that the lutenist had visited Italy. This exclamation stems from the report of an informal musical competition arranged by Losy in 1697 between himself; Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722), Bach's predecessor as cantor at the Thomasschule; and Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1669-1750). Hebenstreit had developed a form of enlarged dulcimer later named after its inventor, the "pantaleon." This instrument, one of the forerunners of the pianoforte, clearly impressed Kuhnau, who wrote at length on it in a letter dated Leipzig, 8 December, 1717.

This instrument has the advantage over the \textit{Clavieren} that one can play it with \textit{force} and then \textit{piano}, when a great \textit{momentum dulcedinis & gratiae musicae} occurs. This is to say nothing of the special variation, whereby the tangents or hammers can be used now bare, now wound with cotton or something else. About twenty years ago, at the time when Monsieur Pantalon [Hebenstreit] still played \textit{maître de danse} here, the noble and excellent lutenist Count Logi arranged a little concert (\textit{Concertigen}) between him, Pantalon and me. The Count permitted himself to be heard on his instrument as the \textit{Orchestre} demands from one who asserts the name of a virtuoso

\textsuperscript{54}State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35 from 21 January, 1700.  
\textsuperscript{55}State Archive, Wittingau, Sign. BSAU 50 g.  
\textsuperscript{56}Edited by Fr. Gerzabek. University Library, Prague, Sign. 25 C 15.
and master, with very learned preluding (praebuliren), and with a lovely and galante Partie, with all imaginable delicatesse. I did what I could on my Clavicordio, and was even then in accord with the opinion of the Orchestre on this matter, that such an instrument, though quiet, serves best for practicing and good expression of harmony on the keyboard (Clavier). Finally Monsr. Pantalon showed his skill, and after he had demonstrated his musical treasure in various kinds of preluding, improvising (fantasiren), and all sorts of caprices with the bare sticks, he finally bound up the sticks with cotton and played a partie. The Count was quite beside himself; he led me out of his room and across the hall, listened from afar, and said: "Ey, was ist das? I have been in Italy, have heard all the beautiful things music has to offer, but nothing like this ever met my ears before.

The first writer to mention Losy was the lutenist Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee, who published Losy's "Courante extraordinaire" in his Cabinet der Lauten (Breslau, 1695). How highly Le Sage esteemed the Prague lutenist is shown by the copper engraving and the foreword to this collection. The frontispiece depicts a cherub pulling the curtain from in front of five books lying on a stage. The books are stacked on top of each other; the lowest one lies with its spine turned away from the viewer, so that we cannot read the name of the author. The four books on top, however, have the names of famous lutenists inscribed on their spines. From the lowest we read: Gaultier, Mouton, Dufaut, and on top Losy. The honor is not only to be understood from Losy's name appearing among the most famous lute composers of the time, but that he also is considered a pupil or continuater of one of the most famous lutenists of the Parisian school. Yet we could prove only with difficulty that Losy had been a student of Dufaut. In the foreword to the Cabinet we read in the flowery baroque language of the time: "There is here nothing foreign, save a single courante of the incomparable Count Logi, who is now the Prince of all Artists on this instrument."
During the last years of his life Losy lived in his Prague palace on Hibernia Street. There the Kapellmeister Stölzel visited him in 1715. Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749) had just come from Italy and spent almost three years in Prague, where he attained an intimate acquaintance with the musical life of the city. Here he composed three operas: “Acis und Galathea,” “Venus und Adonis,” and “Das durch die Liebe besiegte Glück.” In his frequent visits to Count Losy he won insight into the private life and the daily activities of the musician, who by then was quite elderly. Johann Mattheson published Stölzel’s report in his *Grundlage zu einer Ehrenpforte*:

Upon your Grace’s demand I respectfully report that, upon my sojourn in Prague, His Highness Count von Logi was already a man of advanced years, though of agile mind. As a man who annually received 80,000 florins from his lands, he played the lute as well as one who makes a profession of it, in a nice, full-voiced, mostly broken French style, complete and learned, since he had mastered the fundamentals of composition. This commonly happened mornings for some hours in his bed, where he sat playing a small lute, which I often had the honor to hear. If he had an idea that particularly appealed to him, he wrote it down immediately and locked it up afterwards in a box especially kept for this purpose.

After the midday meal he usually played the violin in a room where his very good sounding harpsichord stood, which served to accompany [the violin]. I cannot sufficiently describe how his Grace made use of the beauties of music for his pleasure. For many a passage that contained something charming would be repeated three or four times and quite anatomized. He dwelled upon a well-placed dissonance, in order to savor it completely, often very long, and called out “È una nota d’oro,” that is, “It is a golden note.” Yet he never showed more pleasure than when he hit upon a passage approximately in the Lullian or Fuxian style. For these two masters, Lully and Fux, were his special favorites. And so in the evenings his musical Divertissement ended with something out of the printed operas of Lully.

At the time the Count would have been approximately 65 years old. Stölzel’s report that he spent his mornings in bed playing the lute may perhaps mean that Losy was already ill and required by his doctors to spend half the day in bed. Since he did not wish to do without his beloved lute playing even then, he solved the problem in this rather unusual, but entirely understandable, manner. Count Losy appears to have suffered from heart trouble, since the entry in the death register reports that he died of dropsy. The Count could easily

61 Pp. 171-172.
have become familiar with the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully in Paris. The situation is different with the music of Johann Josef Fux, which is said to have first reached the stage in 1708. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that Losy had gotten to know these operas on his frequent stays in Vienna through copies.

Stölzel tells us that, next to the lute, Losy also played the violin skillfully. Some copies of violin compositions by Losy have survived; unfortunately, they are only fragments without accompaniment of another instrument, and are hence of no value for our study. There is nowhere any mention of the Count playing the guitar. I will explain my standing on this matter in the second part of this study, but will now state that all speculations that Losy played the guitar or composed for it are completely without foundation.

Stölzel also reports that Losy locked up especially good ideas for his compositions in a little case. To this can be added Baron’s comment about his manner of composing away from home:

Count Losy is said to have been so pensive about the instrument [the lute] that he often took it along on journeys and when a good idea came to him he had the horses stopped and recorded it in his tablet.

Count Losy’s character was described by Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, who united the person of Losy and his valet and lute teacher Huelse into one distorted figure. Dlabacz maintained that Losy had been a cheerful man, full of clever ideas and gestures, and gifted with the ability to imitate other people’s speech. This is actually the description of Achazius Kazimir Huelse found in Baron’s Study of the Lute.

Huelse was a man full of jolly and ingenious ideas, who could imitate anyone’s voice and speech so naturally that listeners were astonished. He was also a composer himself, and he derived his greatest pleasure from expressing all sorts of affections in his compositions.

