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**INTRODUCTION**

In this issue we present a variety of articles by authors both familiar and new to *JLSA*.

Petra Zelenková is a curator at the National Gallery in Prague. Her main fields of interest are baroque prints and issues relating to iconography. Dr. Martin Mádl is a researcher at the Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, and curator at Prague's National Museum, specializing in 17th- and 18th-century painting and decorative arts. Readers may recall the article on the Weiss London Manuscript by his wife, historian Claire Mádl, in Volume XXXIII of this *Journal*. Their article on the biography and some baroque artworks featuring Count Johann Anton Losy, one of the highest-ranking aristocrats in Bohemia in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, appeared previously in the Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague. However, that publication seems impossible to find in North American libraries, so I asked them if they would revise it for our members. In effect, the study rounds out a body of work on Count Losy begun in this *Journal* nearly 30 years ago by Emil Vogl and Tim Crawford.

LSA members will already know Klaus Martius as an editorial board member of this *Journal* and restorer of musical instruments at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. His article on the swan-necked lutes of Sebastian Schelle appeared in our last issue. Martius’ colleague Markus Raquet is a conservator of metal objects and musical instruments at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, as well as a freelance conservator for musical instruments, metal and ethnological objects, and a maker of historical brass instruments. Their article in this issue opens a new field of lute construction research, peering through the endclasp of more than a dozen different lutes with the aid of X-ray photography, in some cases with surprising findings.

George Torres is Associate Professor of Music at Lafayette University in Easton, Pennsylvania. His research examines 17th-century French lute performance and Latin American popular music. His work last appeared in this *Journal* in Volume XXX. Though the five major prefaces in late baroque French lute manuscripts and prints have long been known, only one (Mouton) has previously appeared in (partial) translation, aside from Torres’ own unpublished doctoral dissertation. Here we present Professor Torres’ new English versions and the original French in parallel.

— Douglas Alton Smith
For several decades, it has been standard practice in larger museum collections to examine artworks, including musical instruments, using methods from the natural sciences. An especially helpful tool for lute makers has been the revealing of construction characteristics by pictorial methods. In addition to refined measurement techniques—for instance, for the internal bores of woodwind instruments—and endoscopy, radiological examinations should be mentioned, be they analog X-ray pictures or computer tomographies.

X-ray photographs have always performed a valuable service by providing information about the internal construction of lutes, whose mostly closed, resonating bodies make examination of the interior especially difficult. Pictures of neck construction and above all of the belly barring have great diagnostic value, since even to the unpracticed eye they offer clear statements about placement, originality, and the state of preservation.

Computer tomography, which can compute virtual cross-section pictures at any point of the body, offers in the portrayal of cross sections of the lute shell an alternative to traditional methods that are based on drawings. It is quite clear and, when photographically magnified, faithful to the dimensions.

While in the past X-ray photos were made primarily to examine barring, one very revealing X-ray view was rarely utilized: that of the endclasp and the ribs that come together beneath it. Here at the apex of the lute ribs lies not only the geometric center of the cross section but also, as it were, the goal of the first operation of the luthier, where the bent ribs are fixed upon the lute mould, before this spot between the endclasp and countercap finds its permanent point of repose. With a view under—or more accurately, through—the endclasp, we learn important details.


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about the craft of the luthier, which otherwise would remain concealed from the eye.

We can distinguish three general types of cross section in historical lute making.¹

1) The more or less half-circle form, or less high and steeply proceeding cross section, whose middle point lies approximately at the level of the belly, as often found in lutes of the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Jörg Klemm, Georg Gerle, Giovanni Hieber), and especially of the Bolognese (Laux Maler, Hans Frei). Even if the outer ribs are sometimes wider, all ribs come together in approximately equally large and equally shanked triangular points.

2) The cross section that is notably flatter than half-round, and whose ribs end below, before reaching a common middle point at the level of the belly. This type we see primarily in the short-outline models of the arciliuto or liuto attiorbato, which was fashionable around the middle of the 17th century (Matteo Sellas or Pietro Railich, GNM, MI 45).

3) The cross section that is considerably higher than half-round, and whose wide outer ribs – a kind of architrave wreath – seem to terminate below the center, quasi in a middle joint. This cross section is found in many baroque lutes that otherwise borrow the form of the Bolognese lute, for instance, Joachim Tielke, Sebastian Schelle, and Leopold Widhalm. It can be observed particularly in the deep instruments of Johann Christian Hoffmann as well.

The preparation of an X-ray of the endclasp demands a tube voltage of ca. 20 kV at an amperage of 25 mA and an exposure of ca. 70 seconds. Because of the high resolution of an analog medium, a commonly available X-ray film (Agfa Structurix D4 DW) was used. The distance between film surface and the focus of the X-ray tube was 1.20 meters. It is important that the film lie directly on the clasp, so that in a photograph through the body, the ends of the ribs beneath the cap will be projected almost free of distortion and correspondingly sharp onto the bowed surface of the film.

The X-ray pictures were photographed again afterwards from the luminescent screen with a digital camera and edited at the computer. The editing in most cases included a sharpening step. The contrasts were often lifted in the middle ranges to minimize the loss of resolution from

\[\text{Direct scanning of X-ray films with a film scanner achieved slightly better results, but the digital-camera method proved simpler in our case.}\]
transparent film to printed version. In cases where the representation was more readable, some pictures that of course in X-rays appear as negatives were inverted, and thus appear as positives.

We examined 18 lutes in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. The results are given below, and then individual instruments are briefly discussed.

The examinations corroborated the view derived from the engravings of Jost Amann and Christoph Weigel that lutes were made on solid interior forms, the so-called lute mould. In contrast to historical lute making today, where the ends of the ribs are attached to the mould with iron pins, most old lute makers used pointed wooden pins. These were inserted into holes probably pierced with an awl. After fitting the last rib, the ends were trimmed to the level of the body and then the endclasp was glued on.

Prior to removing the mould, the pins had to be cut with a knife. If the tips did not simply fall out during the cleaning operation, they remained stuck in the countercap, where we can recognize them today in the X-ray photo as square or polygonal cross sections.

The endclasps on all lutes consist of the same wood as the body ribs, but some of them are constructed of several strips glued together. The countercaps in all cases we examined were made of radially cut evergreen wood. Only in a few cases was the grain direction tangential, which is why in these the grain remains invisible in the X-ray photo.

Two primary groups of lute makers emerge:

One group (Michael Hartung, Joachim Tielke) worked very fast and imprecisely under the endclasp. The ribs end completely irregularly. Many appear to be roughly broken off. Large hollow areas were crudely filled with separate rib fragments or remained as they were, unfilled. Thick glue that in time shrank and cracked now partially fills these holes. Except for the Tielke lute, the endclasps of this group completely conceal the chaos underneath.

The other group (Laux Maler, Martin Seelos, Johannes Rehm, Martin Hoffmann and Johann Christian Hoffmann) worked accurately under the endclasp up to the ends of the ribs. Their spacers lead up to the level of the belly, and their joints lead cleanly to the ends.

Naturally the picture under the endclasp is no measure of conscientiousness and still less of the workmanship of a master, and must not count as a valuation. However, here under the endclasp the lute makers have left a kind of business card of their craft.
The discussions below are arranged chronologically, according to the age of the lute, beginning with the earliest (however, Schelle’s instruments are listed together). Dates of rebuilding are listed but not considered in this list since the rebuild generally does not involve the shell.

The X-ray photos are arranged as if the observer were looking from the front at the endclasp of the lute, which is lying with its back turned up. The ribs are numbered consecutively from the bottom right (that is, the outer rib of the bass side) to the bottom left. RB numbers identify the individual X-ray photos in the archives of the museum.

Figure 2 - Tenor lute (body only), Laux Maier, Bologna, before 1555. Inv. No. MI 54, RB 3343.

Rebuilt by Sebastian Schelle or Leopold Widhalm in Nuremberg about 1750-60 to a swan-necked lute.
9 ribs of ash with no spacers; cross section nearly half-round; outer ribs wider than the others.
All ribs lead very cleanly to the edge; joints closed up to the end.
Round pierced holes can be recognized only with difficulty in almost all the ribs (diameter 2-3 mm); all are filled with end-grain wood. An extreme amount of cracked, contracted glue. Two holes for strap pegs.  
**Endclasp**: 30 mm
**Countercap**: 17 mm high
**Paper reinforcement**: 60 mm (from the time of the rebuilding?)

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*Reverse transparencies of all these X-rays in approximately original size and high quality may be obtained from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Kartäusergasse 1, D-90402 Nuremberg, Germany.*
Figure 3 - Lute (now a guitar) by Georg Kayser, Venice, 1595. Inv. No. M1 620, RB 3352.

Rebuilt many times (Matthias Hummel, 1715; Sebastian Schelle, 1726).
15 shaded yew ribs with maple spacers. The cross section is somewhat deeper than half-round.
Ribs 1-3 and 8-12, as well as 15 end in a point at the level of the belly.
Ribs 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 16, and 17 are broken off.
All but three spacers in the middle terminate earlier.
All ribs have large (2.9 x 2.9 mm), empty, rectangular holes.
Off to the sides one can see the beginnings of some non-original inner linings.
Endclasp: 30 mm
Countercap: 22 mm high
Paper reinforcement: probably not original

Figure 4 - Bass lute, Michael Hartung, Padua, 1599. Inv. No. M1 56, RB 3345
(Outlines of the holes are manually traced).

35 shaded yew ribs. Cross section deeper than half-round. Outer ribs considerably wider than the others.
Work under the endclasp is extremely irregular. Almost all ribs were broken off across the grain under the strap peg hole. The outer ribs were brought further in towards the middle and sawn off, and between their ends a separate piece of yew wood was inserted. Unfilled empty spaces with crackled glue. Outer ribs with open joints, the others well-fitting.
Holes in all ribs with angular pin ends form a wavy line. Some holes were
just barely covered by the endclasp.

**Endclasp:** 37 mm  
**Countercap:** 21 mm high  
**Paper reinforcement:** ?

![Image of Lute](image_url)

**Figure 5** - Great octave bass lute, Michael Hartung, Padua, 1602. Inv. Nr. MI 44, RB 3344.

35 yew ribs (heartwood). Cross section somewhat deeper than half-round. Outer ribs considerably wider than the others. Work under the endclasp is extremely sloppy. Almost all ribs were broken off across the grain under the strap peg hole. Outer ribs nearly drawn up to the middle, above them an unfilled empty space from the broken ends of the other. Rectangular holes in all ribs poked out with remains of thin wooden tacks rectangular in cross section. Numerous ribs are cracked around the holes. Crackled remains of glue.

**Endclasp:** 45 mm  
**Countercap:** 24 mm high  
**Paper reinforcement:** 64 mm

![Image of Lute](image_url)

**Figure 6** - Lute by Johannes Rehm, Ingolstadt, 1607. Inv. Nr. MIR 905, RB 3351.

Rebuilt by Matthias Hummel (1701) and Sebastian Schelle (1721), and later restored in a historicizing manner. Only the shell is preserved from
the original instrument.
27 yew ribs. Cross section approaching half-round. Outer ribs wider than the others.
All ribs are cleanly joined up to the ends, but reach the level of the belly in different widths. A non-original outer lining extends also over the entire length of the endclasp. The rectangular cutout hints at a reinforcement. The whole area of the cap is reinforced by many relatively large-format pieces of paper.
In every second rib there is a square (2.2 x 2.2 mm) hole, all of them obviously empty. Glue smears under the outer clasp.

**Endclasp:** 38 mm
**Countercap:** 14 mm high (in three parts?)
**Paper reinforcement:** ?

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**Figure 7** - Lute, Martin Seelos, Venice, 164_. Inv. No. M1Ne 262, RB 3353.

Rebuilt in 1703 by Gregori Ferdinand Wenger, and in the 19th century again rebuilt into a guitar.
15 ribs of ivory with ebony-ivory-ebony spacers. Cross section now flatter than half-round. The shell may have been deliberately made flatter. All ribs meet very cleanly at the level of the belly, including the triple spacers.
Only a few holes could be identified. They give the impression of having been partly cut out and thus support the suspicion that the edge may have been lowered.

**Endclasp:** 33 mm
**Countercap:** 22 mm high
**Paper reinforcement:** ?
Rebuilt to 11-course baroque lute by Matthias Hummel, Nuremberg, 1695.
15 ribs of rosewood with ivory spacers. Cross section considerably flatter than half-round. All ribs approximately the same width. Ribs 2-4 and 12-14 end in points; the others appear sawn-off. Ivory spacers broken. Should the lower fir strip be interpreted as a filler wedge? Holes for polygonal wooden pins in all ribs; some of the pins remain. Crackled glue. Both white rectangular spots stem from the wooden attachment part.

**Endclasp:** 59 mm

**Countercap:** 39 mm high

**Paper reinforcement:** ?

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Rebuilt by Leopold Widhalm, Nuremberg, 1757.
15 ribs of ivory and snakewood with spacers of ebony and ivory. Cross section considerably flatter than half-round. Outer ribs approximately equally wide, but may have been planed down by Widhalm when he rebuilt it into a German theorboed lute. The ends of the ribs coincide exactly with the edge of the body. One ivory rib (no. 2) is broken. The middle rib is broken and dropped out. Some spacers are broken. Holes in the ribs are round.
**Endclasp:** 22 mm. Cracked and filled-in in many spots.

**Countercap:** 15 mm. high. The inner cap consists of coniferous wood with grain running parallel to the gluing surface, which does not emerge in the X-rays.

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 10** - Lute by Joachim Tielke, Hamburg, 1696. Inv. No. MI 394, RB 3348.

9 ribs of flamed maple. Cross section ca. 2 cm deeper than half-round. Outer ribs beneath the cap noticeably wider. The wedge-shaped additions, which widen the too-narrow ribs and are visible even from outside the instrument, constitute a further irregularity.

Outer ribs meet beneath the cap in a kind of middle joint. They lie almost like a corona beneath the center marked by the peg hole. The right outer rib is sawn off ca. 5 cm. too short and thus lengthened by another piece of wood of similar grain structure. Some ribs (6-8 of them) end relatively pointedly near the middle point. The others end sawn-off, the middle rib broken off relatively high above the center. The empty spaces in between contain surplus glue remnants.

Holes in ribs 4 and 5 lie far outside the cap, and in rib 3 just a bit outside (holes for wooden pins?). Otherwise no holes are seen.

**Endclasp:** 44 mm

**Countercap:** ca. 28 mm high

**Paper reinforcement:** half-round, diameter ca. 47 mm
Figure 11 - Theorboed lute (originally lute) by Martin Hoffmann, Leipzig 1692. Rebuilt by Johann Christian Hoffmann, after 1725. Inv. Nr. MI 245, RB 3349.

Nine ribs of flamed maple with ebony spacers. Cross section considerably deeper than half-round. All ribs approximately equally wide. Ribs extremely accurately joined, up to the tips. All ribs end in a point; even the spacers lead up to the level of the belly. Holes in all ribs filled with square (3-3.5 mm) wooden pins; both middle ribs with smaller wooden pins. Thick traces of glue.

Endclasp:

Counterclasp: ca. 13 mm high

Paper reinforcement: half-round, diameter ca. 47 mm

Figure 12 - Theorboed lute by Sebastian Schelle, Nuremberg, 1721. Inv. No. MIR 902, RB 3365 (Outlines of the holes are manually traced).

