

A Week in the Blacksmith's Life: Lutenists from Silesia and Bohemia around Count Losy von Losinthal (1650–1721)*

Grzegorz Joachimiak
Uniwersytet Wrocławski

Es ist jerzo vor drey Wochen, dass unser lieber Vatter der Lauten alles verlassen / und von dieser Welt in das Ewige verreiset / nemlich der Graff Logi. Alls man ihm vor drey Wochen den Todt angekündiget, dass es seines Aufkommens nicht mehr seyn würde, sprach er: *á Dio* Lauten *á Dio* Geigen! liesse darauf die Lauten und Geigen umkehren / und ein schwarzes Bandgen um sie binden / anzuzeugen / dass die Laute Trauer um ihm tragen.

from *Untersuchung der Lauten* by Ernst Gottlieb Baron (Nuremberg 1727)

The above words were written on the occasion of Count Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal's death in Prague 1721.¹ On the same occasion the famous lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss, who was born in Grodków (Germ. Grottkau) in Silesia, wrote the *Tombeau sur la Mort M^{er} Comte d Logy arrivée 1721. Composéé par Silvio Leopold Weiss* in his honor.² On the basis of Baron's quotation and also from his description of Count Losy we are able to tell a lot of information about the life and works of the Bohemian lutenist. The subject of the Losy family genealogy and the complexity of his life have been already studied mainly by Adolph Koczirz and

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1 Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, Nuremberg 1727, p. 75, English translation by Douglas Alton Smith, *Study of the Lute*, Redondo Beach 1976, p. 68: "It is now three weeks ago that our beloved father of the lute, namely Count Losy, left everything behind and journeyed from this world into eternity. When it was announced to him three weeks ago that he would not recover, he said, «*Á Dio* lutes, *á Dio* violins!» The lutes and violins were then turned upside down and black bands were tied upon them to proclaim that the lute was also dead, and so all lutes should mourn for him".

2 Cf. GB-Lbl Add. Ms. 30387, fols. 150v–151r. This lute tablature is preserved now in the British Library in London. About the provenance of this source see Claire Madl, 'Johann Chrystian Anthoni von Adlersfeld: The Original Owner of the Weiss London Manuscript', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), pp. 33–46.

Emil Vogl and have been augmented by Petra Zelenková and Martin Mádl.³ They have cited sources from the archives (frequently from collections of different provenance) that are preserved from the period before and after the Second World War and together they give quite a comprehensive view. Furthermore, Vogl provided an extensive introduction about the important role of the Silesian lutenists and their seminal influence as well as the importance of research about “Bohemian lute music”.⁴ His words have some reality if we look back to the history of Silesia.⁵ This article attempts to show some elements of Silesian music culture in the general cultural context of the Habsburg empire in Central Europe, where the connections of social lives of the lutenists were really significant on the line Vienna–Prague–Wrocław.⁶ The person of Count Losy von Losinthal could offer a good example to present these relations.

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- 3 Cf. Adolph Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720’, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1918), pp. 49–96; idem [ed.], *Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720*, Vienna 1918 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 50), pp. 91–92; idem, ‘Böhmische Lautenkunst um 1720’, in: *Alt-Prager Almanach*, ed. Paul Nettel, Prague 1926, pp. 88–101; Emil Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy: Lutenist of Prague’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 13 (1980), pp. 58–86; Petra Zelenková and Martin Mádl, ‘The Celebration of the Losy of Losinthal Family on the Thesis Print from 1667’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 36 (2003), pp. 49–86. Next biographical information about the Losy family, if other source was not indicated, came from these articles.
- 4 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 60–66.
- 5 When on 7 April 1348 the King of Poland Casimir the Great relinquished Silesia voluntarily (in non-militarily battle but in the name of so-called “perpetual love and fraternal trust”) for the benefit of the Bohemian Crown ruled by Charles IV of Luxembourg, Silesia became a fief but simultaneously retained an autonomy of region and on the same rules as the Bohemians had the right to take part to do administration matters. Formally Bohemia and Silesia were supposed to have the same rights. These issues together with incorporating Wrocław cathedral to the archdiocese of Gniezno were confirmed by the new elected emperor of Holy Roman Empire Charles IV of Luxembourg in the famous Golden Bull of 1356. This document was also valid during the whole Habsburg’s empire era which is the most important time for this article. When Ferdinand I of Habsburg was chosen for the king of Bohemian Crown only by Bohemians and without the Silesian Counts from the Silesian states, the Silesians protested referring to their rights from the Golden Bull of 1356. These political and administration issues showed some endeavors to preserve the autonomy of Silesia as good as possible, what could indirectly influence some elements of the musical culture of this region, as well as the Silesian lute music. Cf. Colmar Grünhagen, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, Gotha 1886, pp. 35–38; Matthias Weber, *Das Verhältnis Schlesiens zum Alten Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln 1992, p. 28; Mateusz Goliński and Rościszlaw Żerelik, *Śląsk a polityka Kazimierza Wielkiego w latach sześćdziesiątych XIV wieku*, in: *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*, ed. Krystyna Zielińska-Melkowska, Toruń 1997, pp. 129–147; Marek Czapliński, Elżbieta Kaszuba, Gabriela Wąs and Rościszlaw Żerelik, *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, pp. 75–79, 118–119.
- 6 In the Institute of Musicology at the University of Wrocław there is being prepared the Ph.D. dissertation entitled “Handwritten Lute Tablatures from the First Half of the Eighteenth