The Count was especially fond of Huelse, and when the latter had subsequently returned ill to Nuremberg, Losy visited him there, supported and cared for him. We know nothing of Huelse’s origins, although as mentioned above, his forenames suggest a Silesian or perhaps Polish background. Baron writes that Huelse suffered from dropsy before his death and that, with the swelling over his entire

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62 Andrea Köchel, Johann Josef Fux, Vienna, 1872.
63 Baron, p. 67.
64 Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, Allgemeines historisches Künstlerlexikon für Böhmen, Prague, 1815.
65 Baron, p. 68.
body caused by the disease, he "resembled a monster more than a man." Losy seems to have suffered from the same disease before his death; this is probably the cause of Dlabacz's confusion.

As to Count Losy's own character, we presume a quiet, reserved personality, appropriate for a high official of the Bohemian crown, a doctor of philosophy, and a wealthy noble. In none of the surviving documents is there any indication that he inherited the litigious and irascible character of his father. The prodigality of his younger brother is similarly nowhere documented about him and seems to have been foreign to his nature. On the contrary, we know of his concern for the welfare of his wife, whom he made financially independent. As the owner of much land and the lord of many indentured servants, we find numerous dispensations that stem from him and which were intended to make life easier for his subjects. He approved the weekly markets in Tachau, which the former, violent owner Philipp Husmann von Namedy had previously forbidden. Similarly, the butchers of Winternitz, beginning in 1698, were permitted to join in a guild. He granted the same permission to the Winternitz masons in 1720. In his will he remembered his employees with monetary gifts and provided that the servants receive double wages. The will also stipulated that his debtors were to have the amount of their debts reduced to one fourth.

Above I mentioned the wealth that Losy inherited as sole heir after the death of his father. Therefore, it is inconceivable that he would have played the lute in public concerts as some commentators have maintained. Nonetheless, I assume his passive participation in the founding of the Prague Academy, an association designed to promote the first public concerts in Prague. One of the signers of the request for permission to do so, which was submitted in 1713, was the lutenist Georg Adalbert Kaliwoda. Paul Nettl indicates that Freiherr Josef Ludwig von Hartig was an aristocratic Protector and adds that the Freiherr (baron) was granted the title of Count on 20 February, 1719. In Losy's will, written on 9 August, 1721, a Josef Hubert Freiherr von Hartig signed as a witness. Since he doubtless belonged to the inner circle of the Count's friends, his love of music would have united him and the lutenist. His is probably the Protector at the founding of the musical Academy. We can assume that Losy, too, supported these efforts. Another figure in the circle around the

66 Franz Herzig, Zeittafel zur Chronik von Tachau und Umgebung, Tachau, 1937.
67 Friedrich Bernau, Geschichte der ehemaligen Herrschaft Winternitz, Komotai, 1877.
Count was Josef Franz Löw von Erlsfeld, who had three doctorates and was the physician who treated Losy. He also signed Losy’s will as a witness. In his biographical account published by Mattheson, Stölzel mentions a Freiherr von Hartig, although without mentioning a forename, and a musician friend named Adlersfeld with whom he stayed in Prague:

Then I traveled over Linz to Prague and stayed there almost three years. Among the music lovers there [in Prague] Herr Anton von Adlersfeld must properly be placed foremost; it was in his house that I had the honor to stay most contentedly for the entire time. Next to this I had the good fortune to spend many hours a week, yes, even entire days of music-making with the now departed Count Logi, and often to hear Freiherr von Hartig on the Clavier. 69

We might raise the question whether the very similar names Adlersfeld and Erlsfeld might not have been confused and that Stölzel actually stayed at the home of Ritter von Erlsfeld.

From all this we infer that the musician Losy also chose his friends from musical circles. They were not all nobles, as the example of Antoni Eckstein demonstrates. We can prove a direct connection between this bourgeois lutenist and the house of Losy. Eckstein married a female subject of the Count’s; she probably had worked at Losy’s palace in Prague.

Koczirz postulated the death of Count Losy in the period between 9 August, 1721, the day when the will was written and signed, and 2 September of the same year, when the will was recorded in the state registry. 70 In contrast to the information received by Koczirz that a death entry could not be found in the Prague registry, I succeeded quite easily in finding the pertinent notice under the date 22 August, 1721 in the death book of the parish of St. Heinrich in the Prague New Town. Actually the palace on Hibernia Street where the Count died belonged to the parish of St. Peter in the German Peter Quarter of the New Town, but the pastors of the two parishes seem to have had some kind of agreement. At any rate, the pastor of St. Peter apparently made no protest that the death entry was recorded at St. Heinrich. The pastor at the latter parish, Pastor Schönplflug, left the administration of the actual last rites to a Jesuit priest named Wolf and pleaded absence. Schönplflug had held his position only two years, and we can, therefore, understand that he left the administration of the sacraments to the Jesuits. The death entry is the only evidence we have concerning the

69 Mattheson, Grundlage, p. 345.
correct year of Losy’s birth, because it gives his age. The entry reads, in translation from the Czech:

Von Losi, buried praevia parochialis juris contentatione, the high-born Lord, Count excell. Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal, 71 years old, of dropsy, provided by me, sac. viatico with my permission in absentia by the priest Wolf of the Society of Jesus, with extreme unction, lies in the Hibernian Church, item testor Johann Bernhard Schönpflug pastor of St. Heinrich. 71

In his will Losy remembered his confessor, the Jesuit priest Wolf, with 1500 florins for the erection of an altar at St. Clement, the principal church of the Jesuits. This bequest shows us that since the time of his studies he had been under the influence of this powerful order. His bequest to the servants of the house was mentioned above. He also remembered his doctor Löw von Erlsfeld with a monetary gift. 72

According to Baron, the death of the Count was announced three weeks after the event when the following was written:

It is now three weeks ago that our beloved father of the lute, namely Count Losy, left everything behind and journeyed from this world into eternity. When it was announced to him three weeks ago that he would not recover, he said, "A Dio lutes, a Dio violins!" 73

Like his father before him, the lutenist was buried in the family crypt. This had been built by the elder Losy in the Antonius Chapel of the church of the Immaculate Conception in Prague’s New Town, not far from the palace on Hibernia Street. The street had been named Hibernia after the Irish monks of the Franciscan Order who had built the church and the church was often referred to by the same name. The structure was erected in 1659 in the Italian style, closed during the Josephine Reform in 1786, and secularized four years later. It was sold to Count Johann Franz Christian Sweet-Spork, who, for awhile, maintained it as a theater. About 1810 the façade received its present form in the Empire style and the building was remodeled as a storehouse for a tobacco monopoly. During this construction the Losy crypt was demolished.