11 ribs of Makassar ebony with ivory spacers. Cross section is considerably deeper than half-round. The otherwise narrower outer ribs become noticeably wider only in the region of the endclasp. All ribs lead into the center at the level of the peg hole and end almost in points, with the exception of the noticeably wider middle rib. Empty space under the peg hole is filled up with a separate rib part that was fitted in anchor form to the course of the rib ends (smaller than on MI 46 and MIR 903). Large, round, empty holes in all ribs.
**Endclasp:** 42 mm  
**Countercap:** 27 mm high

**Paper reinforcement:** with cambered edges does not appear in the X-ray.

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**Figure 13** - Lute by Sebastian Schelle, Nuremberg, 1723. Nuremberg, private owner, RB 3366.

9 ribs of ash with maple spacers. Cross section today approximately half-round, the outer ribs noticeably narrower than the others. The outer ribs were planed down about 7 mm when the instrument was rebuilt into a guitar.

The ribs end almost in points and feed nearly into the center.

Round nail holes in all ribs, filled with wooden pins. The row of holes lies far down towards the edge of the belly (an indication of being planed down).

Regarding the presumed lowering, there may originally have been a supplementary wooden insertion (see MI 46, MIR 902 and MIR 903).

**Endclasp:** 30 mm  
**Countercap:** 14 mm high (the inlaid vein in the cap is not visible in the X-ray).

**Paper reinforcement:** Not visible. The entire shell is covered with glued-on paper.

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**Figure 14** - Large continuo theorbo by Sebastian Schelle, Nuremberg, 1728. Inv. No. MI 574, RB 1707. Inverted.
11 ribs of bird's-eye maple with no spacers. Cross section somewhat flatter than half-round. Outer ribs approximately as wide as the others. All ribs lead cleanly and equally (no. 10 is narrower, no. 11 wider) up to the end. Round holes, round wooden pins in ribs 2-5.

**Endclasp:** 49 mm  
**Countercap:** 40 mm high, 33.5 cm long  
**Paper reinforcement:** with cambered edges.

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21 yew ribs (only heartwood), spacers of maple. Outer ribs wider. Cross section flatter than half-round. After about 1740 Hoffmann seems to have built in the flatter, multirib style, of which at least three examples survive.

All ribs and spacers are cleanly conjoined up to the ends. Only rib 1 and the middle rib have round holes.

**Endclasp:** 42 mm  
**Countercap:** 31 mm high  
**Paper reinforcement:** ?

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**Figure 15** - Theorboed lute by Johann Christian Hoffmann, Leipzig 1743. Inv. No. MIR 904, RB 3355. Inverted.

**Figure 16** - Theorboed lute by Sebastian Schelle, Nuremberg, 1744. Inv. No. MI 46, RB 1802.
11 ribs of rosewood with ivory spacers. Cross section considerably deeper than half-round. All ribs (even the outer ones) terminate irregularly around the strap peg hole. An empty space between the outer ribs is filled in with a crudely fitted piece of a rib. No visible holes.

**Endclasp:** 50 mm  
**Countercap:** 26 mm high  
**Paper reinforcement:** Cambered edges. Paper does not appear in the X-ray photo (compare the picture).

![Figure 17 - Theorboed lute by Leopold Widhalm, Nuremberg, 1755. Inv. No. MIR 903, RB 3369.](image)

11 ribs of rosewood with ivory spacers. Cross section considerably deeper than half-round. The outer ribs are noticeably wider only in the region of the cap. All ribs (even the outer ones) terminate irregularly around the strap peg hole. An empty space is filled with a crudely fitted rib part. (Compare MI 46 and MIR 902.) Round holes, which are not filled in, and are not visible in all ribs.

**Endclasp:** 56 mm  
**Countercap:** 56 mm high  
**Paper reinforcement:** Cambered edges. Not visible in the X-ray photo.

Apart from this series, in order to round out the perspective, we discuss below a further instrument, from the collection of the Bavarian National Museum. Similar to the Arab oud, it has no endclasp. To our knowledge it is unique among European lutes in this respect. A similar cap construction can be observed in a painting of Theodor von Thulden: "Harmonie und Ehe" (1652), preserved in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bruxelles.⁶

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⁶ I wish to thank Gerhard Söhne for bringing this painting to my attention.
Figure 18 - Lute by Jacques Hoffman den Jonghen, Antwerp, beginning of the 17th century. Inv. No. Mu 16.

35 ivory ribs with triple spacers of ebony-ivory-ebony. Cross section nearly half-round. Outer ribs slightly wider. Ribs run almost to the mid-axis into a disc. Instead of the endclasp, the mid-point into which the ribs terminate is accentuated by a nearly circular, relief-type carved blossom of ivory, bordered by a three-part spacer.

Disc: 1.7 mm diameter

Countercap: 2.6 mm high

We did not X-ray this instrument since much of the shell was destroyed and the base area was exposed.
A final instrument is a probable falsification from the 19th century.

Figure 19 - Chitarrone, Leopoldo Franciolini (? , no signature), Firenze, 19th century. Inv. Nr. MIR 907, RB 3354.

25 ribs of maple (?) with spacers of ebony. Cross section flatter than half-round. Outer ribs considerably wider than the others. Endclasp in a characteristically (for Franciolini) curved shape.
All ribs were cut off across the grain and terminate around a considerable large rectangular piece of coniferous wood placed between the ends of the outer ribs.
No pinholes in the ribs (only pinholes to mark the shape of the endclasp to be seen from outside).
Endclasp: 68 mm high (one piece cut in tangential direction).
Countercap: in two parts, ca. 10 and 11 mm high.

Summary

The degree to which typical practices are represented by the respective luthiers cannot be determined at this time because of the limited number of instruments examined. In any case, in the instruments of Hartung we made consistent findings. Also in the case of the two very similar theorboed lutes signed by Sebastian Schelle (Nürnberg 1744, MI 46) and Leopold Widhalm (Nürnberg 1755, MIR 903), which in a certain sense seem to belong together, the suspicion that both lutes were made by the same luthier seems to be confirmed not only by the identical fingerboard inlay but also by the view through the endclasp. That these bodies stem from Sebastian Schelle is confirmed also by the shell of the
Schelle theorbo of 1721 (MIR 902), which features in the same manner the crudely fitted, inserted piece. Whether the guitarized lute of 1723 in private ownership in Nuremberg was also constructed in this fashion can no longer be determined. The body of the great continuo theorbo (MI 574), which even in its depth of body represents a different type, does not fit into this construction pattern.

It remains, therefore, still to be determined whether one can make educated guesses about the attributions of anonymous instruments to certain workshops on the basis of how the craftsman dealt with the tips of the ribs.

But the significance of this particular X-ray view can scarcely be diminished, even in the case of serious rebuildings, since these almost never intrude into this region. Even in cases of crude deformation of the original condition, as happens primarily in the belly and neck regions, the characteristic of the luthier’s method of operation underneath the endclasp remains intact. Only planing down the edge of the body and flattening the back of the lute can lead here—and only at the edges—to visible changes.

In any case, the X-ray photo of rib construction under the endclasp seems to illuminate a further instrument-specific view, which deserves a place of adoption next to X-ray ascertaining of barring in closed instruments and to neck construction as a further standard aspect in the canon of pictorial documentation of lutes.

Translated from the German by Douglas Alton Smith

Postscript

A surprisingly different feature of finishing the ribs beneath the endclasp is shown in an X-ray of a third lute by Michael Hartung, Padua, ca. 1620 (MIR 899), which was not included within this endclasp investigation. The X-ray was made subsequently to support a technical drawing of the lute. The ends of the ribs are very well refined, showing no trace of nails or wooden pins. Compared to MI 44 and 56, this means that Hartung obtained this peculiar back from another workshop. This instrument, later converted to a 11-course swan-neck lute, will be featured in a forthcoming article in this Journal.
Performance Practice Technique for the Baroque Lute: An Examination of the Introductory Avertissements from Seventeenth-Century Sources

by George Torres

The lute repertoire was the first body of music in France to make extensive use of performance indications.¹ This phenomenon arises, in part, from the nature of tablature, which tells players what to do with their fingers and is by nature less abstract and more connected to physical movement than staff notation. So, to some extent, performance indications are built into the tablature.² Nevertheless, the surviving lute sources vary tremendously in the amount of performance indications they include: some have next to none (e.g. Denis Gaultier’s La rhetorique des dieux), while others contain extensive markings (e.g. the Barbe manuscript and the two Saizenay manuscripts).³ Perhaps the most detailed sources for period performance indications are the handful of prints that were published in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, as they include virtually every ornament used in the period and fully designate all right and left hand indications. Because of this, these prints lend themselves particularly well not only to the study of musical ornaments and embellishments, but also to the study of fingerings for playing this elaborate repertoire on the lute. Thus, this study presents translations of the instructional prefaces from the five French baroque lute books that were published in the last thirty years of the seventeenth century.

Unfortunately, no lute source provides the comprehensive

¹ The term “performance indications” includes both technical features such as fingerings or whether to bar a chord, and also symbols for ornaments of many different kinds. Although it is useful to separate these two categories, technical and ornamental, there actually is much overlap between them. The choice of fingering affects sonority, as it also depends on the availability of fingers to do ornaments and thus ultimately impacts on style.

² While one may argue that staff notation also tells a player what to do with one’s fingers, it is important to keep in mind that when playing from staff notation, the player has to mentally translate what s/he reads from notation into those specific places on his or her instrument; tablature removes that thought process completely.

³ Citations for these and the other period sources referred to in this essay are given in the Works Cited list.

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ornament table found in d'Anglebert's *Pièces de clavecin* (1689), nor the completeness of technical instructions found in Saint Lambert's or Couperin's method books for harpsichord. Nevertheless, the five French sources of lute music examined in this study contain varying amounts of useful information regarding performance practice. The level of coverage among the sources is uneven and does not necessarily include the same ornaments or the same technical concerns. The French sources examined in this article are Denis Gaultier's *Pièces de luth* (Paris, ca. 1670); Gaultier's *Livre de tablature* (Paris, ca. 1672); Perrine's *Pièces de luth en musique* (Paris, ca. 1680); Jacques Gallot's *Pièces de luth* (Paris, 1684); and Charles Mouton's *Pièces de luth* (Paris, 1698).

The following are translations of prefaces (avertissements) from French lute prints published during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century. These sources represent an important stage in the transmission of the repertory of seventeenth-century *pièces de luth* in several different ways. To begin with, these prints are the first published French instrumental genre associated with the baroque suite. They come after a thirty-year hiatus of printed lute music in France, during which the repertory had been sustained in part by a rich manuscript tradition that existed throughout the seventeenth century, many of which provide us with *unica* sources of many of the surviving pieces in the repertoire. When one examines the scribal practices in the manuscript sources, one wonders if the gap in printing existed because the medium of moveable type was not conducive to transmitting the scribal nuance that was apparent in contemporary manuscripts. Indeed, these prints are all published using the newly developed technique of engraving on copper or pewter plates, which first appeared in French music publishing in 1660 with the appearance of Michel St. Lambert's *Les Aires Du Sieur Lambert.* While the Ballard family had a monopoly on music printing in Paris through an exclusive royal privilege, the engraving process existed

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5 The descriptions in these lute sources explain the production of each gesture in prose. There are no tables of musical equivalence that specifically determine in musical terms, for example, the durational relationship between a *coule* and its main note. The only exception to this is Perrine's table for *notes séparées* where the author clearly spells out in modern notation how to accurately divide the rhythm among separated notes.

6 Michel Lambert, *Les Aires Du Sieur Lambert*. Paris: Charles de Serce (gravez par Richer), 1660. Interestingly, this work was engraved by the Parisian engraver [Remi] Richer, who was also the one who engraved Gaultier's prints.
without privilege. This not only meant that lutenists could hold the publishing rights to their own music, but it also meant that they could print copies of their books to order, making the entire endeavor more cost effective. Thus, not only are these prints important historically as being the first printed instrumental genre of the French baroque, but they represent the earliest attempts by French musicians to print their own compositions from engraved plates for sale of music out of their own homes.

The prefaces to these books share many of the same traits, and although some of the presentation may vary, most, if not all, include the same basic components, including justification for the publication, instructions on how to play, and mention of future publications. A few of the more curious remarks give some insight into circumstances that surrounded the publication of the edition. Some composers wrote how they have heard their pieces performed in ways that obliged them to publish instruction books, so that one could learn to play their compositions properly without an instructor (Gaultier, Pièces, Mouton). Others, as in the case of Gallot, used the space to provide a rebuttal to the criticism (that must have been going on at the time) that he plagiarized Vieux Gaultier. In the case of Gaultier’s second and posthumous print, Livre de Tabalature des Pièces de Luth... (ca. 1672), the preface served as an opportunity for a certain Monsieur Montarcis, a presumed student of Gaultier’s, to advertise his own forthcoming treatise on lute playing.7 The work was never published, and nothing by Montarcis appears to have survived in print or manuscript. It is a strength of these sources that each has, in its own way, something of value to contribute to our understanding of performance practice on the lute.

This translation also presents the original French texts parallel to the English, so that the reader may easily compare what is in the original with the translation. In this way readers may choose to proceed directly from the translation, while others may proceed from the original French and use the translation as a helpful guide. In presenting the original French text, I have adopted the practice of presenting the text just as it is in the original, retaining the old spelling of words, and hence conforming to period practices of French orthography. While those familiar with the challenges encountered by the reader of orthography printed in seventeenth-century French texts, those new to the subject may find the following helpful:

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7 In her article on Gaultier in Grove 6, Rollin says that Montarcis was a student of Gaultier, though I have not been able to corroborate her claim in the sources that she cites.
1) Archaic spellings are retained with the exception of the long s, only because of the absence of a suitable replica of the character in modern type. Those instances of the long s have been changed to double ss (pafsage = passage).
2) The letters i and j are used interchangeably (ie = je; tousjours = tousjours).
3) The letters v and u are used interchangeably (novs = nous) and vice versa (vous = vous).
4) Tildes are often used to contract words (dâs = dans).
5) Superscript letters, often preceded by a period, are used to contract word endings (nettem. = nettement).
6) Certain nouns are randomly capitalized.

In translating these works, I have tried to keep in mind that, for the purpose of this article, we are most interested in what these writers have to say about lute technique. For this reason, I chose not to make literal translations of the prefaces included here. What was important was to make accurate translations of the sources, in order to provide information that would eventually lead to a better understanding of the music itself. Regarding musical terminology, I have found that translating period terms may confuse their interpretation, especially those that are known more commonly by their Italian or German counterparts. For that reason, I have avoided trading names such as appoggiatura for chûte. The former carries with it specific meanings with regard to interpretation, and in the interest of maintaining a more French understanding of the terms, I believe it serves the reader best to read original words such as tremblement rather than trill, accent rather than mordent, cadence rather than Nachschlag, etc. Because of their lack of pertinent information regarding performance practice, I have not included the dedicatory panegyrics that are included in some of the prefaces. Regarding the musical examples, I have included only the symbols that appear in the original sources. I do not include transcriptions of the tablature into staff notation. While many of the original playing descriptions are vague and often confusing, the translations are my best attempt at trying to strike a balance between how they were originally written and how today’s English reading players may understand them. There are occasional footnotes to

the more troublesome spots in the text, but for the most part, the main part of the translation is free of excessive editorial license.