Silesian Traces in the Losy Family Biography

The lutenist's father had exactly the same name: Johann Anton Losy senior (ca. 1600–1682). He was one of three children of Thomas Losy de Losys and his wife from the de Mora family (her mother came from the Broccho/Brocco/Brochis/Brok/Prok/Grock family, “ex matre de Brochia”) – her forename is unknown.⁷ They lived in the Swiss canton of Grisons, which was under Habsburg rule. In this area there lived people who used different languages: German, Italian and regional Romansch.⁸ For the Losy family the town of Piuro in the province of Sondrino is especially important.⁹ The diversity of languages in this place could be the reason for the many forms of Losy's name but the general one used is a Germanized version of the Italian plural form of Losii – “Losy von Losinthal”. His family changed their place of living mainly because of a dramatic catastrophe caused by a stone avalanche of three million cubic meters and the flooding of the Mera River and the final destruction of the town of Piuro on 25 August 1618.¹⁰ Thousands of inhabitants perished.¹¹ Among others were ancestors of the Losy family such as Agostino, Father Nicolò Losio and parents and friends of a famous Bohemian gentleman Abraham Grock (= Abraham Brocco – Thomas Losy's mother-in-law came from a family with the same name), who was a resident of the Old Town in Prague and did some trade business.¹² But some persons from the Losy family survived: Thomas Losio and members of his family, who had been working in Graz.¹³ Quite soon after the disaster in Piuro a new town council was

Century from the Collection of the Cistercians in Krzeszów. Repertoire – Practice – Artistic Patronage”.

- 7 Cf. Zigmund Winter, *Řemeslnictvo a živnosti XVI. věku v Čechách (1526–1620)*, Prague 1909, pp. 130–519; Emil Vogl, ‘Zur Biographie Losys (1650–1721)’, *Die Musikforschung* 14 (1961) no. 2, p. 189; idem, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 66–67; Jan Županič and Michal Fiala, *Praha 1648. Nobilitační listiny pro obránce pražských měst roku 1648*, Prague 2001, p. 34. Zigmund Winter wrong entered the Brocco family on the list of Prague's Old Town stonemasons, see Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, pp. 54–55.
- 8 Cf. Joannes Florianus Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenæ, Vetero-Pragæ 1723*, pp. 302–303; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, pp. 59, 76.
- 9 Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 74.
- 10 Cf. Günther Kahl and Gian Primo Falappi, *La frana di Piuro del 1618. Storia e immagini di una rovina*, Sondrino 1988, pp. 107–373; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, pp. 78–79.
- 11 Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 79.
- 12 *Wahrafftige erschreckliche Neue Zeitung von dem plötzlichen Untergang der Stadt Plurs ein halbe meil von Klew an der Schweitzer Gräntze welche neben einem hohen Bergk gelegen wie diese Stadt von dem Bergk plötzlich un unversehens Erschrecklich uberfallen un verschütt und in ground verdebt verdect und hingericht das kein Mensch alt noch jung Summa alles und jedes Erbärblich umbkommen: Geschehen im 1618. Jahr den Samstag nach Bartholomei zu Abends, Gedruck in der Altstadt Prag bey Paul Sessen Im Jahr 1618*; Kahl and Falappi, *La frana di Piuro*, pp. 219–220; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, pp. 54–55, 79–81.
- 13 Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 80.