The great lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss bid a column farewell to the Count in his “Tombeau sur la Mort de Mr. Comte de Logy


72 Losy’s will is published in Koczúr, “Österreichische Lautenmusik,” pp. 91-92.

73 Baron, p. 68.
arrivée 1721. Composée par Silvio Leopold Weiss." Thus did one
great lutenist commemorate, according to ancient custom, another
great musician who had preceded him in death.

This article has been translated and revised by Douglas Alton Smith and
Peter Danner. A copy of the original German transcript has been deposited
in the Microfilm Library of the Lute Society of America.

REVIEWS

BOOKS


The town of Füssen in the southwestern corner of Bavaria is known today beyond South Germany only because of its proximity to Neuschwanstein, the fairy-tale castle built by the eccentric King Ludwig II a century ago. Its prominence in earlier times, however, was greater. Since the 14th century Füssen had been the southern seat of the Bishopric of Augsburg, and although small, it was located strategically on one of the two major trade routes from Italy to Germany, the Via Claudia Augusta. As early as 300 A.D. the Romans erected a fort on the top of the hill at Füssen, which guarded the River Lech and served as the northern gateway of the Alps. Saint Magnus, the Apostle of the Allgäu (the mountainous region in southwestern Bavaria), completed the conversion of the area’s residents to Christianity and died in Füssen in 772. On the site of his chapel in Füssen was founded the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mang, which was to be the religious and cultural center of the Lech Valley for nearly a thousand years.
Somehow the Lech Valley came to be the cradle of European lute making in the late Middle Ages, and in the Renaissance and baroque it remained the primary source of luthiers. Many of its journeyman instrument makers emigrated and joined or established lute-making workshops in Rome, Venice, Vienna, Prague, and other cities.

Why Füssen? Richard Bletschacher conjectures plausibly that the Hohenstaufen emperors brought the first lutes to Füssen from their seat in the Kingdom of Sicily. Frederick II, who visited numerous South German towns between 1218 and 1237, was raised in Palermo, spoke fluent Arabic, and had Saracen servants. At that time the 'ūd was, of course, the principal Arab musical instrument and was thus probably brought to the Lech Valley. The first German lute makers are documented in Nuremberg and Vienna in the last decades of the 14th century and in Füssen a few decades later, but the craft doubtless was established much earlier. Certainly proximity to good wood was also a factor: in the mountainous surroundings of Füssen grew spruce, maple, and yew, three of the finest sorts of wood for lutes and other stringed instruments.

Both of these new books rely heavily on the pioneering work of Willibald von Lütgendorff in the early part of this century. Even the formats are similar to Lütgendorff's: the first part giving a look at the German instrument-making tradition in various cities, the second an alphabetical encyclopedia of individual luthiers, including biography and list of their surviving instruments. Both go further, however, in presenting very substantial new research and in conclusively identifying the Lech Valley as the primary source of European luthiers from the 15th century until the late 17th, and it remained significant until the 19th century.

Each book has its strengths and weaknesses. Adolf Layer has studied the subject since the 1940s, at least, and gives more new biographical information than Bletschacher, especially materials he gleaned from Italian archives. He is probably also the individual who discovered the original manuscript of the first lute makers' guild; his article on it stems from the 1950s. The full text and a facsimile of the manuscript are given in Bletschacher's book. Bletschacher seems to have consulted Layer's work extensively, but he has done much new archival work in his own home town of Füssen. Layer's index of makers is more comprehensive. Bletschacher, on the other hand, tells a better story: his account of the multiple ravaging of Füssen by armies of both sides during the Thirty Years War is a gripping tale. Bletschacher seems more interested in the general significance of the luthiers and gives a wider historical perspective, but because of this, his focus on individual makers is not as sharp, nor as scholarly (he
offers hardly a footnote, so his statements and conclusions cannot be checked. The illustrations in Bletschacher are substantially better than Layer's, who took some from the old Schlosser catalog of the Vienna collection, but are still not comparable to those in a really fine volume on violins (they are printed in half-tones on the same paper as the text). Each book contains an enormous amount of conjecture; in their efforts to link as many luthiers as possible to Füssen, the authors sometimes strain credibility, although their central point is not seriously weakened.

Unfortunately, neither author knows much about lutes. Illustrations in both books show fake, odd, and altered instruments as well as very fine specimens, without distinction. The real strength of the books is biographical.

It would take an entire volume of this Journal to list all of the intriguing new facts in these books. Allow me to simply mention a few of the more interesting ones, and then to give my translation of the 1562 lute maker guild regulations. I wish to thank Gerhard Christian Söhne for his assistance with the extreme convolutions and archaic expressions found in these regulations.

—Some twenty Tieffenbruckers made instruments between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. They came from the Tieffenbruck farm outside of Rossaupten, near Füssen. Both books contain photographs of the farmhouse as it appears today.
—Yew wood was scarce and regulated by law over four centuries ago, partly because of official protests by the lute makers against logging by foreigners.
—Many luthiers married the widow or daughter of an instrument maker in order to get his shop. Somehow, sex gets dragged into everything.
—Luthiers from Füssen established workshops in Italian cities for a variety of reasons: Füssen was too small to support all of them; Italy was the wellspring of lute playing and the Germans had customers there, so some makers simply stayed there after making a delivery, which then established firmer contact between the Italian players (and sources of exotic wood) and the German makers in and outside of Italy; Italy was untouched by the Thirty Years War, which devastated South Germany.
—In Rome many of the luthiers lived on Via dei Leutari ("Luthier Street"), which still is so called today; there is a photograph in Layer's book. In all, over eighty Germans made instruments in Rome between the 16th and 18th centuries; Buchenberg and Graill are the best known of the Roman lute makers today.
—Venice, Padua, Bologna, and Rome are by no means the only cities in Italy where Germans worked. Naples, Viterbo, Perugia, Siena,
Florence, Modena, Cremona, Pavia, Genoa, Milan, Brescia, Verona, and Trieste are others. The Lech Valley luthiers wandered as far east as St. Petersburg and as far south as Constantinople, and also turned up in London, Paris, and the Netherlands.

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REGULATIONS OF THE LUTE-MAKERS’ GUILD, FÜSSEN, 1562

Benevolent, honorable, magnanimous ruling Lords.

Up to this time, because we were few, a number of craftsmen’s customs have been preserved in our trade. But because we have become more numerous in recent years, steps must be taken (if better regulations are not to be instituted [by you] in this our craft) so that these [customs]—as they were previously observed unwritten—[may become binding]. Quite a few who have never learned the craft are so bold as to become ensconced in it and to do shoddy work and thereby to be detrimental to us and hurt our income, in a way that is tolerated in no other city, nor in any place where craft rules and regulations are observed, and this rightly ought not to be allowed. Therefore, in order to anticipate these and other future difficulties and losses, we have together discussed, agreed, and determined an attempt, in the form of a number of points and articles (though subject to Your Honors’ consent and veto), in which manner order is to be preserved among us in our craft.