Denis Gaultier, *Pièces de luth*, Paris, ca. 1670

To lovers of harmony:
I should think it a waste of your time if I detained you with some long discourse, in which I would say nothing about harmony that hasn’t already been discussed by worthy authors.

The lute pieces, which I have had engraved for you, so that they would be clearer, and the tablature more intelligible, will give you much satisfaction.

I have learned from my friends that the pieces that I have published are so changed, and so badly disfigured when they are sent to the provinces or outside the kingdom, that they are no longer recognizable, which has obliged me to make a fair copy and to give you the manner of playing the strings, which is diversely marked.

A dot under a letter means that one must strike the note with the first finger, as

A letter that does not have one must be struck with the second finger, as

A line that is under the letter indicates the thumb

In this and the following translations there are some orthographic considerations that I should mention here. The letter pairs *f* and *j* and *U* and *V* are seemingly used interchangeably, but upon closer examination it appears that there is some consistency in the usage. Generally, the beginnings of words will favor *f* or *j* and *V* for *U*; but in the middle of words one sees *f* and *U*. For example, in Gaultier’s *Pièces*, we see the word “*le*” but later on will see the word “*sujet*” In the same publication we see the word “*vaste*” but later on we find the word “*diuereusement*.”

It is interesting that in their printed sources, the French authors do not notate the middle finger with dots, whereas the contemporary English sources, such as *Barnwell* and *Mace*, use the double dot to signify the use of the right hand middle finger. Nevertheless, there are examples of manuscripts of French provenance that use the double dot to signify the middle finger of the right hand.
A line that divides the letters [means that the note] must be separated or played one after the other, as

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

A line that begins under a letter, or beside it, means that one must sustain the first note from where the line begins until the note where it finishes, as

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

A line that is like a small circle signifies that one must let the finger fall on the letter where this mark is, as 11

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

When there is a line that embraces two strings and where there is a tremblement marked on each, one should play only one note with the right hand and pull off the other with the left hand, as

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

One can also pull off two notes with the left hand, as

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

The comma signifies a tremblement, as in 12

\[ \text{\textcolor{red}{\text{\textbullet}}\text{\textbullet}} \]

11 After the tremblement, the port de voix from below, known as the chute or tombé is the next most common decorative performance indication for the left hand. In the English sources like Burwell and Mace, it is called a “fall.” Gaultier does not name the ornament in either of his publications, however, he uses the word tombé (fall) to indicate the motion or procedure the left hand must go through in producing the ornament.

12 This is the most common left hand ornament found in French tablatures of the seventeenth century. It can be as short as a one-note grace or it can serve as a trill depending on the length of the main note. They appear in Ballard’s 1638 print in the repertoire at around which time they are given their first scholarly discussion in Mersenne (Basset) in 1636. Basset says that the comma is used for “all sorts of graces.” Basset for Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle, “Second book of stringed instruments,” Paris, 1636, p. 79.
The *accent* signifies that one must pull off the string from the preceding fret and put the finger on the note like

This mark

means that one must pluck these two letters with the first finger of the right hand. An *étouffement* is when one plays a note, and that you put another finger below

When there are four or five notes together on adjacent strings, one must play them all with the thumb, except the lowest from the bottom [which should be played] with the second finger, for example

Sometimes the notes are not adjacent, as in

One must play the first two with the thumb, and the one at the bottom with the second finger. The dots that are next

\[...\]

13 This is the term Gautier used for a mordent, although it is also called a *marthellement* by Gallot and Mouzon. The *marthellement* is used only on single-line notes and never as part of a chord. It is most prominent when used to decorate the first note of an imitative subject, as in a gigue or allemande.

14 Gautier is the only French lutenist to mention this technique that appears to be an immediate damping or "stifling" of the note by the right hand. Although no other authors mention this technique, the concept of detached notes was probably widespread among lutenists. A similar technique is mentioned by Thomas Mace's, *Musick's Monument*, where the author states: "The *tie* is a Grace, always performed with the Right Hand, and is a sudden taking away the Sound of any Note, and in such a manner, as it will seem to cry. *Tie* and is very Prity and Easily done Thus" (London, 1676, p. 109). Viol players from the succeeding generation had a specific bow stroke for producing a detached sound. In his *A Handbook of French Viol Technique* (New York, 1981) John Hsu cites Etienne Loulié's distinction of the bow stroke that was known as *coupe* and/or *sec* as one of the types of strokes available to players at the time. "*Coupe* and *sec* are the same. The *sec* is the bow stroke which has only the beginning and which is not sustained." Etienne Loulié, *Méthode pour apprendre à jouer la viole Paris* (ca. 1690s), fol. 221r.
to the letters mean that you must pluck [the notes] upward with the index finger, as for example

and the next [chord] that follows, strum it [downward] with the index finger

or in this manner

Above all I advise you to go slowly in studying, and to listen to yourself [play], for fear of falling into the common error of learning things wrong. You should remember also to rest your thumb [play a rest stroke] on the string where there is a space [between it and the notes above]. If God preserves me some more years, I will give you other pieces to which I will join a short instruction on the principles of lute playing. And if someone has trouble understanding what is in my book, I will enlighten him with all my heart if he does me the honor to come see me.

A two-stroke gesture most commonly associated with strumming the baroque guitar was adapted by French lutenists and known as tire et rebattre. This technique was not used on the lute in the sixteenth century, but was introduced as a technique on that instrument by the French. It seems that the technique never went much beyond the French influenced lute repertoire.
Denis Gaultier, *Livre de tablature*, Paris, ca. 1672

Notice to the Reader

As I have learned that some complain that copies of the lute pieces that I composed, and copies of those made by my cousin, Mr. Gaultier Sr. de Nève, have been greatly altered and are even filled with many errors, I felt obliged to have them engraved in order to restore them to their proper state in this work, so that one may see them as they should be, and so that they no longer appear changed and disfigured as they have been, and also so that they would no longer be sent in this imperfect form to the provinces, nor among foreigners, where one currently finds them only much confused, as much with regard to the time (mesure), holding of notes (tenues), dampening notes (étouffements) and rests (silences), as to the transposition and to the changing of letters (notes), as with respect to the manner of playing them. All of which prevents one from being able to find the true tempo (mouvement), and to draw from the lute that beautiful sound, both of which form its charm and harmony.

In order to avoid all these faults to which one often succumbs, and in order to prevent one from being misled, I became convinced that one would be happy to see what must be observed with exactness, as much with regard to time (mesure) as to holding notes (tenues), and even with regard to the manner of plucking the strings well, for which I give the rules illustrated by clear signs, as one can see below, and that being observed, I am sure that the reader will derive much satisfaction, since this way it will be easy to succeed well.

Rules

I.

When you see a dot marked under a letter, this means that one must play the letter

Reigles

1.

Lors qu’on voit un point que est marqué sous une lettre, cela signifie qu’il faut
with the first finger [of the right hand].

Example

The letter under which there is no dot signifies that one must play it with the second finger of the right hand.

Example

When there are two letters, placed one above the other with a straight line between the two, or without any line, that signifies that one must play the two notes together.

Example

The line that is marked diagonal or which is drawn obliquely between two or more notes, means that the two notes must be plucked separately one after the other.

Example

An oblique line going up, down, or sideways, starting with one note and going past some other notes following the first one, means that your left hand must hold down the first note until all the other notes have been played.

Example
When you see a small curved line underneath a note, that shows that you must play the note by dropping a left-hand finger on it.  

Example

When one puts a comma after a letter, that signifies that one must pull off the string with a finger of the left hand. You should do this when there is only an eighth note on the letter, twice when there is a quarter note, and several times when there is a dotted quarter, while making the trill (tremblement) until the conclusion of the termination (cadence) that one will find marked. But it must be observed that everyone can treat these kinds of ornaments, according to the nature of the piece’s melody and its tempo (mouvement).

Example

When there is a curved line that surrounds two strings (cordes) and when there is a comma after the first letter, it will be necessary to pluck the first note with a finger of the right hand, and pull the other letter where the comma is with one of the fingers of the left hand.

Example

Lors que lon figure une petite ligne courbe en forme circulaire du desous dune lettre cela marque qu'il faut laiser tomber quelque doigt de la main gauche, en touchant cette lettre

Exemple

Lors quan met une virgule apres une lettre cela signifie qu'il faut tirer la Corde de quelque doigt de la main gauche, c'est a savoir une fois seulement lors qu'il y a une crochue sur la lettre et deux fois lors qu'il y a une note et plus fois quand il y a une note et un point, et en faisant le tremblement jusqu' a la conclusion de la cadence que lon trouve marqueé, mais il faut observer que chacun peut ménager ces especes d'agrements, selon la nature du chant de la piece et du mouvement

Exemple

Lors qu'il se trouve une ligne courbe qui environe deux cordes et qu'il y a une virgule apres la premiere lettre, il faudra toucher la premiere lettre de quelque doigt de la main droite, et tirer laulette ou est la virgule de lun des doigt de la main gauche

Exemple

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16 Hammer on.
17 This is the two-note suffix to the trill, which is often referred to by its German term, Nachschlag. They may begin either from the upper note or the lower note and use one or two fingers of the right hand. The ones beginning on the upper note are usually notated with a diagonal line joining the two letters in the tablature indicating that those two letters are to be played with one finger of the right hand, usually the index. The resolution of the cadence is played with the middle finger of the right hand.
When the circular line encloses three letters, one must play the first letter with a finger of the right hand, and pull the other two letters with some fingers of the left hand.

Like this

The accent is notated like this when it comes below or after a note. This means that you must pull the string with one of the left-hand fingers onto the fret below the one which is marked, and immediately put the finger back onto the same note that is notated, doing this at the same time as you pluck the string with a finger of the right hand.

Example

A small line drawn obliquely below and beside two letters shows that one must play these two letters with the first finger of the right hand.

The étouffement is made when one plays a letter with a finger of the right hand and at the same time presses down the next finger in order to prevent the continuation of the sound of the string.

When in a chord there are four or five letters together on adjacent strings and contiguous, one must play all the strings with the thumb of the right hand, except the last letter down that must be played with the second finger of the right hand.
Example

But when the letters of a chord are not on adjacent strings, one must play the top two strings with the thumb and the lowest string with the second finger.

The dots alongside the letters mean that you must pluck the strings with the index finger.

and the chord that follows should be struck with the first finger.

One of the most important rules for playing the lute well, is that one must patiently learn to play pieces very slowly, for fear of the common mistake of mixing up (confusing) all the sounds.

You must also remember to rest the thumb [play a rest stroke] for notes where there is a gap (intervalles) [of one or more courses] between it and the notes that follow [plucked by the fingers].

Soon, one will see a finished work composed by Monsieur de Montarcis following Mr. Gaultier's method, where there will be thoroughly discussed the order and manner that you must observe to play the lute well, so that you can draw from the lute its beautiful tone and performance.

Exemple

Mais quand les lettres d'un accord ne sont pas de suite par degrés conjoint il faudra toucher les deux cordes denhaut de la poulée et la corde dembass, du second doigt.

Les points qui sont a cote des lettres signifie qu'il faut toucher les cordes du premier doigt.

Et l'accord qui suit il le faudra rabattre du premier doigt.

L'une des Règles la plus importante pour bien toucher le luth, est qu'il faut apprendre sans se peiner à jouer les pieces fort lentement, de peur de tomber dans le defaut ordinaire qui est de brouiller.

Il faudra aussi se soumettre d'aréster le poulée sur les letters ou il y a des intervalles au regard des autres letters qui suivent.

Dans peu de temps on vera un ouvrage acheué composé par Mon. de Montarcis selon la Methode de Mr. Gaultier, où il est traité a fond de lordre et de la manière qu'il faut observer pour bien toucher le luth, de quelle sorte lon en pourra tirer le beau son, et L'harmonie, et comment il
harmony; how it is possible to express the melodies, designs (form), the characters (mouvements) and the affects (passions); and one will also see there the proof of the principles and maxims from which one can form the arguments and the demonstrations in order to be assured and convinced of the truth and the rules of this method.

Neither the rules of music nor the principles of harmony are treated here; those who are curious may consult the authors, and see what they wrote of more importance regarding this matter. It has not been long since Mr. de Montarcis composed tables where one can see the principles, rules, arguments, and examples and turn to practice and apply them to the lute as much with regard to composition as to the division of the neck, in order to find the exactness of consonances and of dissonances of each mode, which could bring much satisfaction to those who like to know the reason and basis of things.

He also discusses there the affect and the passion of the modes and the parts of the recitative chant (melopée) by which one finds the melodies that mark its properties, by their movements according to the designs and the expressions of the words or thoughts.

Perrine, Pièces de luth en musique, Paris, ca. 1680

Foreword

I have no reason to doubt that this new method shall be approved by connoisseurs and followed by all those who wish to learn to play this beautiful instrument, which is based on easy principles marked in my big book, and that the order that I have retained in all the lute pieces I have put into staff-notation (musique) is such that if the rules below are observed, one will not find any difficulty in playing them [the pieces] to their ultimate

Advertisement

Jay d'autant plus-sujet de ne pas douter que cette nouvelle Methode sera approuvée des Stanists, et suivie de tous ceux qui voudront apprendre à jouir de ce bel instrument qu'elle est fondée sur des principes faciles marques en mon grand Livre, et que l'ordre que j'ay tant dans toutes les pieces de Lut que j'ay mises par musiques est tel qu'en observer, quelques regles ci-apres on ne trouvera aucune difficuleté à les jouer dans leur derniere perfection tant sur le Lut que
perfection, as much on the lute as on the
harpsichord.\textsuperscript{18}

With regard to the figures and alphabetical
letters that are encountered near some of
the notes, they merely serve to distinguish
the different unisons that are found on the
lute, and the fingers with which one must
play the strings, as it is amply marked in
my first book.

The particular manner of playing all sorts
of lute pieces lies only in the arpeggiation,
or the separation of voices that I have
expressed in most of the lute pieces, put
hereafter into staff notation, be it by tied
notes or by rests such as the note values
(mesure), the nature of the chords, and
the characteristics of the instrument.\textsuperscript{19}
In order to make music in staff notation
more intelligible to those who are familiar
with tablature in a, b, and c, I have used,
in the other pieces, the same signs that are
normally used to show which chords are
to be played séparé. But so as not to do
anything out of habit, here is how they
are set out.\textsuperscript{20}

The oblique line drawn between notes
like\textsuperscript{21}

means that they must be played one after
the other, Know that

1: A chord of two notes to the value of
an eighth like

\textsuperscript{18} The "big book" Perrine refers to is his Livre de musique pour le lut (Paris) 1669, facsimile reprint

\textsuperscript{19} Perrine refers to the complexity in notating lute music to staff notation, because of the peculiar
nature of music for the lute. The varied textures that result from notes séparées technique, and
ever changing number of voices, is easier to convey in tablature, but harder to account for in staff
notation.