chosen on 22 November 1618 which elected the officers of the local militia. Giovanni Battista Losio (Johann Battista Losy) became their clerk.¹⁴ He was probably a brother of Sebastian Losio – an inspector of the salt levy in Linz and there he began the branch of “knight” estate family of Losy in 1676.¹⁵ Sebastian was successful in his office thanks to his son Anton Josef (d. 1728).¹⁶ Two more sons, Johann Baptist (d. 1689) and Sebastian Matthias (d. 1738), resettled in Bohemia with the help of their uncle Johann Anton, who as a young man took the opportunity to make money during the Thirty Years War.¹⁷ Johann Baptist studied at the University of Prague and graduated with a dissertation in 1688.¹⁸ Sebastian Matthias worked in the office of customs inspector and he was a Councillor of the Chamber.¹⁹ In 1640 Johann Anton Losy senior came back to his birthplace Prosto — a part of Piuro that survived from the catastrophe in 1618. There he founded a Chapel of St Johan the Baptist in the Church of the Assumption where we can find the Losy family coat of arms with its characteristic swan and the inscription: “IO: ANTONIUS LOSIUS PLURIENSIS. HOC SACELLUM FIERI CURAVIT AD HONOREM S. IO.: BAPTÆANNO NOSTRÆ SALUTIS. M.D.CXL.”²⁰ After he was in the service of the Bohemian Court Chamber, on 12 July 1647 Emperor Ferdinand III gave him the title of Knight (“Ritterstand”) together with the area called Klattau, south west of Prague, and he also received the designation “von Losimthal” (or “von Losinthal”) together with his parents’ coat of arms.²¹ He was especially well known in the context of his leadership of the Bohemian Council (“böhmischen Kammerrat”) by his nickname, “demanding” (“Gestreng”).²²

14 Ibid., p. 81.

15 Giovanni Battista was probably a son of Giorgio as well as the father of Sebastian Losio, too; see *ibid.*, p. 81.

16 Ibid., p. 81.

17 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 68; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 81.

18 The title of this work is as follows: *Thesis Miscellaneae et utroque Jure excerptae*, Prague 1688, preserved in the National Library in Prague, call no. 65 E 4706; cf. Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 67; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 81.

19 Emil Vogl distinguished Sebastian from Sebastian Mathias incorrectly; cf. Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 67; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, p. 81.

20 Cf. Guido Scaramellini, *La chiesa dell’Assunta a Prosto di Piuro*, Piuro 2006, pp. 52–58; Zelenková and Mádl, ‘The Celebration’, pp. 80–86.

21 The decree of 14 August 1655 (mentioned by Vogl) which contains information about the title “von Losinthal”) could be already a confirmation sources given by Koczirz; cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 75–76; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 70.

22 Koczirz cited a large record from the efforts and grants for Losy; cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, p. 75, n. 3; Adalbert Ritter Král von Dobrá Voda, *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien. Genealogische-heraldische Repertorium sämtlicher Sandeserhebungen, Prädicate, Beförderungen, Incolats-Ertheilungen, Wappen und Wappenverbesserungen des gesamten Adels des Böhmischen Krone*, Prague 1904, p. 148 (in the Koczirz’s article there is a typographic error with the number of the page: “184”). Adalbert Ritter Král von Dobrá Voda distinguished the family of Losy von Losenau from

On 12 December 1648 in Vienna Ferdinand III granted Losy the title of Court Councillor (“Hofkammerrat”) and gave him the office of the Exchequer and Deputy of Salt, Beer and Wine especially for his merit and courage in defending Prague.²³ His military abilities were apparent during the siege by the Swedish Count of Wittenberg of Prague’s Lesser Town (Malá Strana). Losy contributed cash and helped to get weapons and munitions for the fortification of the city and as a captain led the defense of Prague. Probably Count Wittenberg was also the musical patron of the Silesian lutenist Esaias Reusner junior (1636–1679) in Wrocław – Reusner was then a page for two years in his service.²⁴ For his involvement and courage Losy senior received the title of Lord in the registry Incolat (“das Incolat im Herrenstande”) as well as Baronet (“Baronat”) together with the title of Well Born (“Wohlgeboren”). On 14 August 1655 he was granted by Emperor Ferdinand III the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire (“Grafenstand des Heiligen Römischen Reichs”) together with the title of the High and Well Born (“Hoch- und Wohlgeboren”) as well as the improvement of his coat of arms.²⁵ He could be called a progenitor for this family in this context.