In the extent and form as follows:

First, we have agreed on the following regarding apprentices. Namely that every apprentice must learn this trade five full years.

Secondly, every master who wishes to take an apprentice (in the time determined below) must have at least two masters present, so that according to the nature of the matter the tuition money may be determined, and that afterwards, when the apprentice has finished the proper training period, they can present him with a certificate.

Third, every master, when he has taught an apprentice for five years, shall wait three years and teach no one, but after this period he may again take and teach an apprentice in the manner prescribed above.

Fourth, every accepted and employed apprentice shall immediately place one gulden in the coffers of the guild, otherwise he shall not be accepted.

Fifth, when one has completed the five years’ training and wants to work here as a journeyman, he shall owe the coffers of the guild his first month’s earnings and may not refuse to do this. The master with whom he wishes to work must inform him of this in advance so that he cannot decline or appeal claiming lack of knowledge.
Sixth, no one shall be accepted here as a master if he has not, as stated above, properly and honestly learned [the trade] and in addition worked three more years (after the here-determined five years of apprenticeship) here or elsewhere as a journeyman before he marries.

Seventh, when one wants to become a master, he shall be required to make with his own hands a lute and all its accessories and demonstrate it to the guild as a masterpiece; the guild shall then determine whether it is sufficient for a masterpiece or not. If then this person's presentation is found good and appraised and he is thus passed, then he shall be accepted into the guild as a master. He shall then be required to deposit two gulden in its coffers.

Eighth, when one has become a new master, he shall, for three years, have no power nor permission to take an apprentice. But at the end of these three years he should and may take and teach an apprentice according to the principles outlined above. The son of a master in the guild here, however, may be forgiven one of the above-mentioned three years. That is, when he has become a new master, he must only refrain for two years from teaching an apprentice.

Ninth, if it shall happen that one who has completed and passed four [sic!] years of apprenticeship and also completed the three journeyman's years wishes to become a master here and practice his trade without being married (assuming that he has passed the test of the masterpiece), he must own his own household and tools. Otherwise he shall not be empowered as a single man to practice the trade here; he will be prevented from doing this and will be punished by the guild.

Finally, a number of citizens who have not learned the trade here have dared to buy lute staves and to plane them and sell and brand them independently. This, however, is not only a burden for us and hinders us in competition with other towns, but also damages our good name; therefore, in the future no one, no matter who, shall be allowed to practice this branding. Rather, he shall be put out of business by the guild and also punished according to the judgment of the guild, unless he has learned this craft properly and honestly and has become a member of the guild.

Wherewith Your Honors have heard in brief the summary of our craft customs. Obediently requesting, Your Honors shall not only herein graciously approve, but also ratify the guild regulations we have drawn up and support us in carrying them out. Because we, in contrast to other craftsmen, do not earn money here, but rather we spend here what we earn in other places, we do not doubt that it is in
Your own interest—as an experiment and subject to your revocation—to approve and empower [these regulations].

Herewith obediently submitted,

Your Honors' obedient fellow citizens,
Masters of the lute maker's guild here

—Douglas Alton Smith


Although interest in the baroque guitar as a serious solo instrument reached its high point in the 1670s and 80s with the publications of Corbetta, de Visée, and Granata, enthusiasm for the instrument continued on to the end of the 17th century in Italy, and even well into the 18th century in Spain and France. Two of the most important guitar composers from this “late period” were the Italian Ludovico Roncalli and the Spaniard Santiago de Murcia. The works of these guitarists are important not only musically, but also historically, since they represent the last significant literature for the instrument in their respective countries.

Roncalli’s works provide a fitting and dignified close to a distinguished tradition of Italian baroque guitar music that began in 1606 with Montesardo. Unfortunately, very little is known about Roncalli himself; what scanty information we have is contained in his only known publication, the Capricci armonici (Bergamo, 1692). The composer may have been a nobleman, since he calls himself “Conte Ludovico Roncalli,” and he was most likely in the service of Cardinal Panfilio, “gran prior” in Rome and legate in Bologna, to whom the Capricci are dedicated.

Roncalli’s book contains nine sonate or suites, each containing 5-7 movements. Each suite begins with a preludio and alemanda, which are followed by dance forms such as the corrente, gigua, sarabanda, gavotta, etc. The pieces comprise a mixture of battuto (strummed) and pizzicato (plucked) textures, with the pizzicato element predominating, a characteristic of most late 17th-century baroque guitar music. Despite their Italian titles, the works show
some French influence, especially in their textural approach to the instrument.

While Roncalli's music does not display the coloristic genius of Corbetta, or the highly-developed virtuosity and motivic development of Granata, it nevertheless possesses a fine sense of formal balance, lyrical melody, and an inventive use of harmony that often gives rise to elegant harmonic sequences. Indeed, the Capricci armonici contain some of the finest Italian music written for the instrument.

Also very little is known about the Spanish guitarist Santiago de Murcia. In the early years of the 18th century, he was guitar instructor to the Spanish Queen, Maria Luisa Gabriela of Savoy, the first wife of Philip V. In Madrid in 1714 he published a treatise on continuo accompaniment which also contained a number of solo works for guitar. However, his most important contribution to the baroque guitar literature is a large manuscript collection of pieces dated 1732, and dedicated to a Señor Don Joseph Albarez de Saavedra; entitled "Passacalles y obras de guitarra," this manuscript is now owned by the British Library, London.

The 1732 manuscript is a mammoth anthology, containing 14 long passacalles, 11 "obras" or suites, and one sonata. As is the case with the Roncalli works, de Murcia's pieces utilize both rasqueado and punteado textures, with punteado predominating. All the suites begin with the same four types of movement—preludio, alemanda, corrente, and zarabanda—and then conclude with several additional dances. These additional movements often comprise the usual late 17th-century dance types such as the giga, gabota and menuet; however, dances typical mainly of the 18th century are also found, such as the rigadon, buree, rondo and marcha. In general, the obras contain from 6-11 movements, but one very long suite in D major contains 21 movements. An especially interesting feature of the de Murcia manuscript is that the pieces contain quite extensive left-hand fingerings, which should make them of great importance to students of historical fingering on early plucked instruments.