\textsuperscript{20} Perrine tells us here that he retains the same signs (like signs for notes séparées) in his staff notation
version, just as they were in tablature. He does this to help lute players, who up to now have been
playing only from tablature, to cope with reading from staff notation instead.
must be played like

2: A chord of two notes to the value of a dotted eighth like

must be played like

3: One of two notes to the value of a quarter like

must be played like

4: One of three notes to the value of a dotted eighth like

doit être touché comme

2 : Un accord de deux notes de la valeur d’une croche pointée comme

doit être touché comme

3 : Celui de deux notes de la valeur d’une noire comme

doit être touché comme

4 : Celui de trois notes de la valeur d’une croche pointée comme
must be played like

5: One of three notes to the value of a quarter like

6: One of three notes to the value of a dotted quarter

Those are in general all the different kinds of chords that may be found in all sorts of lute pieces that must be separated with the exception of a few chords of four notes to the value of one quarter note that are found only in pieces in common time (du signe majeur de la mesure binarié), which must also be separated and that you must

doit estre touché comme

5 : Celuy des trois notes de la valeur d'une noire comme

6 : Celuy des trois notes de la valeur d'une noire pointée

Voila en general toutes les differentes natures d'accords qui se peuvent trouver en toutes sortes de pieces de Lui qui doive'estre separez à la reserve de quelques accords de quatre notes de la valeur d'une noire qui se trouuent seulement aux pieces du signe majeur de la mesure binaire qui doivent estre aussi separez et qu'il faut entendre,
hear according to the different movements of those sorts of pieces, either like four double quavers (four sixteenths), or play one dotted eighth on the bass note, and separate the three others during the rest of the time.\(^3\)

Finally, you must notice, that, to find the true movement for all sorts of lute pieces, the first parts, or the first parts of parts of the beats (temps de la mesure), should be longer than the others.\(^3\)

Il faut en fin observer, pour trouver le véritable mouvement de toutes sortes de pieces de Lut, que les premières parties ou premières parties de parties des temps de la mesure soient plus-longues que les autres.

Jacques Gallot, Pièces de luth, Paris, 1684

FOREWORD

I have had my book engraved for the public in order to contribute to their pleasure. If there is a chance it pleases them all well and good, and if not, it is neither their fault nor mine, my intention will still be the same. I have not felt obliged to play orator in order to justify it, nor to ward off criticism. It is only the good that are drawn to it, and the bad do not deserve it. Nor do I claim to avoid envy. Far from complaining, I have cause to be pleased with it (envy) when it accuses me of plagiarizing Old Gautier; nothing could bestow more honor on my work. I deem myself fortunate that these principles that he gave to me are recognized in my work; those who have distanced themselves from them have fallen into bad taste, as much for the

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J'ai fait graver mon livre pour le public, afin de contribuer à son plaisir. S'il a le hasard de lui plaire à la bonne heure, sinon ce ne sera ny sa faute ny la mienne, mon intention sera toujours la même. Je n'ai pas cru devoir faire l'Orateur pour le justifier, ny pour prévenir la critique. Il n'y a que les bonnes choses qui se l'attirent et les méchantes ne le méritent pas. Je ne prétends pas éviter non plus l'envie. Laissant de m'en plaindre, j'ai lieu de me laisser d'elle quant elle n'accuse de piller le vieux Gautier, rien ne peut faire plus d'honneur à mon ouvrage. Je m'estime heureux qu'on reconnaisse les principes qu'il m'a donnés ce que je fais, ceux qui s'en sont éloignés sont tombés dans un méchant goût, tant pour la composition que l'exécution, cela se connoit dans les partitions des pieces.

\(^3\) In Perrine's Livre, the author gives an explanation of meter. For Perrine there are two basic types, binary and ternary, and each has three different signs. For binary meters, where major (majeur) equals common time, Perrine gives the following explanation: For major [binary], each value receives one beat per measure, namely, two strong and two weak. [Au signe majeur, chaque temps se bat gravement sur chaque quart de la mesure, savoir, deux frappant, et deux en levant] (p. 48).

\(^3\) Here Perrine is discussing notes inégales by saying that first of two notes within a beat should be longer than the one that follows. A similar description is given by the author of Barwell. Both discussions are treated in Wallace Rave's study in "Performance Instructions for the Seventeenth-Century French Lute Repertory," Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997, 142-157.
composition as for the execution, which can be perceived from the scores of their pieces. If some expert wishes to test what I say, or have my pieces played in ensemble (concert), they will find all the parts at the home of the author, written high and low for all sorts of musical instruments, and he will explain his book to those who will do him the honor to come see him.

The method that one must observe in order to play the lute correctly
You must:

1. Put the tips of the fingers of the left hand as near to the frets as possible.

2. Hold the fingers on the neck while observing the tenues in order to preserve the sounds that make up the harmony.

3. Always put the fingers on the strings that must be played first and then place the others afterwards.

4. Rest [stroke] the [right-hand] thumb on all strings that are below, to avoid bad sounds.

5. Don’t caress the strings with the right hand [=play with expression] when learning [a piece], so as to master it better.

6. Join terminations (cadences) to the trills (tremblements) as much as is possible to do, and evenly. 21

7. Practice the pieces slowly in order to be sure of the letters (notes) and to get used to playing cleanly.

8. Take care not to strike the bass and other strings too hard with the thumb,

Si quelque connoisseur veut éprouver ce que je dis, on faire exécuter mes pièces en concert, il trouveront toutes les parties tirées hautes et basses chez l'Auteur sur toutes sortes d'instruments de musique et donnera l'intelligence de son livre à ceux qui lui feront l'honneur de le venir voir.

Méthode qu'il faut observer pour jouer proprement du luth

1. Il faut mettre le bout des doigts de la main gauche le plus près de touches que faire se pourra.

2. Servir les doigts sur le manche en observant les tenues pour conserver les sons qui font harmonie.

3. Mettre toujours les doigts sur les cordes qui doivent être pincées les premières, et placer les autres après.

4. Arrester le pouce sur toutes les cordes qui se trouvent dessous pour éviter les mauvais sons.

5. Ne flatter pas les cordes de la main droite lors qu'on estude pour s'en rendre mieux la maître.

6. Joindre les cadences aux tremblements autant qu'il est possible de le faire, et également.

7. Estudier lentement. Toutes les pieces pour s'assurer des lettres et gagner l'habitude pour jouer nettement.

8. Prendre garde de n'assommer pas les basses et les autres cordes du pouce, et s'empêcher

21 Here Gallot is telling us to run the trills and their termination smoothly together, so that the notes flow with the same note values and emphasis into a smooth phrase. The habit he is warning against is letting the notes of the trill fade away, and then suddenly get loud for the two-note termination.
and prevent them from jarring together.

9. Strike the strings near the frets with the tips of the fingers, and always hold all the fingers near the strings and avoid making the trill (tremblement) [quiver feebly like the sound of] a bleating goat.


********

Examples of the markings I use in the pieces in this book

1

The tremblement is marked with a small comma after the letter.

2

The martellement [is marked] with a kind of small v after the letter.²¹

3

The chute or tombé, by a small turned up ^ before the letter ²⁵

4

********

Exemples des marques dont je me sert dans les pieces de ce livre

1

Le tremblement se marque d'une petite virgule, après la lettre

2

Le martellement d'un espece de petit v après la lettre

3

La chute ou tombé par un petit ^ renversé avant la lettre

---

²¹ Gallot inverts the symbol traditionally used for the martellement, the circumflex, perhaps reflecting contemporary practices by other authors from the period (e.g., Loulié).

²⁵ Again, Gallot uses the symbol traditionally used for the martellement, the circumflex, in place of the more traditionally used symbol for the chute or tombé, the half circle, drawn under the note, perhaps reflecting contemporary practices by other period authors (e.g., Chaumont, Berard).
To strike two courses with the thumb together or separately, you must do it like this:

And to pluck one [course] with the thumb together with two [courses] with the fingers, observe this:

Arpeggiation is done together or separately: with a big chord I make it this way:

The dots beside and after each letter must all be plucked with the first finger.

The dots before the letters are struck with the back of the first finger.\(^{36}\)

\(^{36}\)Here Gallot means the nail-side strumming the chord downwards towards the floor.
The bar in front of the two c's (côts) means that you must pluck them by dragging with the first finger.

When one does not find a dot under the letters, one plucks the string with the second finger.

If you see a dot below the letters, you will pluck them with the first finger.

When you see two letters like this, strike them with the first finger.

Charles Mouton, *Pièces de luth*, Paris, 1698

Foreword to assist in the understanding of the pieces contained in this book.

Having had my works engraved with much care and accuracy, both hands are well marked so that they will be as easily understood abroad as if I had demonstrated them myself. Because it is possible to meet people who are interested...
and who have never heard the lute played, it is appropriate to begin for them, and to acquaint them with the strings and the frets, which are the first two things that one must know. There are eleven courses of which the first two are single string (simple), and the others double and are marked like this, and are all named one, two, three, four and so forth.

The frets, which are strings attached across the neck, follow the order of the alphabet. The first fret starts at the top (baut) nearest the nut (sillet), which is a piece of ivory where the strings pass that is grooved in order to hold them in the pegs that are in the pegbox. There are nine frets, and the first is b, the second c, and so forth.

Example

This is not only on the chanterelle, which is the first [course] as I have marked it, but all those right along the fret, the first [fret] is always the b, the second fret c, and the others likewise. I also thought it appropriate to put the lute's standard tuning here, and if you find pieces in another tuning, tune only the letters that are indicated. Standard tuning by unisons:"

Les touches qui sont des cordes en traî- ers attachés au manche suivent l'ordre de l'alphabet et la première touche commence par le haut proche le sillet qui est un morceau d'ivoire ou le passages — sages des cordes est marqué pour les arêter dans les chevilles qui sont là testé, j'fy a neuf touch- es, et la première est le b, la Z, le c, l'autre le d, ainsi des autres.

Exemple

C'est pas seulement sur la chantrelle qui est la première comme je l'fy marque Mais toute lesteudie de la touche, la 1, est toujours le b, la Z touche le c, ainsi des autres; l'fy creuser apropos de mettre jey l'accord ordinaire du Luth, et si les pieces se trouvent sur un autre accord l'on, mette seulement les letters qui changent dans son lieu; Accord ordi," par vussions;

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{27} Mouton is talking about how he notates a change in tuning by showing only those notes that need to be changed and taking the others for granted as being understood by the reader.}\]
The right-hand thumb is marked with a bar under a letter to the fifth [course], for the sixth and the rest of the basses are not marked, being [played] always with the thumb. For example

The first finger is marked with a dot under a letter, like so

The second finger is not marked. For example

One must hold the little finger of the right hand on the soundboard near the bridge, where the strings are attached, and the other fingers in a half circle in order to be ready to play, and the thumb moves forward, in such a way that it is always above the fingers.28

Having given precepts for the right hand, it is appropriate also to give some for the left hand, which must be held out in such a way, that the inside of the hand never touches the neck, and also that the wrist of the hand is rounded, so that the tips of the fingers are easily placed on the strings and always near the frets, which are across [the neck]; according to the letters (notes) that should be played; that the fingers be separated from one another, and to raise them only a little when one goes from one note to another, which will give greater facility; that the thumb be placed under the neck and at the edge on the chanterelle side,29 and that it never goes further than the middle [of the neck] whatever chord that one may make; it must follow the fingers and be opposite the first finger or between the first and the second. Above all, the hand must not be cramped, [this]

Le poulce de la main droite se marque avec une barre au dessous de la lettre jusqu'à la 5e, car la sixième et le reste des basses ne se marque point estant toujours du poulce exemple.

le 1er doigt se marque avec un point sous la lettre ainsi.

le 2e doigt ne se marque point, exemple

Il faut tenir le petit doigt de la main droite sur la table proz che le chenelet ou les cordes sont attachées et les autres doigts en demy cercle pour estre prest a toucher et le poulce auance en sorte qu'il se trouve toujours au dessus des doigts.

Après avoir donné des preceptes pour la main droite j'el est a propos d'en donner aussi pour lamain gauche qui doit ester avance en sorte que le dedans dela main ne touche jamais au manche, qu'avec le poing la main fasse unron, afin que le bout des doigts se placent aisément sur les cordes et toujours proche les touches qui sont en trouers suivant les letters qu'il conuirera faire, que le doigts soient séparées les uns des autres, et ne les lever que tres peu quand on doit allet d'une letter aune autre, ce qui donnera plus de facilité que le poulce soit placé sous le manche et au bord du cote de la chanterelle et qu'il ne passe jamais le milieu quelque accord qu'on puisse faire, il faut qu'il suine les doigts et qu'il se trouvissais le premier doigt ou entre le premier et le second, et sur tout que la main ne se trouve point contrainte, estant une des choses la plus considérable pour la beaute

28 Mouton's right-hand placement is clearly demonstrated in the well-known portrait of the lutenist by Jean-François de Troy, which hangs in the Louvre.

29 The first course side of the neck, or the side closest to the floor.
being one of the most important things for the Lute's beauty, as playing fluently, as well as not playing too quickly; hurried movement not being received well among people who have delicate ears and who have knowledge of this charming King of instruments.

I shall finish with twelve examples to [help] understand the rest of the signs that are in my book, among which there are some that have not been used until now, and that make the pieces in my book as easy to learn as if I were demonstrating them myself.

1

The left hand is marked with numbers next to the letters by 1, 2, 3, and the little finger is not marked at all, just like the second finger of the right hand, so as to avoid having too many markings that would make the tablature more confusing. For example

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[Diagram of tablature]} \\
\end{array}
\]

2

To lay down the finger (bar), which is [done] always [with] the first [finger] of the left hand I make a circle [bracket] in the form of parenthesis that must stay down until the parentheses are closed by another circle [bracket]. For example

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[Diagram of tablature]} \\
\end{array}
\]

---

\*Designations for *barre* are not found in any of the other printed French sources, but one encounters them in manuscript sources such as *Mil* and *Barbe.*
The stroke that joins one letter to another, be it in the bass or in the treble, that one calls a hold (tenue), from the beginning of the stroke until the place where it ends. For example

III.

La barre qui prend d'une lettre aun autre soit à la basse ou au dessus qu'on appelle tenue depuis le commencement de la barre jusqu'à l'endroit où elle finit exemple

A small diagonal line between a treble and a bass [note] indicates that you must separate the two letters, in spite of their being written together. For example

III.

Vue petite barre en travers entre un dessus et une basse marque qu'il faut separer les deux lettres quoy qu'elle soient escrites ensemble exemple

In order to pluck a string with the left hand having played it once with the right hand, [pull off] even though there are two letters, it is marked with a small circle (slur) underneath and joins the two letters, like so

V.

Pour tirer la corde dela main gauche après l'avoir touchee de la main droite on fait quoy qu'il y ait deux lettres se marquen avec un petit cercle au dessous et qui tient les deux lettres ainsi

and sometimes by a small hook in the form of a comma, for example

VI.

et quelque fois par un petit crochet en forme de virgule exemple.

which must produce the same effect.

The cheute, which is to play the first letter that is marked and let the finger hammer on the other [note], is also indicated by a small circle underneath the two letters, like this
and sometimes under one by itself, which must produce the same effect, for example

Martellement is when you have the finger on a string and after having played it, you raise the finger slightly and immediately replace it, and that creates only a semitone and rarely a [whole] tone. It is marked like this, for example\(^{11}\)

The tremblement is indicated by a small cross after the letter, like this\(^{12}\)

The cadences, of which the first two notes are played by dragging the first finger and the third [note is played] by the second [finger], are indicated by a diagonal line that binds the first two notes. For example

When you find a bass note with the same letter written small, with a line joining the big letter to the small one, that shows that you must pluck only the low octave bass string (la grande base) on its own, and rest the thumb against the high octave string (la petite) which is next, which you pluck only when you find the little letter, thus\(^{13}\)

VIII. Le tremblement se marquie avec une petite croix après la lettre ainsi

IX. Les cadences dont les deux premiere lettres se touchent du premier doigt en traitant et la 3.\(^{14}\) du second se marquer avec une barre enteraus qui tient les deux premiere lettres exemple.