On 1 November 1643 Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal was married to Anna Constancia Koller in St Michael’s Church in Vienna. They had six children: four girls and two boys. Adolph Koczirz cited records from the archive about the last will written by Johann Anton senior, his wife Anna Constancia, son Johann Anton junior and grandson Adam Philipp.²⁶ Johann Anton senior wrote and signed his last will and testament on 20 July 1682 and it was confirmed on Friday, 14 August 1682, after the feast of St Laurentius. From the record of the last will and testament of his son Johann Anton junior, information was rewritten in the *desky zemské*

Losy von Losinthal, but both names are connected to each other; see Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 67–68.

23 Cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 75–76, n. 4; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 68, 69–70.

24 Cf. Wilibald Gurlitt, ‘Ein Beitrag zur Biographie des Lautenisten Esajas Reusner’, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 14 (1912) no. 1, pp. 49–51; Adolph Koczirz, ‘Eine Titelaufgabe aus dem Jahre 1697 von Esaias Reußner’s *Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust*’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1926) no. 11/12, pp. 636–640; Karl Koletschka, ‘Esaias Reußner der Jüngerer und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts’, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 15 (1928), pp. 3–45; Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: A Portrait of a Central European City*, London 2002, Polish translation by Andrzej Pawelec: *Mikrokosmos. Portret miasta środkowoeuropejskiego. Vratislavia–Breslau–Wrocław*, Cracow 2002, pp. 183–184; Markus Lutz, ‘Die “Leichpredigt” von Esaias Reusner (1636–1679)’, *Lauten-Info. Vierteljahresschrift der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* 4 (2006), pp. 19–24; Grzegorz Joachimiak, ‘Unknown Source Concerning Esaias Reusner junior, from the Musical Collection Department of Wrocław University Library’, in: *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, vol. 11, eds. Alina Mądry and Magdalena Walter-Mazur [in print].

25 Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 76–77, n. 5.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 88–93.

register, giving the date of death of his father as 18 August 1682²⁷. Probably Losy senior died between 20 July and 14 August 1682.²⁸ The people who confirmed the last will and testament of Johann Anton senior were: “Peter Niklaß Straha von Nadobylitz, Sigmund Leopold Schmidel von Schmidt, Wenzel Franz von Frankenheimb”.²⁹ From this source we also know that Johann Anton senior took care of his close family and some places in Prague as well as the Capuchin abbey and the Hospital in Prague. His wife Anna Constancia probably wrote her last will on 8 May 1690 and it was confirmed on 13 June 1690 by Peter Niklaß Straha von Nadobylitz, Graf Peter Wenzel von Frankenheimb and Adam Max Alsamovsky von Langendorf.³⁰ Both Johann Anton senior and Anna Constancia were buried in the family crypt of St Antony of Padua at Hybernia Church in Prague.³¹ On the occasion of his mother Anna Constancia’s death Johann Anton Losy junior wrote a tombeau in her honour: *Tombeau sur la morte de Madame la Comtesse de Logi, faite par Monsieur le Comte Antonio, son fils*.³² Probably this piece is a transcription for the baroque guitar from another instrument (lute, violin or clavichord) but we don’t have enough evidence to confirm this assumption.

The eldest daughter had the same name as her mother – Anna Constancia (the Younger). She married Johann Georg II von Sporck (1648–1705). Johann Georg was a grandson of Filip von Sporck and his roots were a paternal of Count Franz Anton von Sporck from Kuks who came to Wrocław together with his famous theatrical troupe.³³ Probably the youngest daughter Maria Josepha married Johann Anton Baron Pachta von Rajova. In 1690 they were already engaged and at that time became godparents to Josepha, daughter of the Bohemian lutenist Antoni Eckstein, a musician very close to Count Losy junior. Surely the name Josepha was not accidental – it was the name of her godmother. Antonius Eckstein and Aureus Dix are usually described as “two Prague lutenists”.³⁴ Works by Eckstein as well as

27 Ibid., p. 91.

28 Emil Vogl (‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 70) suggested it was on 22 July 1682.

29 Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, p. 90.

30 Ibid., pp. 90–91.

31 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 70.

32 Cf. CZ-Pn Ms. X. L. b. 209, pp. 49a–49b; Jan Antonín Losy, *Pièces de Guitare*, ed. Jaroslav Pohanka, Prague 1965 (*Musica Antiqua Bohemica* 38), pp. XI, 27; Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1978 (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B VII*), p. 289. Nb. see also: Ralf Jarchow, ‘Wir hätten wissen können, wenn wir hätten wissen wollen. Wolfgang Boettichers brauner Schatten auf die Musikwissenschaft zur Gitarre und Laute’, *Die Laute* 9/10 (2011), pp. 88–118.