Since these works were composed during a time of social, political and musical upheaval in Spain, it is not surprising that the collection manifests a pronounced stylistic eclecticism. The passacalles seem to show most the influence of the native Spanish style; here, the repetitive and sequential use of short rhythmic motifs often generates considerable energy and musical excitement. On the other hand, the preludio y allegro movements which open each suite seem more firmly entrenched in the Italian style; in them one notices a more lyrical sense of melody, frequent points of imitation (in the

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allegros), great interest in expressive dissonance, and occasional use of chromaticism. The dance movements are either quite French, or else display the amalgam of French and Italian styles that was becoming so popular in France at the time.

Finally, the French and Italian influence on de Murcia is underscored explicitly by the presence of several borrowings and transcriptions from foreign composers. Two of de Murcia's suites (D minor and A minor) begin with "allemandas" from Robert de Visée's first publication of 1682, while another obra (in C minor) commences with the French-style "Tombeau sur la mort de Madame d'Orleans" from Francesco Corbetta's book of 1671. De Murcia even includes a number of transcriptions from Corelli's violin sonatas, op. 5. In one instance, pieces from Corelli's op. 5 no. 5 and no. 8 are combined to form a sonata, called "Tocata de Corelli" in the manuscript, while in another instance, a "Giga de Corelli" is appended to the suite in C major.

In spite of this diversity of stylistic influences, the 1732 manuscript of de Murcia's works gives an impression of remarkable artistic unity. All the works demonstrate the Spanish guitarist's considerable virtuosity and his masterful usage of all the coloristic and technical devices developed by the important 17th-century players. This brilliant and substantial repertory brings the brief Spanish baroque guitar tradition to an impressive close.

These two significant collections of music by Roncalli and de Murcia have recently been published in facsimile by Editions Chanterelle, a relatively new member of the facsimile-publishing community. Although an address in Monte Carlo, Monaco, is given on the title pages and back covers of these editions, the facsimiles are published with introductory notes in English and printed by Halstan & Co. in England. The general format of the editions is the same: each begins with prefatory material, written by Michael Macmeeken, about the baroque guitar and the specific tablature in question; this is then followed by a facsimile reprint of the original tablature.

The prefaces (the overall plan for which is the same in both editions) consist of the following: a short paragraph placing the work in its historical and musical context, a general introduction to the baroque guitar and its tunings (this section is identical in both editions), an explanation of the tablature in question, a transcription of the chord alphabet in modern notation, a guide to signs and ornaments found in the tablature, a table correlating notes on the guitar fingerboard with the tablature numbers on each course, and finally, a sample transcription of one piece in modern notation with parallel tablature. In these prefaces, Mr. Macmeeken has attempted to provide the reader with basic practical advice. His wish was
obviously to be as concise as possible, giving only essential information about the instrument, the notation, and some aspects of performance practice, while eschewing detailed historical or stylistic discussion of the music.

The prefaces in both of these editions are elegantly printed, and the tablatures are clearly reproduced and very legible. The pages are printed on good quality paper, and both the heavy paper cover and the binding seem sturdy enough to withstand considerable use. The convenient size of these editions (6” x 8”) makes them small enough to handle comfortably, and yet large enough from which to read without problem. Therefore, as far as the physical quality and the legibility of the facsimiles is concerned, one can have few complaints.

Unfortunately, the quality of the prefatory material is not in keeping with the high level achieved in the physical presentation. One problem concerns a number of small errors in spelling and usage. For example, the term appoggiatura is spelled wrongly as “appogiatuera” in both editions. Furthermore, the term “campanela” is used in both books to denote that effect in which the notes of a scalar passage are played alternately between the upper and lower courses, causing the notes to overlap continuously and to produce a bell-like effect; however, the plural—campanelas—is used by Gaspar Sanz and would seem to make more metaphorical sense. Finally, the word “order” is used once in the de Murcia edition to denote “course,” almost as if the editor were translating directly from the French ordre.

A second problem with the prefaces concerns the writing style itself; very often, ideas are not expressed in the clearest way possible. Particularly confusing is the last paragraph of the general introduction to the baroque guitar and its tunings (page iii in both editions).

Thirdly, while the concept behind the prefatory material seems sound enough, the prefaces are in fact somewhat lacking in both content and accuracy. Macmeeken’s stated aim is to provide the reader with information essential to the understanding of the instrument and the tablature, and to give “basic guidance” regarding the performance of the music. However, the prefaces seem a bit too basic, omitting information on several important details; furthermore, they even give misleading advice on certain matters.

For example, no mention at all is made of the pieces by Corbetta, de Visée and Corelli that are found in the de Murcia manuscript. Also, no attempt is made to give a proposed realization of the sign for chordal arpeggiation used by Roncalli (\(\text{\textdegree}\)), even though Pellegrini, Bartolotti, Derosier, Sanz and Matteis all give interesting interpretations of this sign. Furthermore, although he
does attempt to indicate the "approximate sound" of a strummed chord in modern notation, Macmeeken makes no effort to provide the reader with any practical technical advice on the execution of strums.

A further problem concerns the tuning (e', bb, gg, d'd', aa) recommended by Macmeeken for the music of both Roncalli and de Murcia. This tuning—the one championed by Sanz in his *Instrucción de música* of 1674—would definitely not be out of the question for this music, and the frequent *campanelas* passages found in Roncalli and de Murcia certainly would be well served thereby. However, these works would also sound just as well, or even better, with the tuning generally used in France during the last quarter of the 17th century (e', bb, gg, dd', aa). Due to the considerable French influence on these composers (I am thinking here especially of de Murcia's obvious involvement with the music of Corbetta and de Visée), one would imagine that the French tuning might be more appropriate for their works.

The most serious fault in the prefaces, however, is Macmeeken's recommendation that the signs  and  be interpreted as mordent and appoggiatura respectively; on the contrary, the proper interpretation is exactly the reverse. That this is so can be seen easily by glancing through the works of Roncalli, in which the sign  (appoggiatura) is always approached from below whereas notes marked with the sign  (mordent) are often approached by leap; to interpret the comma as an appoggiatura when dealing with a note approached by leap would be quite foreign to the style, as can be seen in the second full measure of the *Alemanda* in D minor from the *Capricci armonici* (p. 44):

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Alemanda} & C & E & & & \\
\text{C} & \text{C} & \text{C} & \text{F} & \text{A} & \text{G} & \text{E} & \text{E} & \text{E} \\
\end{array}
\]

That the sign  must be interpreted as a mordent (and, conversely, the sign  as an appoggiatura) in the works of de Murcia can be seen in the last bar of the well-known *Preludio y allegro* in D minor (folio 68v of the 1732 manuscript) where it is obvious that de Murcia is writing out a *port de voix et pincé*; the execution of this double
ornament clearly would make no sense whatsoever if the comma were interpreted as an appoggiatura:

![Musical Notation]

To sum up, then, the main faults of the prefatory material in these publications from Editions Chanterelle seem to fall into two categories: 1) omission of information pertaining to important details about the music, and 2) inclusion of advice that is misleading, or actually erroneous.