X. Quand l'on trouvera sur une basse une meme lettre en petit caractere avec une ligne qui joint la grosse letter avec la petite cela marque qu'il ne faut toucher que la grande basse seule et arester le pouce sur la petite qui suit que vous ne toucherés que quand vous trouverez la petite lettre ainsi

---

11 Mouton appears to be the only author to suggest the possibility of a whole-step martellement.
12 Although the majority of seventeenth-century French lute sources use the comma as the symbol for the tremblement, Mouton's symbol for this ornament reflects the more widespread use among non-keyboard instruments of using the cross for the tremblement.
13 Mouton is the only French lutenist to describe this technique of playing individual course strings with the right hand. He seems to use it only in preludes. Playing the higher bass note separately gives the bass a reentrant quality, and when compared with some of the passages that Mouton
In order to play a chord with the thumb and the first finger together, I put one or two dots after the letters according to the number of notes that make up the chord, and when you must strum the chord downwards with the finger, I put the dots down beside the low notes, as in the example.

One must sometimes play a chord by dragging the first finger upward as if it were a cadence, and play the first letter on top, last with the second finger. I identify these chords with a little diagonal line, which means: One must play the two middle letters immediately after the bass. For example.

\[\text{\fbox{\begin{align*}
\text{\textnumero 11}
\end{align*}}}\]

Pour tirer un accord du pouce et du 1." doigt ensemble je met un ou deux points après les lettres suivant la quantité dont l'accord est composé et quand il faut rabattre l'accord du doigt je met les points enbas du costé des basses ainsi exemple.

\[\text{\fbox{\begin{align*}
\text{\textnumero XI.}
\end{align*}}}\]

Il faut quelquefois prendre un accord en tirant le 1." doigt comme si ce soit une cadence et toucher la 1." lettre du dessus la dernière avec le 2." doigt je fait cognoistre ces accords avec une petite barre en trauers qui comprend — Les deux lettres du milieu qu'il faut toucher immédiatement après la base exemple.

\[\text{\fbox{\begin{align*}
\text{\textnumero XII.}
\end{align*}}}\]

indicates (Second Liure: Prélude en Ami. la tierce majeure, second staff), it falls into a texture that resembles the campanella effect of the baroque guitar; an instrument that by the time of Mouton’s publication equaled the popularity of the lute in the French court. Curiously, in a version of a Mouton prelude in Mill (a source that transmits virtually all the details, including barre indications), the scribe has left out the second, higher bass note in the those passages that include this technique. Compare Mouton, p. 1 with Mill, f. 83r.

\[\text{\fbox{\begin{align*}
\text{\textnumero 12}
\end{align*}}}\]

Mouton is talking about *tirer et rabattre*, or the strumming up and down with the index finger. He puts dots beside the letters to be strummed by the index finger, but leaves off one dot to show the direction of the strum. In his example the word “tirer” means to pluck upwards, which is distinct from elsewhere in his book where he uses “toucher” as the usual word for plucking. He uses “rabattre” for strumming down (towards the floor). Mouton doesn’t quite say enough to explain exactly what he means, but his example clarifies it. Mouton uses dots alongside the letters to show which notes are to be played with the index finger, as it strums across the strings. He shows the direction of the strum by leaving off one dot: for the *tirer*, or an upward strum, he leaves a dot off the lower (in pitch) of the strummed notes; for the *rabattre*, a downward strum, he leaves a dot off the highest note of the chord.

\[\text{\fbox{\begin{align*}
\text{\textnumero 34}
\end{align*}}}\]

French lutenists from this period did not normally use the third finger of the right hand. This means that they would use their index finger to pluck more than one course.
I have included “La belle homicide” of the late Monsieur Gautier on account of a double that I made to go with it, which people have found quite acceptable, in order to not deprive the public. This piece being of merit, and as well known as all the works of this illustrious composer -- and I thought that the double has a legitimate connection with the simple, you cannot have one without the other.

I advise those who are not much advanced on the lute not to begin with the "Tombeau de Gogo," which is the first piece, since it is the most difficult of all, and that could discourage them.

I am having a second book engraved, which will be out soon.

This strong relationship of the double to the simple is reinforced in Gaultier’s earliest print. Pieces, where he demonstrates the precise placement of doubles as being inserted to the simple according to their corresponding strain (i.e. First strain: Simple A, Double A; Second strain: Simple B, Double B). The later practice of including the double as separate entries in seventeenth-century sources does not mean that the practice of performing them as Gaultier suggests had changed, but rather, a change in scribal practices. Clearly, Mouton's statement reinforces the notion that the double must be included with the simple, and that they are not to be played separately.
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The celebration of the Losy of Losinthal family on the thesis print from 1667

BY PETRA ZELENKOVÁ AND MARTIN MÁDI.

Johann Anton Losy, Count of Losinthal, is known to lutenists and musicologists as a baroque lutenist and composer from the high aristocracy. He is the author of numerous compositions, influenced by the brisé or broken style, which he managed to combine into an original manner with melodically expressive motifs constructed above a bass accompaniment, enlivened with rhythmic arpeggios. Losy’s compositions were, in many cases, charged with profound meaning (as, for example, the Tomeau sur la mort de Madame la contesse Losy faite par Monsieur le Conte Antonio son fils from the Roudnice collection) and are part of the golden treasury of baroque lute music.

We can gain an impression of Losy’s fame from the more-or-less credible reports about him found in the contemporary literature. For

1 This text is a revised and supplemented edition of the article Petra Zelenková and Martin Mádi, "The destruction of Piura and the rise of the Losy of Losinthal family on the thesis broadsheet after Johann Fridrich Hess of Hesice from 1667” / "Zkázala Piura a vzestup Losyů z Losinthalu na univerzitní tezi podle Jana Bedřicha Hesse z Hesie z roku 1667.” In: Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague. XII–XIII (2003), pp. 6–24 and 110–123. An abbreviated version of our article was published in Italian in the article by Guido Scaramellini, "Il piratasco Giovan Antonio Losio, musicista barocco in Boemia, Cliervia, Bolletino del Centro di studi storica valchianoaschi, XIII (2003), pp. 91–100.

2 The way in which the names of the individual members of the Losy family were spelled has varied over the course of the centuries. The authors of this article have decided to give these names in the form that was used at the time, so far as this is known. The designation is usually given in the version most commonly used today, i.e., "of Losinthal." The same applies to other names of families that moved about in Europe, where we respect the variations between, for example, the German and Italian forms.

3 The brisé or broken style, by breaking up the chords, made it possible to play sophisticated baroque polyphonic music smoothly on a plucked instrument with a relatively short reverberation. The origin of the style is linked with the name of the French lutenist Denis Gaultier (ca. 1600–1672), who is mentioned as one of Losy’s models.


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example, the lutenist Losy was renowned for participating in an informal music contest in Leipzig in 1697, competing against Johann Kuhnau and Pantaleon Hebenstreit on keyboard instruments.

The German composer Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel met Losy during his visits to Prague in the years 1715–1717 and left us a vivid description of him, published by Mattheson in 1740. According to Stölzel, the Count was at that time an elderly man, though still with a lively mind. He apparently played the lute like a professional, with a full and beautiful sound, most often in the French broken style. He usually composed in the morning in bed, where he sat playing a small lute. He would write down his compositions and lock them in a special box. In the afternoon he used to play the violin to the accompaniment of the harpsichord. He took great pleasure in the beauty of the music and “anatomized” attractive passages at considerable length. He would dwell on a particularly apt dissonance, exclaiming, “È una nota d’oro!” According to Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Losy was in the habit of taking his lute with him on journeys, and did not hesitate to stop the horses if he needed to note down a particular motif.5

The artistry of the “Comte de Logy” is evident in the 150 tablatures for lute and baroque guitar that have been preserved. The first of these to be printed was published in Wrocław as early as 1695 (Courante extraordinaire in the collection Cabinet der Lauten of Philipp Franz le Sage de Richée). The memory of the celebrated lutenist was honoured by a tombeau composed by his no less famous Silesian colleague: Tombeau sur


5 Cf. Johann Mattheson, Critica musicae, III/2, Hamburg 1725, p. 237; Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Historisch-theoretische und practische Untersuchung des Instrumentes der Lauten, Nürnberg 1727, p. 49; Johann Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, Hamburg 1740, p. 342; Gottfried Johann Dlabac̆, Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon, II, Prague 1815, pp. 231–232. (Baron and, following him, Dlabac̆ added elements to Losy’s biography that in fact related to his tutor Hulse.)

The research that has been carried out on his life and work has been done by musicologists, in particular Adolf Koczirz and Emil Vogl. Their studies have not been limited to an analysis of Losy’s musical work, but have also collected a wealth of information on the history of his family, its activity in Bohemia, and its patronage of the arts. The value of these studies is in no way lessened by the need to supplement them by newly discovered facts in some cases.

*The Losy of Losinthal family in Bohemia: Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est*

One of the finest examples of baroque art in relation to Czech books is the set of illustrations that adorn the philosophy dissertation by Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal, published by the Jesuit printing house in Prague in 1668 (Fig. 1).

All seven illustrations for Losy’s dissertation were made by the Augsburg engraver Bartholomaeus Kilian, after designs by Karel Škréta. The engravings are notable not only for their outstanding artistic quality but also for their exceptionally captivating themes. Their iconography matches the sophisticated concept of Losy’s panegyrical work, which was dedicated to Leopold I and celebrated the sovereign’s marriage to the Spanish Infanta Margaret. On the half-title illustration we can see, among other figures, a young nobleman, looking up respectfully at his Emperor, and submitting for his inspection a vellum bearing the text of dedication. This young doctoral student is Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal the younger, later to become a well-known figure on the Bohemian aristocratic and artistic scene.

Kilian’s engraving has up till now been regarded as the only work

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8 Cf. Koczirz and Vogl (cited in note 4)

9 "We have escaped like a bird."

of art to provide us with a likeness of Losy. However, Losy was depicted on at least one other graphic representation, one that was likewise connected with the course and celebration of his studies. This is the thesis broadsheet announcing the defence of his bachelor's thesis in philosophy, which was made a year earlier. Kept in the collection of prints of the
National Gallery in Prague, it has so far completely escaped the notice of researchers (Fig. 2). As was the case with the illustrations to Losy’s dissertation, and according to the normal practice in graphic production at the time, his

**Figure 2** - Georg Andreas Wolfgang after Johann Fridrich Hess, bachelor's thesis print of Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal the younger, 1667. Prague, National Gallery.

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1 National Gallery in Prague, Department of Drawings and Graphics, inv. no. R 82 017; dimensions 34.2 x 27.6 cm (trimmed). The engraving is signed underneath on the left: “Johann, Frid. Hess ab Hessitz dtn. Pragae.” and on the right: “Georg Andreas Wolfgang s.”
thesis print of 1667 was the result of a collaboration between the artist who made the original draft design, the Bohemian painter Johann Friedrich Hess, and one of the representatives of the famous chalcographic centre in Augsburg, Georg Andreas Wolfgang. To produce the illustrations in his dissertation in book form, Losy turned to people who were without doubt masters in their field. The decoration of his bachelor's thesis print, however, he entrusted to artists who were slightly less skilled and well-known. Similarly, the character of the iconography of the bachelor's thesis print differs from the conception of Losy's dissertation, which concentrated exclusively on celebrating the imperial couple and expressing the hope that an heir to the throne would soon be born. The Emperor does, it is true, play a by no means insignificant role in the events depicted in Wolfgang's engraving, but the central place in the work, as is fitting, is reserved for the patron of Losy's disputation at Prague University, Václav Eusebius of Lobkowicz. Nevertheless – as we shall show – the allegory represented on Losy's bachelor's thesis print is primarily a reminder of the rise to prominence of his own family and a reflection on the eventful circumstances surrounding the arrival of the Losy family in Bohemia.

The origin of the Losy of Losinthal family has usually been somewhat vaguely linked with South Tyrol, Italy, Switzerland, or, more precisely, with the eastern Swiss canton of the Grisons. In our attempt to find an answer to the question of where the Losy family came from before they settled in Bohemia, Losy's thesis print provided us with some important clues.

We first come across the (later ennobled) Losy family in Bohemia in Prague, where in 1627 we find a reference to Johann Anton Losy the elder (born ca. 1600, died in Prague on 22 July, 1682). In genealogical collections he is said to have been born in Switzerland as the son of Thomas de Losy (whose mother came from the Lumaga family – "Lumagianova sive de Lumagis") and his wife, a member of the Mora family (her mother came from the Broccho or Broco family – "Brochiana sive de Brochis"). In Prague, Johann Anton may have been able to meet for a short time with relations on his mother's side. In 1604 the merchant Abraham Brocco (Brochis, Brok, Prok, Grock) had acquired civic rights as a resident of Prague's Old Town, and in 1605 he bought the extensive house, "At the

Sign of the Golden Apple” (no. 230/1 in what is today Husova Street). It later passed to his brother Franz, to whom it belonged until 1628. In 1619 we also find a reference in Prague to a Maria Elisabeth, said to be Abraham Brocco’s widow, who is also mentioned in connection with the estate left by Cyprian Lumaga.13 In 1627 Johann Anton Losy bought the house “At the Sign of the Little Golden Bell” in the Lesser Town district of Prague (Fig. 3).14 In the following years he appears to have moved frequently between Prague and Vienna. He possibly married Marie Magdalena Jobke (Jobkin?) in Vienna in 1632, but he was later widowed.15 Subsequently, in 1643 he married Anna Constancia Koller of Lerchenried (died 1685?).16

By the time of the Thirty Years’ War, Losy already possessed considerable property. He lent the Emperor 25,000 florins for war expenditures. In 1645 he acquired the office of the inspector of the Kingdom of Bohemia for the wine and beer tax and the salt levy. In addition, he became Councillor of the Court and Chamber. In later years he also lent the Chamber money, with interest.17 On July 4, 1647 he was granted the indigenate in the Kingdom of Bohemia. A certificate dated 12 July, in which the Swiss origin of his ancient noble family is mentioned, confirmed his status as a knight.18

Jan Zatočil of Löwenbruk has left us a report of how “Jan Antonijn Loží Swobodný Pán [baron] z Losynthalt” became involved in the defence of Prague when it was besieged by the Swedish army led by

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15 This marriage, solemnised in the Hofburg parish (probably, in other words, in the church of St. Michael), is mentioned in *Dobřenské genealogické sbírka*, no. 592.