Regarding the first category, I hasten to point out that I am not advocating that an editor make a dissertation out of a preface to a facsimile edition; certainly, there are limits to the amount of detail one need present in an introduction. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that most players would not be interested in learning something about the interpretation of the arpeggiation sign or the execution of strums, or that they would not appreciate knowing about de Murcia's borrowings and transcriptions (they might, for example, wish to consult the original versions of the Corelli pieces and compare them with de Murcia's transcriptions). Indeed, I am not talking here about superfluous or picayune details of only musicological import, but rather about down-to-earth matters of practical interest.

As far as the misleading or erroneous information is concerned, it is clear that this is simply not acceptable. It goes without saying that even if the editor's goal is to impart only basic advice, this advice should be as accurate as possible given the current state of research.

I think the above point should be pursued still further: Especially if the (perfectly reasonable) goal of an editor is to publish only basic information in a preface, this is all the more reason to include references to important primary and secondary sources, so that points covered only cursorily can be studied in more detail by the interested reader. To be sure, Macmeeken does refer to a few primary sources: Corbetta, Derosier, Sanz, Ribayaz. However, the secondary sources to which he refers—articles and books by Richard Hudson, myself, Bruno Tonazzi, Harvey Turnbull, and Thomas Walker—are valuable enough, but limited in scope. A number of
additional very important articles and theses about the baroque guitar have been written by such researchers as Peter Danner, Donald Gill, James Tyler, Richard Keith, Sylvia Murphy, Richard Pinnell and Joseph Weidlich; many of these contain valuable information about performance practice that could be of great help to an uninitiated player tackling Roncalli or de Murcia for the first time.

Thus, the same issue is raised by these new publications from Editions Chanterelle as was raised by the S.P.E.S. edition of Granata’s Capricci armonici (1646) that I reviewed last year in this Journal: the problem of the proper function of an editor in facsimile publications. I would propose that the editor’s task in this regard is twofold: first, he must define a concept of editorial function that is appropriate to the music in question, and secondly, he must try to realize that concept satisfactorily. I feel that Mr. Macmeeken has quite successfully dealt with the first aspect of this task; in fact, for relatively unproblematical tablatures such as these, I am in wholehearted agreement with his concept of the editor as disseminator of basic information about the instrument, the notation, and performance practice. However, it is one thing to have a good concept, and another thing to carry it out. One only hopes that the second aspect of the editorial task—the successful realization of the concept—will be more satisfactorily dealt with in the future, and that subsequent editions from this firm will contain more accurate and helpful prefaxes.

Nevertheless, in spite of the faults enumerated above, these editions of Roncalli and de Murcia are certainly to be recommended to all players interested in the baroque guitar, if for no other reason that the high quality of both the music and the reproduction of the tablature. To make up for some of the problems in the prefaces, those beginning with the instrument may wish to seek further guidance from other sources regarding performance practice. In the meantime, we look forward to new facsimile publications forthcoming in the Editions Chanterelle series.—Robert Strizich


Lute scholars and editors continue to be fascinated by the lute music of Johann Sebastian Bach and the results of their labors have been duly reported in this Journal. In the 1976 issue we commented on Hans-Joachim Schulze’s facsimile edition of the tablature versions of BWV 995, BWV 997, and BWV 1000 preserved in the Leipzig Musikbibliothek, and on W. David Rhodes’s tablature arrangement of
the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro (BWV 998). In 1978 we reviewed Gusta Goldschmidt’s tablature arrangements of five of the six Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin, and Ernesto Cipriani’s highly unorthodox edition of the complete lute works.

While guitar versions of the entire corpus have long existed (for example, in editions by Stingl and Wensiecki), the Cipriani on the surface gives the impression of being the first serious attempt to present Bach’s lute music from the standpoint of the lutenist since H.D. Bruger attempted to transcribe it for 10-course lute in 1925. Unfortunately, it is seriously flawed on a number of counts. Cipriani makes the highly questionable assumption, based upon no discernible historical fact, that Bach intended his compositions for an outlandish 15-course lute (with 12 inlaid frets on the neck and a mensur of 77 cm.) to which was fitted a moveable capotasto with mechanical levers. Cipriani includes a number of facsimiles, but unfortunately, these are far from complete and many are simply specimen pages. Cipriani does provide modern tablature versions of the music, but these are of little value to the performer unwilling to accept the editor’s unfounded theory and unusual scordatura (G, Bb, d, g, c’, eb’ with diapasons tuned to Eb’, F’, G’, A’, Bb’, C, D, Eb, and F).

In the volume under discussion here, Paolo Cherici and the important Italian publishing house Suvini Zerboni have made another attempt to produce a serious edition of Bach’s complete lute works. In his preface Cherici states that this music has not received “its due in terms of meticulous critical attention” and that his aim is “to fill the gap by offering to lutenists and other interested students a reliable and scrupulous tool, with an accurate critical commentary and faithful adherence to the original manuscripts.” Although he admits that “almost all Bach’s lute works need certain fine adjustments to make them performable,” Cherici accepts the view that most of this music was meant for the standard 13-course baroque lute. The exceptions are the Suite in G minor, BWV 995, which requires a 14th course, and the Suite in E minor, BWV 996, which Cherici feels was intended for that rare keyboard instrument the “Lautenwerk.” It is the editor’s view that Bach actually wrote or transcribed more works for the lute than have survived today and also points out that the lute is admirably suited for continuo realization in many of Bach’s cantatas.

Where possible, Cherici has based his text on two sources: Bach’s own autographs and the tablature versions preserved in Leipzig. As has often been pointed out before, there are many discrepancies between these two sources (for example, between the autograph and tablature versions of the Suite in G minor). Cipriani was highly critical of the Leipzig tablatures in his edition, referring to
them as "mediocre" and the work of "doubtful friends." Cherici appears to be of two minds about them. He has included them as part of his basic text remarking that "the tablature may be profitably studied for the ornament therein, which provide us with a good model of the performance practice of the time." At the same time, however, he calls attention to their weakness and states that modern performers will want to make changes based on the other surviving sources, particularly Bach's own autographs. He points to the discrepancies between the tablature and the Berlin copies of the Sarabande to the Partita in C minor, BWV 997 and tells us that Johann Christian Weyrauch, who intabulated this music, "was obviously not a good enough lutenist to be able to cope with the technical acrobatics demanded by the Fugue and Double." He also mentions several weaknesses in Weyrauch's intabulation of the famous Fugue, BWV 1000. The fact that so many discrepancies exist between the various surviving versions, Cherici tells us, makes "the reviser's work extremely difficult."

The edition is divided into two main sections. The first part includes transcriptions of the known lute works. These are presented in their original keys in one staff, G clef notation in which the notes are written one octave above their actual pitch. Cherici has chosen this system because "lutenists are generally accustomed to reading this kind of notation and because the structure of the works in question does not require the use of a double stave." These sentiments will probably receive less than universal approval. The tablatures for BWV 995, BWV 997, and BWV 1000 have been reproduced in modern type above their transcriptions. To avoid a page turn, the Bach autograph of the Allegro to BWV 998 ends in German keyboard tablature, and this has been duly reproduced on page 65. The second section of the book is an appendix offering versions of the same music where it exists for other instruments. This section uses the types of notation most commonly used by the various instruments for which they were intended.

Cherici's edition is remarkably comprehensive. Included in the main text are transcriptions based on the Brussels version from Bach's own hand of BWV 995 and on the Leipzig tablature version of the same Suite, the Krebs manuscript version of BWV 996, the Tokyo autograph of BWV 998, the J.P. Kellner autograph of BWV 999, the Leipzig tablature version of BWV 1000 (to which Cherici has suggested certain revisions), and Bach's own autograph of BWV 10006a. BWV 997 is a composite edition drawing from both the Leipzig tablature and the five Berlin keyboard copies. But this is not the end of Cherici's comprehensiveness: Also included are the scores of the recitative "Der Glocken bebendes Getön" from BWV 198
(which calls for two lutes) and the arioso "Betrachte, meine Seel" from the St. John Passion, BWV 245. The appendix includes the Fifth Cello Suite (BWV 1011), the keyboard versions of BWV 996 and BWV 997, the organ setting of the Fugue in G minor (BWV 539) as well as the solo violin setting of the same piece from the First Violin Sonata (BWV 1001), and finally the Third Violin Partita, BWV 1006.

To these have been added a modest bibliography, a number of facsimiles, several other illustrations, and an introduction in Italian, English and German. The facsimiles have been reproduced four to a page and thus are difficult to read; their inclusion seems mainly to be for the record. Not all the sources have been reproduced, of course, but those that do appear are given in their entirety, unlike what we find in the Cipriani edition. The facsimiles reproduced include the Bach autograph of BWV 995, the Leipzig tablature of the same work by an unknown hand, the Krebs autograph of BWV 996, Weyrauch's tablature version of BWV 997, the Kellner copy of BWV 999, the Leipzig tablature of BWV 1000, and Bach's autograph of BWV 1006a. The editor regrets that permission was not given to reproduce BWV 998, the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro. (A facsimile reproduction of this last can be found in Michael Lorimer's guitar edition of BWV 998 published in 1977 by Shattinger-International.)

How well has Cherici succeeded in his aim to provide "a reliable and scrupulous tool"? The introduction is not as detailed or extensive as it might have been, but it is adequate. As for the music itself, it is next to impossible to be completely error free and, therefore, it is not surprising that certain mistakes have crept in. A random check has uncovered a number of these. For example, a d-sharp is missing in measure six of the Prelude to the Suite in E minor (page 33). Cherici has also missed the ornament on the first beat of this same measure. In measure four of the Courante to the G minor Suite (page 7) Cherici has indicated a low D in the bass, although the autograph score clearly shows this note one octave higher. This is more likely an editorial decision than an error, but in a "scrupulous" edition it should be noted. The reconstructed tablatures also have their share of errors. A bass note is missing in the fifth measure of the Fantasia to BWV 997 (page 42), although the note appears in the transcription directly below. Bass notes are likewise missing in the tablature for the Sarabande to the same Suite (measures five and six) and in the Gigue (measure eleven). In measures 25 and 27 of the Sarabande (page 51) the slurring has been changed without comment to include a third note. On the whole, however, such errors or unreported tinkerings are few and of minor importance. Still, the reader should use caution and check for
mistakes. The music is beautifully engraved on high quality paper and easy to read. The volume is bound in heavy duty cloth.

From a practical point of view, Cherici has not solved the technical problems for the lutenist who may wish to play this wonderful music. What he has attempted to do is to provide the performer with an accurate text in a variety of versions, leaving to the instrumentalist “the responsibility of making those changes which he feels necessary.” In this regard, Cherici has succeeded admirably, although the result is not as meticulous as it might have (or should have) been.

—Peter Danner

RECORDS

BAROQUE DUOS FOR LUTES AND BAROQUE GUITAR. Catherine Liddell Strizich, Renaissance and baroque lutes; Robert Strizich, Renaissance lute and baroque guitar. Titanic Records Ti-40. Duets by Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Besard, Corbetta, Granata, Foscarini, and others.

If an instrumental, long-play phonograph record is to be evaluated objectively, a number of separate categories must be considered. Experience has taught us that the success of a record is determined by many more factors than the verve and emotion displayed by the performers. When recording the music of bygone eras, in particular, the historical accuracy of the performance is critical. This leads us to look into the quality of the instruments played and the character of the arrangements, at the very least. But even with high ratings in these categories, poor recording equipment or unattractive packaging can stifle an otherwise creative effort. The milestones of the recording industry, therefore, are those which rate high in all of these variables. Baroque duos for lutes and baroque guitar by Catherine and Robert Strizich is such a milestone, and our purpose is to discover why.

In the first place, the album establishes a precedent (and for this reason alone I bought it as soon as it was available): it is the first authentic ensemble recording to feature the baroque guitar and its composers. It is difficult to explain why this event has been so long in coming; perhaps the early music movement was initiated in part by 19th-century nostalgia. Whatever the reasons, at the beginning of the 20th century, the lute was receiving the critical attention of many scholars, and since then there has been an ever-increasing number of virtuosi accompanying the explosion of scholarship and interest in this instrument. On the other hand, 20th-century
guitarists have concerned themselves primarily with legitimizing the use of the guitar on the recital stage, bypassing its early repertoire in favor of transcriptions of better-known music for other instruments. Because of this, an intelligent observer could have predicted several decades ago that the early music movement would inevitably come to the guitar. Even so, most guitarists have remained unaware of their own early music until the appearance of accurate transcriptions of their repertoire—efforts such as Robert Strizich's edition of the complete guitar works of Robert de Visée (Paris: Heugel, Le Pupitre No. 15, 1969). Now, with the availability of a handful of authentic recordings of the baroque guitar alone, its success as a featured solo instrument in a small ensemble hinges on this, its first exposure.