Figure 3 - House “At the Sign of the Little Golden Bell,” Prague, Lesser Town.
General Königsmark.\textsuperscript{19} He paid in cash for weapons and munitions and for the fortification of the city. He also became captain of a free company of citizens, whom he commanded in the fighting on the New Town rampsarts. In return, he was raised to the nobility of the Kingdom of Bohemia and hereditary lands, with the designations “Freiherr” [baron] and “Wöhlgebohrn” [nobly born] by a decrec issued by the Emperor Ferdinand III in Vienna on 12 December 1648. Seven years later, he was further advanced when he was granted the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire and hereditary lands, with the designations “Graf von Losimthal” and “Hoch- und Wöhlgeborn” [high-and nobly-born], by an imperial decree dated 14 August 1655. In the charters of ennoblement, mention is also made of the merits of Losy’s relative, most probably a cousin (Vetter), Balthasar von Mora, a colonel in the imperial foot regiment. On 5 October of the same year, the validity of Losy’s title of count was extended to the Czech lands (Fig. 4).\textsuperscript{20}

In 1648, in payment of debts, the Emperor assigned to Losy the estate of Štěkčín with Cehnice (near Strakonice), to which the Count added nearby Repice in 1650. Eventually he also acquired Vlastějovice (near Zruč nad Sázavou), Sluhy (near Brandýs nad Labem), Ctěnice (near Vinoř), and in 1664 Vnitřov with Radonice (near Kadaň) and Tachov.\textsuperscript{21} In modern literature Losy the elder is sometimes depicted as

\textsuperscript{19} Jan Zatočil of Löwenbruk, Leuo- a Denna-pis, to gesc celeho knížovského Stareho a Nového Měst Pražských Léta 1648, Parodce neděl Dneon, Nocy trvajícího Obležení Svedského pravduve a uzezpařlve tepajší, Prague Old Town 1685, pp. 25, 35, 76.


an inexorable usurer who did not hesitate to behave intractably towards defaulting debtors. However, it would appear that he was first and foremost a shrewd businessman, who managed to surround himself with reliable and capable people, like the steward of Štěken, Johann Erasmus Wegener, and the steward of Tábor, the Italian Antan Casanova, whose son obtained a doctorate from Prague University in 1669 under the
patronage of Losy's son.22 Count Losy acquired considerable wealth from the revenues from his estates, the performance of his official functions, and financial transactions, and so was able to expend substantial amounts on representative functions commensurate with his standing.

At present we only have sketchy information about the private life of Losy and how he presented himself in society and at representative functions. We know that in 1648 he bought two finely built Renaissance houses on Dlázděná Street (today Hyberská Street) in the lower Prague New Town. In 1649 and 1654 he purchased two neighbouring houses that had been damaged by the Swedish bombardment. In their place he had a palace built, planned on a grand scale, using in large part the original Renaissance buildings (today Hyberská 1033/111) (Fig. 5, 6).

The Italian architect Carlo Lurago was responsible for the design and construction of Losy's palace.23 At the time he was also working for the nearby community of Irish Franciscans, who had the church of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady built adjoining their monastery. In the church (which was closed down in 1786 and reconstructed in 1810) a family chapel was built, paid for by a donation from Losy, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. The altarpiece for the chapel, with the titular saint as its motif, was probably painted by Karel Škréta. Unfortunately it has not been preserved. According to Hammerschmid, "Joannes Antonius Losy, Comes de Losinthal, Italus" also contributed the sum of 100 florins for the erection of the main altar, which is also lost, with an altarpiece portraying the Immaculate Conception, which also seems to have been painted by Škréta.24 In the 1660s Losy also had

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Figure 5 - Losy Palace, Prague, New Town.
**Figure 6** - Swan, the heraldic figure in the coat-of-arms of the Losy family, decoration of the wooden ceiling in the Losy Palace.
reconstruction work carried out on his house in the Lesser Town district of Prague.25 His principal country seat became the chateau in Štěken, to which alterations were made in 1664–1665 (Fig. 7). The fresco with the apotheosis of the Losy and Koller families, unambiguous in its conception, was created in the main hall of the chateau sometime between 1669 and 1679. It has been attributed to Fabián Václav Harovník, another person to have received preferment in return for his services during the defence of Prague in 1648 (Fig. 8, 9).26

Losy died on 22 July 1682 and was buried in the family chapel in the monastery on Hybernská Street. His marriage with Anna Constance produced six children – four daughters and two sons. Of the daughters, Anna Constance (named after her mother, died 18 August 1696 in Radenín) married Johann Georg Leopold Sporck, and Katharina Elisabeth (born 1652, died 8 April 1717 in Prague) married Karl Joachim, Count of Breda. The other two daughters appear to have been twins born in 1659: Maria Theresia (died 27 February 1696 in Prague) married Ferdinand Christoph Scheidkern of Scheidkern, and Maria Josepha (died 8 April 1734 in Brno) married Jan Antonín Pachta of Hájov. The elder son was named Johann Anton after his father (born around 1650, probably in Štěken, died 22 August 1721 in Prague). The date of birth of the younger son, Johann Baptist (died 1683), is not known for certain.27

In the second edition of his book on economy, dedicated to both Losy brothers, the steward of Štěken, Johann Erasmus Wegener, stressed the love the Count’s family had for the arts and the sciences, and praised their knowledge of Latin, German, Czech, Spanish, Italian, and French.28 Both sons were educated at a high level. Johann Anton started studying in 1661 at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, where he passed his bachelor’s examination on 6 June 1667, and was awarded the title of doctor of philosophy on 15 August 1668.29

28 At the time he was awarded the title of doctor of philosophy, Losy was probably about 18 years old. Graduates in philosophy at the time were on average 21 years old. However, there exist of students who completed a university education at a younger age. Cf. Sibylle Appuhn-Radlke, Das Thesenblatt im Hochbarock: Studien zu einer graphischen Gattung am Beispiel der Werke Bartholomeus Kilian, Weissenhorn 1988, p. 23. The title of master of philosophy at Jesuit schools was the equivalent of a doctorate in philosophy; see Ivana Černová – Anna Fichtnerová, Životopisn˘ distražké
Figure 7 - Main hall, Chateau Štěkení, Bohemia.
Figure 8 - Fabián Václav Harovník, painterly decoration of the ceiling in the main hall, Chateau Štěken, Bohemia, ca. 1670.
Figure 9 - Coat-of-arms of Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal I and Anna Constantia Koller of Lerchenried. Chateau Štekeň, Bohemia, ca. 1670.
The bust of Johann Anton Losy appears “in margine” on a thesis print dating from 1676, commissioned by a collective of Prague University students. The print, drafted in Prague by Cornelis Munck, and engraved in Augsburg by Melchior Küsel, shows the “hall of honour” (pantheon) of Prague’s Charles-Ferdinand University. This pantheon is depicted as a colonnade, where several rows of sculpted busts are displayed as a gallery of the university’s illustrious alumni. To this nobilitas laureata belongs Johann Anton Losy, whose bust appears on the top right end of the colonnade, described as “Io. Anto. S. R. I. Comes de Losy 1667” (Fig. 10).30

At the same time, Johann Baptist Losy was attending the Prague academic grammar school. As poeta academicus, i.e., a pupil in the fifth and penultimate year (known as classis poesis),31 he published a treatise in verse form in honour of the successful completion of his brother’s studies, celebrating the event by means of an exposition of the heraldic emblems on the coat-of-arms of the Count of Losinthal (Fig. 4, 11).32

The subsequent career of Johann Baptist was not an auspicious one. The young nobleman, heir to the Štěkůn estate, led a profligate life and was soon in debt. At the time of his premature death in 1683, his total debts are said to have amounted to 45,887 florins.33 In contrast to his prodigal brother, Johann Anton Losy proved to be a good manager of the estates entrusted to him by his father: the palaces in Prague, Tachov, and Vírův, together with the Štěkůn estate, which he inherited on the death of Johann Baptist. He attained the offices of imperial privy councillor and councillor of the chamber to the Bohemian crown, and lived mainly in Prague and Vienna. In 1705 he had a suburban villa

30 The engraving, measurement: 70,3 x 40,4 cm, in the private collection of Ivan Bohac, Prague. Cf. Georg K. Nagler, Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexikon..., Leipzig 1906, VIII, p. 111, Nr5. 24 (with the false date 1667).


33 Part of the debts left by the deceased Johann Baptist were assumed by his brother-in-law Johann
Figure 10 - Melchior Küsel after Cornelis Münck. The collective thesis print of the students of the Charles-Ferdinand University — the “hall of honor” of Prague University, detail, engraving, 1676, private collection of Ivan Bohac, Prague.

Figure 11 - Johann Baptist Losy of Losinthal, Gentilitia Symbola Illustrissimae Familiae Losyanae (Front page), Prague 1668.

(Gartengebäude) built according to a design by the court mathematician, astronomer, and engineer Gian Giacomo Marinoni on the outskirts of Vienna, in the Leopoldstadt district (on Stadtgurgasse opposite the palace of Count Montecuccoli).34 In 1708, when he acquired another house adjoining his father’s palace in Prague, he had his Prague residence

expanded still further. He also had alterations made to the family seat in Tachov and made plans for building a new chateau in place of the Renaissance building in Vínost that had been demolished, although the new building was not in fact completed until long after his death.

Losy's first wife was Sophie Polyxena of Gросseg (born 1656, died 21 October 1696). They had a son who died immediately after his birth in 1685. In 1700 the fifty-year-old widower Losy married the twenty-four-year-old Franziska Claudia, Countess of Strassoldo (born 1676, died 23 November 1755). Their daughter Marie Anna Josepha (born 7 February 1703) died at the age of two. Adam Philipp (christened 22 November 1705, died 21 April 1781) was the last male member of the family of the Counts Losy of Losinthal. He was a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, court councillor and imperial privy councillor, governor of Lower Austria (1749–1750), imperial director of music, governor of artistic Academy in Vienna, and imperial chief director of building works. After his father's death, he lived mainly with his mother in Vienna.35

The earthly span of the “father of the lute,” as Count Johann Anton was termed by his admirers, reached its conclusion in the year 1721. He drew up his last will and testament during 1–9 August, after a lengthy illness, during which he was cared for by Professor Löw of Ersfeld. There is an entry recording his passing in the death book of the church of St. Henry in the New Town district of Prague, dated 22 August 1721. The Count was buried in the family vault in the church in Hybernška Street in Prague.

The bachelor’s thesis print of Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal from 1667

Losy’s thesis print (above, Fig. 2) was created on the occasion of the defence of his thesis for the degree of bachelor of philosophy. His defence was held at the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague in 1667, and the examining commission was presided over by Father Johann Robert Wallis, S. J. (born 1636 in Szprotowa, died 1683 in Olomouc).36


36 On Johann Robert Wallis see Cernejová – Fechtenová (cited in note 29), pp. 498–499 (the overview of works by Wallis mistakenly includes the two theses written by the Losy brothers in 1668).

Losy's thesis print is kept in the graphic collection of the National Gallery as a single leaf. Originally, it belonged, most probably as frontispiece, to Losy's Latin philosophical thesis, published at Prague University with the title Universa philosophia rationalis. This book is now known to us in only one example, preserved in the Kolowrat chateau

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Joanne Antonio Losy S. R. I. Comite de Losinthal. UNIVERSA PHILOSOPHIA RATIONALIS, SUB AUSPICIS CELSISSIMI DUCIS DOMINI, DOMINI WENCESLAI EUSEBI DUCIS SILESIAE SAGANENSIS, GUBERNATORIS DOMUS LOBKOWICIANAE, DUCALIS COMITIS STERNSTEINENSIS, DOMINI IN CHILMECZ & RAUDNICK AD ALBUM, &C., AUVREI VELLERIS EQUITIS, SAC: CAES: REGIAEQUE MAESTATIS ACTUALIS INTIMI CONSILIARI ET SUPREMI AULAE PRAECEPTORI IN ALMA CAESAREA REGIAQ[UE] UNIVERSITATIS CAROLO-FERDINANDAE PRAGENSI, PRAESIDE REVERENDO AC DOCTISSIMO PATRE B. JOANNE ROBERTO WALLIS, SOCIETATE JESU, AA. LL. ET PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTORE, EJUSDEMQ[UE] PROFESSORE ORDINARIO, PRO PHILOSOPHICI BACCALÆAURÆTS LAUREA CONSEQUENDA PUBLICÆ DISPUTATIONI PROPOSITÆ… Prague 1667. The only exemplar of the dissertation is known from the library at the chateau of the Kolowrat family at Rychnov nad Kněžnou. See Josef Třtík, Disertace právě univerzity 16. – 18. století [Dissertations of the Prague University of the 16th and 18th centuries], Praha 1977, p. 42.
UNIVERSA PHILOSOPHIA RATIONALIS,
SUB AVSPICIIS
CELSISSIMI DUCIS
DOMINI, DOMINI
WENCESLAI EUSEBII,
DUCIS SILESIAE SAGANENSIS,
GUBERNATORIS DOMVS LOBKOVICIANE,
DUCALIS COMITIS STERNSTEINENSIS,
Domini in Chlumcez & Raudnice ad Albim, &c.
AVREI VELLERIS EQUITIS,
SAC: CAES: REGIAEQUE MAESTATIS
ACTVAE INTIMI CONSILIARI,
ET SUPREMI AULÆ PRÆFECT.

Alma Caesarea Regiaq; Universitate
CAROLO-FERDINANDEA Prageni,
PRAEIDE
REVERENDO AC DOCTISSIMO PATRE
P. JOANNE ROBERTO WALLIS
SOCIETATIS JESU, AA. LL. ET PHILOSOPHIÆ DOCTORE,
ejusdemq; Professor Ordinario,
Pro Philosophici Baccalaureatias Laurea consequenda
Publicæ Disputationi propugna
Ab
ILLUSTRISSIMO D. DOMINO
JOANNE ANTONIO LOSY,
S. R. I. Comite de Losinthal.
Anno M. DC. LXVI. Mens. die hiern.

PLAGÆ, Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinanda, in Collegio Societatis Jesu
ad S. Clementem.

Figure 12 - Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal, Universa philosophia rationalis (front page of the bachelor’s thesis), Prague 1667.
library at Rychnov nad Kněžnou (Fig. 12).  

The association of the thesis print with the publication of Losy's thesis is unequivocal – the data about the defence (the name of the defendant, patron, praeses, university, year, and degree of studies) are the same in the engraving and the book. The connection between the thesis print and the book of theses proves also the dedication of Losy's *Universa philosophia*. This riddling, complicated metaphoric panegyric, full of baroque pathos and rather heavy in its form, offers in fact a key for understanding the image of the thesis print, much like a functioned subscriptio to the explanation of the meaning of icon in emblems. In his dedication, Losy plays with the symbolism of the motifs of Zeus' and Emperor's eagles and with the eagles from the coat-of-arms of the Lobkowicz and Losy families. Mention is also made of the servant of Zeus, Ganymede (a metaphor for the faithful service of the Losy family to the Hapsburg Emperors), the wars with the Turks, Piuro—home town of the Losy family—etc. All these motifs found their place in the allegorical scene of the print. 

The artist responsible for the design of the engraving was the Prague painter Johann Fridrich Hess of Hesice (mentioned in Prague from 1641 onward, died in Prague in 1673). He is one of the figures of the Bohemian painting scene in the second half of the 17th century who have yet to be given the attention they deserve. The reason for the minimal interest in him is that today only one picture can be attributed to him, the *Establishment of the Dominican Order with the Crucified Christ, Our Lady and Dominican Saints* on the high altar of the church of St. Giles in the Old Town district of Prague. Hess did, however, paint a far greater number of altarpieces, mention of which is made in older literature. Although similarly neglected, a greater number of drawings and prints made after his designs have been preserved, the majority of which consist of book illustrations and thesis prints. 

Hess was a pupil of the Prague painter Maryáš Mayer, but his approach betrays the strong influence of Karel Škréta. The designs that Hess drew for works of graphic art, which were certainly by no means

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90 We thank Jana Zapletalová for her remarkable help with the translation of the Latin text.