The music of side A is decidedly French, even though the first composer represented is English. The first suite is by William Lawes (1602-1645), his only duet for two lutes according to the liner notes. His predilection for French style may be attributed to the queen of Charles I, Henrietta-Maria, who was French. Shortly after her arrival at Dover, she secured a "passe with generall directions for nine French gentlemen, musicions to the Queene, to retourne to France," dated 1 Aug. 1626 in the Acts of the Privy Council of England (1938). Evidently Lawes and other Englishmen were inspired by the presence of Henrietta-Maria's lutenists, who included Jacques Gaultier, Mme. De Fillier, Nicolas Du Vall, and François Richard (the elder), composer of airs with lute accompaniment. Four Branles de village (1619) by Jean-Baptiste Besard follow as the next set. Known in England as brawls, these pieces present a variety of textures and moods not found in the rest of the recording. Although they were published as duets, they seem more like variations on popular tunes of the day, with steady accompaniments of drone basses, or homophonic chords set to dance rhythms, with melodies in octaves and notes inégales. The moods range from alluring to gay. The Striziches employ two lutes with old Renaissance tuning for the selections thus far.

From this point forward, however, Robert Strizich switches to baroque guitar and uses several tunings on it for the rest of the recording. The two remaining sets on side A are comprised of lute duets by the Gaultiers. Strizich has justifiably arranged one of the lute parts for baroque guitar with Corbetta's re-entrant, French tuning (e' bb gg dd' aa), and the results are delightful. The Gaultier pieces begin with two courantes in A minor, the first "Les Larmes de Boisset" by "Vieux" Gaultier, the second "Narcisse" by Denis. The last set (Courante by Vieux, Sarabande by Denis, and Canaries by Vieux all in D minor) is excellent and shows off the guitar to advantage. With the guitar on the top part, a slightly thinner texture
is produced as well as a more brilliant treble. But since the Gaultier pieces are all in minor keys and triple meters, more contrast could have been drawn from a slow sarabande. It is played at the tempo of the courantes (3/4 \( \frac{4}{4} \) = 100).

Some of the best Italian, baroque guitar composers are represented on side B. It begins with the two sinfonias for guitar and basso continuo of Francesco Corbetta’s second book (1643). The first of these starts contemplatively in C major in the high range, but it ends with a flourish of slurred scales in A minor. The second is Corbetta’s most canzona-like structure. It is in five sections with recurring themes and a variety of tempi. In some sections the bass line actively participates in the countermotif, echoing the sequential motives of the guitar part. Notwithstanding, the continuo parts have been so extensively reworked within the style and limits of performance practice that the originals (bare outlines) are much improved. The baroque lute proves to be an excellent foil for the guitar in these and in the other sinfonias on the record.

The second set is by Fabritio Caroso, whose stylish dance-tunes are played on the lute and accompanied on the guitar. Although not necessarily intended for this instrumentation, the tunes work especially well in the ensemble because they are typical of the early baroque guitar repertoire (1596-1639) in which all of the accompaniments are strummed. The re-entrant tuning Luis de Briceño (e’ bb gg d’d’ aa) is appropriately used.

A sinfonia for guitar and basso continuo by Giovanni Battista Granata is next. Granata was a follower of Corbetta and Foscarini, and he outlived both of them. He was the most prolific of the Italian virtuosi in solo as well as ensemble music for the guitar. His first ensemble piece is featured, a sectional sinfonia (1651) in Corbetta’s style. It contains points of imitation (not mere motivic interplay), and these are masterfully presented by the duo, alternating with passage work in the upper register to produce an array of contrasts.

The last works to feature the guitar are the sinfonias of Giovanni Paolo Foscarini. He was a major innovator in the history of the guitar by virtue of his attachment to the lute. He brought lute techniques of plucking, ornamentation, and notation into the guitar repertoire that had previously been based on strumming alone. His corrente for two guitars tuned a fourth apart is probably the earliest instrumental ensemble piece with guitar to have survived since it came from one of his undated books printed before 1640. In that year he published the cumulative edition of his five books from which the two sinfonias are drawn. Many early guitar books contain ensemble tunings for guitars, and even Juan Carlos Amat recommended twelve-key proficiency so that two or more differently
tuned guitars could be played together (1639 edition of Guitarra españaola, chapter 7). Notwithstanding, the guitarists in Italy following Foscarini were to utilize the standard tuning (e’ bb gg d’ A) for their ensemble music and reserved the use of special and abnormal tunings for their solo guitar pieces. The first sinfonia of Foscarini is strummed throughout until the last section where scalar flourishes bring its conclusion. The piece reminds us of the relish for and wide acceptance of the novel strummed-chord sonority at the beginning of the baroque era. Even so, the Striziches composed an obbligato line mostly in eighth-notes for the lute during the chordal passages which the listener must not mistake for an original melody, however. The continuo parts are mere skeletal bass lines of half-, quarter-, or even whole-notes that cry for this special treatment, or better yet, improvisation. By contrast, the second sinfonia is strictly in the lute style: strumming is eschewed, and the chords are plucked. Thus exposing the strummed and plucked techniques, and most important, the combination thereof, Foscarini’s corrente and sinfonias with guitar served as models for the ensemble music of Corbetta, Granata, and many others for generations to come.

The last set was written for the lute, a set of variations in the Spanish popular style by Caroso. The variations are primarily melodic and are not easy to play because the bass line is also carried by the lute. The arrangement of the guitar accompaniment would have pleased Briceño: creative, zesty patterns of strumming that make use of his tuning.

The strict observance of historic performance practices in this recording is reflected in the instruments played—the best that money can buy. The baroque guitars are authentic replicas by Stephen Murphy and Nico Van der Waals; two lutes by Jacob van de Geest (of ten and thirteen courses) are used as well as another ten-course instrument by Reid Galbraith. Robert Strizich also seems to use the flesh of the fingertips for strumming and playing rather than fingernails. Though little evidence remains to document this practice, Corbetta would not perform on one occasion because he broke a fingernail, in spite of the fact that he had to pay his consort of musicians out of his own pocket. Moreover, Michael Lorimer, who uses moderate right-hand fingernails, supports his technique with iconographical evidence: the frontispieces of the books of Granata (1684) and Domenico Pellegrini (1650), showing fingernails on the right hand of each virtuoso.

The standards of authentic performance, however, are not the least confining to our recording artists. They play with absolute unity of purpose, concept and technique. Every line is carefully phrased, and emotions are exuberantly expressed. Their
interpretations are enhanced by flawless recording techniques in the studio. The record is carefully packaged in a fold-out album containing color pictures and extensive, authoritative notes on the program and the composers by Peter Danner. This record album is therefore unhampered by imperfections or other distractions, making it one of the milestones of the recording industry. It is highly recommended for any listener—from the audiophile to the early-music specialist. But for the baroque ensemble guitarist, it is indispensable, remaining without peer or precedent.—Richard Pinnell
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