92 Attention has recently been paid to this area of Hess's work by Jan Royt and Pavel Preiss in the catalogue *Státna knihovna Čech: Umění, kultura a společnost 17. a 18. století*, ed. Vit Vlnas, Prague 2001, pp. 33–34, catalogue no. I/1.4; p. 208, catalogue no. I/6.1 A-B.
below average in terms of their artistic and iconographic quality, were transposed onto copper by Prague engravers such as Frater Constantin, Samuel Weishun, and Daniel Wussin, and also by those masters of the engraver's art in Augsburg, Philipp Kilian and Georg Andreas Wolfgang. As with Hess's other known engravings or drawings, Losy's thesis print is characterised by a relatively mobile composition and an animated scene. The scene is full, but not over-full, of figures that are evenly distributed, none of them more emphasised than the others. A character is positioned in each of the four corners; the upper half is ruled over by the Emperor Leopold I and Jupiter, while the lower part is dominated by two female figures who stand facing one another. In the bottom left-hand corner appears a woman wearing a ducal bonnet, personifying Lobkowicz's princely dignity, and a putto with the Lobkowicz coat-of-arms. In the opposite corner appears a woman dressed in a toga, and next to her another putto supporting a medallion with the coat-of-arms of the Counts Losy of Losinthal. The sprays of laurel interwoven in her hair and the symbols of the liberal arts that rest at her feet indicate that she is the personification of Philosophy. In her hand she holds a laurel wreath ready for the student who has successfully completed his bachelor's studies: Losy. We can see his youthful figure in the centre of the lower half of the composition, borne upwards on the backs of two eagles towards the patron of the disputatio, Václav Eusebius of Lobkowicz. Illuminated by the rays of his patron's glory, Losy presents his thesis to him in book form.13

The oval portrait of Lobkowicz, the frame of which is formed by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, is supported by three crowned eagles. Two of them have a periscope decorating their breast and thus represent heraldic figures from the Lobkowicz coat-of-arms. The Lobkowicz eagle on the left hurls a cluster of lightning bolts at the Turkish army below it, which is fleeing. In the light cast by the lightning appears the inscription: "Præses Consilii Aulo-Bellici Anno 1663 et 4."

13 In addition to the politico-economic connections that we may presume to have existed between Lobkowicz and the counts of Losinthal, they also had cultural interests in common. Václav Eusebius of Lobkowicz and Losy the elder both employed the architect Carlo Lurago and the painter Fabian Václav Harovnik at around the same time. Members of both families also took a lively interest in lute music. This was the case with Václav Eusebius' son, Ferdinand August Leopold (1655–1715), and grandson Philipp Hyacinth (1680–1734) and his second wife Anna Maria Wilhelmine (1703–1754). The largest collection of Losy's compositions has been preserved in the Lobkowicz library in Roudnice. Cf. Paul Nettl, "Musica in der Fürstlichen Lobkowitz'schen Bibliothek in Raudnitz," in Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, 1814, 12, 1-2, Prague 1919, pp. 88-100 (94-95); Kocéř 1926 (cited in note 4), pp. 93-94; Jiří Tichatsch, "Französischer Konsort in den Jahren 1698 und 1699," Miscellanea musicologica, vol. XV-XVI. 1973, pp. 7-77.
recalling Lobkowicz's post as president of the court war council. The eagle in the centre grasps a marshal's baton in its talons. Alongside the baton is an inscription declaring Lobkowicz to be "Summus Minister Aulæ Caes.;" supreme imperial comptroller of the household, which he became in 1665. The eagle on the right, which grasps a ducal bonnet in its talons and is designated with the title "DVX SAGAN[ENSIS]," is the eagle of Silesia, in which the Lobkowicz duchy of Sagan was situated. Another element in the emblem of Sagan, which forms part of the Lobkowicz coat-of-arms, is an angel, which also appears in the role of guardian and guide to the young Losy in his upward flight. The two crowned eagles who bear up the defender of the thesis are heraldic figures from the coat-of-arms of the Counts Losy of Losinthal.

An eagle, in the same heraldic attitude as on the Losy coat-of-arms, is also on the coat-of-arms of the Italian town of Piuro (Latin Plurium, German Plurs). A vista of this town can be seen behind a gap in the rocks on the lower part of the engraving, with the inscription "PLURIUM. Vrbs Italiae, Divitiæ et amoenitatis florens, a monte obruta. A* 1618, 25. Aug." ("Piuro, Italian town, abounding in wealth and charm, buried by a mountain on 25 August 1618"). This motif, at first sight inconspicuous, opens up to us a hitherto unknown insight into the history of the Losy family.11

The Town of Piuro

Piuro is situated in the northern Italian province of Sondrio in the county of Chiavenna (Fig. 13). It lies close to the present-day border with Switzerland, in the Alpine valley of Bregaglia. Piuro was an important staging point for merchants travelling north from Genoa and Venice, and merchants and financiers from Piuro were active in trade centres throughout Europe. The leading families, in addition to the famous Vertemate dynasty, included those from which Losy was descended: Brocco, Mora, Lumaga, and Losio. Contemporary reports and vedutas from the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th present Piuro as an attractive little town with several churches, squares brought to life by fountains, and a number of magnificent Renaissance palaces, houses, and villas, luxuriously furnished and surrounded by gardens and vineyards.

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11 In Dobroňovské genealogické sbírka, "Purz" in Switzerland is given as the place the Losy family came from. Vogl 1961, p. 189; idem 1980 (cited in note 4), pp. 66–68, interprets this as an incorrect transcription of the town of Purz in the Grisons.
Figure 13 - Hospital and Church of the Assumption, Prosto (part of Piuro).
The grandfather of the young student who was defending the thesis, the merchant Thomaso Losio "Badala," owned a house on a square in the upper, northern part of the town, known as Scilano. Standing next to it was the house where the family of his brother Agostino Losio lived. In 1607 Agostino, together with his cousins Nicolò and Ottavio Vertemate and the state deputy (Vikar) Johann von Salis, set up a company to mine silver and lead in the mines in the Grisons (Silberberg near Davos). Opposite the two houses was the summer residence of Pietro Mora. The merchant Abramo Brocco owned a palace with marble portals and the family coats-of-arms in the centre of the town, and his brother Francesco owned another house not far away. Nearby stood the houses of the Lumaga families.45

In 1512 Chiavenna, together with Bormio and the Valtellina, was annexed by the Grisons (German Graubünden), a free state made up of "Three Leagues." The republic of the Grisons was based on the principles of early democracy, with an advanced degree of self-government for the individual communes. The specific political situation in the Grisons made it possible for representatives of various social classes to have a share in the government of the country. This strengthened the authority of the middle classes and brought about the development of local entrepreneurial activity both in the rural communities within the Grisons and in the commercial centres to the south. Gradually, however, particular local interests came to predominate over general interests. In the second half of the 16th century considerable political power began to be concentrated in the hands of members of a few rival clans, which controlled certain territories and often advanced their interests with the help of corruption and force.

The Grisons was an area in which several different language groups came together (German, Italian, and the indigenous Romansch), and later became the scene of conflict between two religious cultures. In the 16th century this religiously diversified area, where a number of exiles

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had taken refuge from the persecution of the Inquisition, was home to peacefully coexisting Protestants and Catholics. This situation was made possible by measures taken by the Three Leagues, limiting the area in which the churches could be active. However, starting in the mid-16th century, tensions between the different religious groups grew. This was partly due to some unpopular regulations, such as the imposition of equal religious rights in places in which one religious group predominated heavily, and a ban, on pain of death, for Catholic priests and religious from outside the Grisons who entered the state territory. Tensions were also fuelled by pressure from neighbouring states. Within the Grisons the voice of the Protestant party gradually grew stronger and stronger, and it also found support in the other Swiss cantons. On the other hand, Milan, under the control of the Spanish, attempted to support the isolated Catholics in the southern Italian valleys and to advance their interests.  

The complicated political situation in the Grisons came to a head in the opening decades of the 17th century. One of the factors leading to a deepening of the crisis was the renewal in 1603 of the treaty of alliance with Venice, at that time an enemy of the emperor and of Spain. The alliance with Venice caused Spanish Milan to take retaliatory actions, such as imposing a trade embargo and constructing the strategic fortress Fuentes at the entrance to the Chiavenna and Valtellina valleys. The alliance also met with opposition from the strong pro-Hapsburg faction. Following a further escalation of tensions, a Strafgericht (penal court) met in the town of Thusis in 1618, and declared its interest in establishing the general welfare and protecting the state from its enemies. The large number of jurors who made up the tribunal consisted mainly of Protestants, among whom a group of radical young pastors played a dominant role.

The trials that took place before the court over the next six months were directed against the real or imagined supporters of the Spanish and the Hapsburgs. They affected in particular the southern territories of the Grisons – the Bregaglia, Chiavenna, and Valtellina valleys. The first victim of the courts, in August 1618, was the mayor of the town of Vicosoprano, lying just a few kilometres east of Piuro. He was tortured.

into confessing that he had acted in a pro-Spanish way and thus helped pave the way for the construction of the fortress of Fuentes. On these grounds, he was immediately executed. During the subsequent trials, some 150 people were condemned, many in absentia, to banishment for life and the confiscation of their goods.

The Strafgericht in Thusis is generally considered to mark the end of the early democracy and religious tolerance in the Grisons. It triggered off further dramatic events and a series of violent retaliatory acts, including the massacre of the Protestants in the Valtellina in 1620. It also accelerated the involvement of the Grisons in the Thirty Years’ War, from which the remaining, neutral part of Switzerland was more or less spared. It turned this agitated region into a stage on which a conflict of interests between external forces—Spain and Hapsburg Austria on the one side and Cardinal Richelieu’s France on the other—was played out.47

Piuro, a flourishing trading town, was not one of the centres of the radical political and religious movement. Nevertheless, it too was involved in the events taking place in the region.48 It is difficult to tell what position with regard to the events in the Grisons was adopted by members of the Losio family, who do not seem to have been much involved in politics at that time.

At the beginning of the 17th century Piuro was a predominantly Catholic town. Among its population of a thousand were only about forty Protestants. In spite of this, by the end of the 16th century, conflicts between members of the two religious camps were occurring here as well. In 1610 and 1613 the local parish priest complained to Cardinal Frederico Borromeo, the Archbishop of Milan, that he found himself “in the last parish of the diocese of Como, in the last area of Catholic territory . . . on the very borders of the Catholic church.”49

During the turbulent period of the trials in Thusis, Piuro was afflicted by another stroke of fate that was independent of any human volition. On Tuesday, 25 August 1618 (Friday, September 4, according to the Gregorian calendar, which had not yet been adopted in the Grisons), after heavy rain and storms, a morainic slope started to move on Monte

Conto, at the foot of which was Piuro. At the time of the Ave Maria evening devotions, a gigantic avalanche of three million cubic metres of stone and earth detached itself from the massif of the mountain, and within a few moments transformed the town of Piuro into a modern Pompey. The work of destruction was completed by the river Mera, which flowed through the town—its course blocked by the mass of fallen rock—so that it spread out to form a lake. The landslide destroyed the churches of Piuro and dozens of houses and palaces, in which about a thousand inhabitants of the town perished.

News of the disaster spread like wildfire and continued to reverberate throughout Europe for decades to come (Fig. 6). Mention of the catastrophe is to be found in the Czech lands as well; in 1618 the publisher Paul Sessius from the Old Town in Prague published a newspaper report in German on the disaster. In spite of differences in presentation, the idealised veduta on Losy’s thesis print in 1667 is similar to the illustration (Fig. 7) in Sessius’ newspaper. Mikuláš Dačický of Heslov, a burgher of the Bohemian town of Kurná Hora [Kuttenberg], noted in his Memoirs for that year: “The news has been published that this year, on the 25th day of the month of August, in the country of Switzerland, a great rocky hill above the town named Plurs, tearing itself off, fell onto the town, sliding and tumbling upon it together with all the people dwelling in it, numbering up to 1500, so that no sign of any building can now be seen.”

Contemporary accounts see the cause of the tragedy as divine intervention. Writing in 1618, Johann Georg Gross, a parish priest in Basel, asks why God has punished the good people of the town so severely. Others, including Sessius, saw in the fate of Piuro a parallel to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, and considered the catastrophe to

53 Quoted from Mikuláš Dačický z Heslova, Prospáravda. Paměti, Prague 1955, p. 344. Contemporary sources give varying numbers of victims, gradually increasing up to the fantastic limit of several thousand deaths. At the end of the 18th century, Kant uncompromisingly and equally inaccurately reduced this figure, writing of two hundred victims. Cf. Scaramellini – Kahl – Falappi (cited in note 45), pp. 26–27.
be a punishment for the pride and sins of its inhabitants. Ioann Lucius Gritti, a Protestant pastor from Zuoz, saw the disaster as a punishment on the Catholics for the repression of the Protestant minority. On the other hand, the Catholic authors Borsieri, Baiacca, and Scotti explained it as God's retribution on the heretics in the Grisons for having brutally tortured to death the innocent Father Nicolò Rusca, the Archpriest of Sondrio, during the interrogations in Thysis.53

Numerous members of the Brocco, Mora, Lumaga, and Losio families met their deaths beneath the avalanche. Agostino Losio and his family, together with Father Nicolò Losio, perished in their house, Scilano. However, among those who managed to escape the destruction was Thomaso Losio, who was in the Valtellina at the time, and other members of the Losio family, who appear to have been working in Graz. Baldeser Mora, whom we later find mentioned as a colonel in the imperial army, was staying with one of his relatives in Vienna. Members of the Lumaga family were reported to be in Genoa, Verona, Palermo, Nuremberg, and Paris. Abramo and Francesco Brocco were in Paris at the time. However, their families and property in their home town had been swallowed up by the earth.54

In an additional note to the report by Sessius mentioned earlier, we read: "In dieser vorgemelten Stadt Ist dem Ehrnvesten und wolgeachten Herrn Abraham Grock Bürger und einwohner in der Alten Stadt Prag auch seine liebe Eltern und freunde Neben auch ihm an seinem Güter umb etlich 1000. schaden geschetzen deßgleichen etlichen andern Herrn

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54 Cf. the anonymous manuscript list of the victims from 1618 and Benedetto Paravicino, Descrittione Della incresciale eersione di PIVRO . . ., Bergamo 1619, pp. 32–33; Scaramellini – Kahl – Falappi (cited in note 45), pp. 28, 137–146, 238–239 (the texts mentioned are reproduced here). It may be that another one of the Losios to have been saved was Petr Losy, a future imperial lieutenant in Wallenstein's army. Cf. Jan Beckovsky, Poslední příběhy českých, II/3, Prague 1880, pp. 220–221; Josef Pekár, Valdštejn 1630–1634 (Dejiny valdštejnského spílení), II, Prague 1934, pp. 216–219, 246.

55 In the aforementioned town God destroyed and buried the parents and friends of the respected and highly-esteemed gentleman Abraham Grock (i.e., Brocco), a burglar and resident of the Old Town in Prague, together with his possessions, with losses estimated at 1000, as happened to a number of other gentlemen in Prague, who had their trade and goods there.
allhie in Prag so ihm Handel und Güter alda gehabt. GOTT bessers mit verderbet unnd verschütt."\(^5\)

Immediately after the disaster, rescue work began, as well as the reorganisation of the administration. Life gradually returned to those parts of the town that had been spared. A new town council was elected and on 22 November (2 December) 1618 an election of the officers of the local militia took place.\(^6\) Giovanni Battista Losio became its clerk.\(^7\)

In 1640 Johann Anton Losy the elder (the Germanised version of his surname probably came from the Italian plural form Losii), came back to Prosto, the part of his birthplace Piuro which survived the catastrophe from 1618. There, he founded a Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Church of the Assumption. The arch above the portal to the chapel is still decorated with the coat-of-arms of the Losio family and with the Latin inscription: “IO: ANTONIVS LOSIVS PLVRIENSIS. HOC SACELLVM FIERI CVRAVIT AD HONOREM S. IO: BAPT/ÆANNO NOSTRÆ SALVTIS. M. D. CXL.” (Fig. 14).\(^8\)

**Allegorical message of thesis print of Johann Anton Losy of Losinthal**

We know nothing about Giovanni Antonio Losio before he came to Prague. It is possible that at the time of the catastrophe he was with his father Thomaso in the Valtellina. He may, however, have been studying outside the Grisons at the time. After the tragedy, he perhaps went at first with his father to neighbouring Tyrol (which would account

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7 According to *Schumanovna a Dobrovného genealogická sbírka* Giovanni Battista was another son of Thomas, but contemporary reports refer to him as the son of Giorgio. He seems to have been the father of Sebastian Losio, who was later inspector of the salt levy in Linz and founded the knightly branch Losy von Losenau there in 1676. He was succeeded in his office by his son Anton Josef (died 30 September 1728 in Linz). Two more of Sebastian’s sons – Johann Baptist (died 12 February 1689 in Prague) and Sebastian Mathias (died 21 December 1738 in Rasta) – resettled in Bohemia, probably with the help of their great-uncle, Johann Baptist studied at the university in Prague, where he wrote a dissertation under the patronage of Jan Jáchym Slavata. Joannes Baptist Losy à Losenau, *Thesis Miscellanea et urarum juris excerptae*, Prague 1688 (National Library in Prague, shelf mark 65 E 4706). Sebastian Mathias exercised the office of customs inspector and was a Councillor of the Chamber. Cf. also Vogl 1980 (cited in note 4), p. 67, who however fails to distinguish between Sebastian and Sebastian Mathias.

for the mention of his Tyrolean origin). In his further peregrinations northward, Losy could have made use not only of his own abilities, but also of financial resources deposited abroad and contacts with his relatives and fellow countrymen.

The turbulent history of Piuro as well as the dramatic story of the
Losy family is reflected in the illustration of the thesis. The precipitate rise in Losy's social standing after he settled in Prague stands out against the background of the misfortune that befell the other inhabitants of Piuro. The pleasing increase in property, the acquisition of important offices, the favour of the Hapsburg emperors – all this might be considered by Johann Anton as divine providence and mercy, a sentiment that he no doubt felt particularly strongly when he remembered the tragic events that had overtaken his native town.

Losy's feeling of gratitude towards God for saving his life and towards the Emperor for the rise of his family is the motif underlying the allegorical decoration of the thesis print of his son, the concept for which he doubtless helped to create. The catastrophe that befell Piuro is recalled in another form on the thesis print, in a scene evoking the destruction of the Giants that is portrayed on the right-hand side of the page. The bodies of the inhabitants of Piuro, who have disobeyed God's laws, perish under the avalanche of stones that Jupiter hurls down on them in punishment, accompanied by thunderbolts. In Hess's depiction of the destruction, only one figure escapes, a half-naked youth, borne off like Ganymede by a flying eagle. There can be no doubt that this fortunate individual, spared by the decision of the ruler of the gods from death in the stony ruins, represents Losy the elder. Like Ganymede, whom Jupiter chose to be the cupbearer to the Olympians, Losy was raised by the Emperor to elevated circles, being appointed collector of wine, beer, and salt taxes.

Both the divine and the temporal architects of Losy's fate, Jupiter (God) and the Emperor, lean down out of the clouds in the highest sphere of the composition. In the heavens between the two rulers, as they fly on their eagles wielding bolts of lightning in their right hands, is situated a globe to which they point with their sceptres. On the globe four cities are highlighted: Augsburg, Nuremberg, Vienna, and Prague. These cities probably indicate the places in which Losy had been active; it may be that, before his arrival in Prague and his stays in Vienna, he had spent some time in Augsburg and Nuremberg.99

On the left-hand side of the print, opposite the pitiful destruction of the condemned inhabitants of Piuro, a further dramatic scene is depicted – the Turkish army fleeing at breakneck speed before the onslaught of rain and lightning. As we are informed by the inscription

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99 At the time of the disaster in Piuro, members of the Piuro family Crollalanza seem to have been in Innsbruck in Tyrol, while members of the Beccaria, Mazzabatoni, and Lomaga families were in Nuremberg. The Beccaria family was also active in Augsburg. Cf. Scaramellini - Kahl - Falappi (cited in note 45), pp. 20, 28.
relating to Lobkowicz that was quoted earlier, this recalls the fairly recent wars in 1663 and 1664. After a truce of nearly fifty years, the Ottoman empire declared war on Emperor Leopold I on 18 April 1663.

The Turks advanced remorselessly, laying waste large areas in Upper Hungary and carrying out raids even as far as Moravia. Vienna, which Leopold and his court had abandoned, was left without troops or supplies because the imperial army was protecting Preßburg. However, through “divine intervention,” the defenceless city was spared attack by the Turks; because of bad weather the Ottoman army did not march on Vienna. The Venetian ambassador Sagredo described the situation as follows: “Heaven saved what the minister [i.e., Lobkowicz] had let slip through his negligence; it sent down rain so that the roads became soft and the vizier had to remain for forty days in Pest, because the cannons could not be transported along the bad roads. God guided the hands of the Turks, but blindfolded their eyes.”

While Sagredo's report does not refer to Lobkowicz's abilities in exactly flattering terms, the Prince's role is understandably portrayed far more favourably in Losy's thesis print: the bolts of lightning that the Emperor sends down on the Turkish army are directed and reinforced by one of the Lobkowicz eagles. In August of the following year, 1664 (also recalled in the inscription), the Turkish advance had been at least temporarily halted at the battle of St. Gotthard (Szentgotthárd).

The parallel between the Emperor crushing the impudent Turks by means of natural forces and God punishing the recalcitrant Giants (or the undeserving inhabitants of Píuro) through the tempestuous elements is presented in Losy's thesis print in the symbolic form of the classical metaphorical analogy: “the second element is in the same relation to the first as the fourth is to the third.” The comparison between the Emperor and God is likewise emphasised by the words inscribed on the banner that flutters over the globe between Leopold and Jupiter: “Divisum imperium cum love Caesar habet.” This is the second part of an epigram, which according to humanist tradition was placed by Virgil over the entrance to Augustus's palace.

It is in the spirit of this “Virgilian” quotation, which achieved considerable popularity in panegyrics of rulers in Renaissance and

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61 Aristotle, Poetics XXI.
baroque times, that the fate of his father, guided by the Lord of heaven and the terrestrial ruler acting in concert, is presented in Losy's thesis print. The fact that Losy the elder felt that the saving of his life, its subsequent course, and the rise of his family were manifestations of God's grace and favour is confirmed by the quotation from Psalm 123 (124) that is inscribed beneath the eagle that is lifting up his son: "Erepta est. Ps. 123." Not only this extract, but the rest of the text of the psalm could be applied to the fateful events in Piuro and the life of Losy the elder:

\[
\ldots nisi quia Dominus erat in nobis, 
cum exsurgent homines in nos 
forte vivos deglutiessent nos: 
cum irasceretur furor eorum in nos, 
forsitan aqua absorbuisset nos. 
Torretem pertransivit anima nostra: 
forsitan pertransisset anima nostra 
aquam intolerabiles. 
Benedictus Dominus, qui non dedit 
nos in captamem dentibus eorum. 
Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est 
de laceti venantium: 
Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus. 
Auxilium nostrum in nomine Domini 
qui fecit caelum et terram.\]

... if the Lord had not been on our side when men attacked us, when their anger flared against us, they would have swallowed us alive; the flood would have engulfed us, the torrent would have swept over us, the raging waters would have swept us away. Praise be to the Lord, who has not let us be torn by their teeth. We have escaped like a bird out of the fowler's snare;

\[63\] The Latin translation of the psalm is that of the Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. 
\[64\] The English translation is that of the New International Version of the Bible.
the snare has been broken,
and we have escaped.
Our help is in the name of the Lord,
the Maker of heaven and earth.⁶

Respect for the power of the forces of nature and of their heavenly ruler is not only expressed in Losy’s thesis print by the words of the psalm, but is also contained in the first (unquoted) verse of the epigram referred to above, the full wording of which is: “Nocte pluit rota, redeunt spectacula mane: Divisum Imperium cum Iove Caesar habet.” (“All night long it has rained, with the morning the spectacle returns: Jove and the Emperor have the dominion divided between them.”) In the years in which Losy the younger pursued his studies, the elemental forces of nature and human malice appeared to have abated. In this period of peace, quiet, and prosperity, so different from the turbulent times of his father’s youth, the young student addresses Lobkowicz and, through him, the Emperor himself, with a request from the psalms, again left incomplete, which encapsulates his wish for a journey through life free of tremors, landslides, and rockfalls: “spiritus tuus bonus deducet me [in terra recta]” (“may your good spirit lead me [on level ground]” (Psalm 142[143]:10).

Translated by Peter Stephens

Notes

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Francis Cutting (d. 1596) has long been the most obscure of the major Elizabethan lute composers. This new complete edition of his works by Jan Burgers marks a welcome and significant advance in our knowledge and understanding of him.

Cutting left one of the larger Elizabethan lute legacies. Burgers credits Cutting with 50 surviving pieces and prints eight more “of uncertain ascription,” including two for bandora and one pavan likely transcribed from lute for two viols. Commentators have long agreed that the quality of this corpus is fine, yet little has been known of the composer’s biography, and most of his compositions have not been readily accessible.

Jan Burgers’ new edition presents the entire known corpus, along with his commentary on each piece. In the first subsection, “Cutting’s Life,” Burgers summarizes all the older and more recent scholarship regarding Cutting’s biography. In the next two he gives an overview of the works and Cutting’s musical style. This introduction comprises 29 pages. The tablatures occupy the next 90 pages. There follow 40 pages of editorial comment on the individual pieces, in a form similar to Diana Poulton’s and Basil Lam’s comments in their edition of Dowland’s works. Finally there ensue nearly 140 pages of transcriptions in keyboard systems. Lists of sources and bibliography complete the volume.

The facts of Cutting’s biography are sparse, not very secure, and most have been unearthed relatively recently. He may have had a secure career as musician and possibly servant to a noble household, but if true, this house also probably ensured his isolation from the royal court and wider popularity in circles associated with the court. Cutting appears to be the gentleman who rented a tenement in London adjoining Arundel House on the Strand, owned by Lord Howard, Earl of Arundel, who in 1584 converted to Catholicism. Cutting may have been in Howard’s employ.

An English aristocrat embracing Romanism in the 1580s was an act comparable to a high American federal official converting to fundamentalist Islam today. During that decade the pope and Continental loyalists often threatened or harbored open hostility to Queen Elizabeth I, and in 1588 King Philip II of Spain sent his famous Armada of ships carrying soldiers to England with the goal of returning Britain forcibly to the Catholic fold. One recalls Dowland’s distress when discovering in
Italy a plot by Catholics to assassinate his queen.

Cutting was apparently an amateur musician, although he must have had some formal training in order to compose polyphonic pieces as he did. Most of his music is transmitted in the Matthew Holmes manuscripts at Cambridge University and in William Barley's A New Booke of Tabliture (1596). Burgers agrees with John Ward, who first proposed that Cutting may have edited the Barley anthology, though he probably died before it appeared.

Burgers' description of the Cutting style appears to be largely adapted from previous studies – the dissertations of Wayne Wentzel (University of Pittsburgh, 1976) and Wilburn W. Newcomb (Univ. of Kassel, 1968), the edition of S. Carpenter, and Matthew Spring's recent History of the Lute in Britain. He repeats the observation that others, including this reviewer, have made, that the most salient style characteristic of Francis Cutting's music is its polyphonic fabric and the profusion of imitated motifs.

Burgers and the publisher deserve great credit for presenting all the pieces that may be associated even tenuously with the composer. About a quarter of the Cutting corpus seems never to have been published before, and much in print is not easily accessible. The largest previous edition, an Oxford University Press booklet of selections edited in 1968 by Martin Long, contains 23 pieces. Numerous others are published in the William Barley anthology (edited 40 years ago by Wilburn Wendell Newcomb) and various smaller modern anthologies by different editors.

Burgers does not shy from attributing an anonymous piece to Cutting when he can offer substantive justification, for instance the Galliard from Cambridge University Library manuscript Dd.5.78, ff. 20v and 11r, piece number 6 in his edition. Burgers points out its thematic similarities to an attributed pavane (Burgers No. 5), the composer's style of imitation, use of divisions, and so forth. While a conscientious student of the period may question the validity of one or another of Burgers' attributions, his decisions are not far-fetched, and it remains convenient to have the pieces easily available for evaluation and performance. It is in general a good practice to include the anonymous or uncertain pieces in a complete-works edition in order to facilitate access and further analysis.

The present edition also offers multiple versions of eleven pieces, in one case three versions. The differences are sometimes dramatic. "Pavane Bray" for orpharion in the Barley book has no embellished reprises, whereas the version of manuscript Cambridge Dd.9.33 does. Almains 38a and 38b have completely different sets of variations on the repeats. About three-quarters of the Cutting corpus is pavans and galliards – in-
cluding seven pavan-galliard pairs. The remainder are almans, toys, and variations and/or ballad tunes.

A few of these pieces are novice-level easy to play, such as the short toys and the well-known “Packington’s Pound” (from Barley’s anthology). Many others can be sight-read at tempo by an intermediate lutenist. None is as technically difficult as the more ambitious solo pieces of Dowland and Daniel Bacheler. They tend to lie well under the fingers, to stay largely in first position, and the diminutions are never fiendishly fast. Yet the music is quite appealing, constantly inventive. Cutting deserves much more time on stage than he has received.

Like most other editions in the extensive TREE catalog, this volume is luxuriously casebound. The tablature typeface is handsome, appropriate for the period, and well set. Many pieces suffer from the lamentable page turn problem, though.

This is much more than an edition of Cutting’s music. It is the most comprehensive study ever devoted to the composer. In a few hours, one can gain a complete overview of Cutting and absorb most of what is known about him.

In summary, this edition finally does for Cutting what Poulton’s biography and edition of the solo lute works did for Dowland three decades ago. Burgers brings back to life a major Elizabethan composer in all known facets and offers musicians today his entire known surviving repertory to explore.

— Douglas Alton Smith
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The Author Douglas Alton Smith received his Ph.D. in music from Stanford University in 1977 with a dissertation on music of the Baroque lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss. From 1974 to 1982 he served as associate editor of the Journal of the Lute Society of America, and is currently guest editor of three issues of JLSA that will be devoted to the life and music of Weiss. Since 1973 he has published many academic studies on the lute and its music, including the article "Lute" in The New Harvard Dictionary of Music.

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