33 Cf. Hans Heinrich Borchardt, ‘Geschichte der italienischen Oper und der Schauspiels in Schlesien bis zum Jahre 1740 in Breslau’, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* 43 (1909), pp. 217–241; Hubert Rösel, ‘Johann Graf Sporck (1595–1679) und Franz Anton (1662–1743)’, *Westfälische Lebensbilder* 11 (1975), pp. 203–226.

34 Cf. Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, pp. 76–77; Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 49–96; idem [ed.], *Österreichische Lautenmusik* (DTÖ 50);

pieces by Aureus Dix were also known in Silesia as will be mentioned below. The other two daughters of Losy senior and Anna Constancia the Elder also married noblemen: Katharina Elizabeth married Karl Joachim Count von Breda and Maria Therese married Count Ferdinand Christoph von Scheidlern.

In the matter of sons we know about two: Johann Anton – he was the elder and Johann Baptist. The younger was probably born in 1652.³⁵ He received a solid education at the Jesuit University in Prague.³⁶ His treatise titled *Gentilitia / Symbola, / Illustrissimæ Familiæ Losyanæ, / Honori & Amori / Illustrissimi Domini / Joannis Antonii Losy, / Sac: Rom: Imp: Comitibus de Losynthal, / AA. LL. & Philosophiæ Doktoris; / Dum / Sacram Augustissimo Imperatori / Leopoldo / Piosophiam publicè propugnaret [...] Dicata â Ioanne Baptist Losy., Sac: Rom: Imperii Comitede Losynthal, ejus Fratres Germano. Poëta Academico. Anno M. DC. LXVIII. Mense Septembri [...] Die Pragæ [...]* was published in the Prague's Clementinum 1668.³⁷ But he died prematurely – *terminus post quem* 1686 as is shown by the record of death in the Prague University archive.³⁸

The most interesting is the elder brother – Johann Anton, the lutenist. He was probably born in Štěkeň castle in South Bohemia which survived the Swedish invasion.³⁹ His date of birth is more certain in view of Vogl's continuation of the archival work begun by Koczirz. Before Vogl found his new sources, it was thought that the Losy junior's birth year was between 1643 and 1647 because at that time the office of the Prague archbishopric enquired in Prague's parish offices and the proper document was not found there.⁴⁰ This record was found in another parish church, St Heinrich's in Prague's New Town.⁴¹ It tells us that Losy died when was 71 years old, so he was born ca. 1650 already with the title of a nobleman.⁴² The family of Losy were declared Catholics so it is not surprising that Johann Anton junior studied

Emil Vogl, 'Aureus Dix and Antoni Eckstein, zwei Prager Lautenisten', *Die Musikforschung* 17 (1964) no. 1, pp. 41–45; idem [ed.], *Z loutnových tabulatur českého baroka / Aus den Lautentabulaturen des böhmischen Barocks*, Prague 1977 (Musica Viva Historica 40), pp. 63–69; Michael Treder, 'Aureo Dix. Musik für die 11-chörige Barocklaute (Böhmische Lautenisten des Barock, Teil 1)', *Lauten-Info. Vierteljahresschrift der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* (2008) no. 1, pp. 11–22; Markus Lutz and Michael Treder, 'Böhmische Lautenisten und Böhmische Lautenkunst. Teil 2: Eckstein / v. Adlersfeld', *Lauten-Info. Vierteljahresschrift der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* (2009) no. 3, pp. 8–16.

35 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 74–75.

36 Ibid., pp. 68–69.

37 Cf. Josef Pešek and Matěj Mařík, *Dějiny akademického gymnasia v Praze*, Prague 1927, pp. 55, 127; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 66–68. Emil Vogl ('Johann Anton Losy', pp. 69, 75) wrongly signed that this work is Johann Baptist's Ph.D. dissertation.

38 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 76.

39 Cf. Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 72–74. For the further literature see Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 57–59, 62–65.

40 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 76–77.

41 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 74, 84.

42 Vogl, 'Zur Biographie Losys', pp. 189–192.

philosophy at the Jesuit University in Prague, too.⁴³ Sometimes the Catholic confession helped in expanding a fortune and obtaining new lands, as can be seen in the case of lands left by the Protestants after the Battle of the White Mountain; most of them were confiscated by Losy senior.⁴⁴ On 6 June 1667 the musician received the baccalaureate and graduated as Ph.D. with a thesis at the age of eighteen on 15 August 1668. This day was surely not accidental because it is the important Catholic feast day of the Assumption of Our Lady, and this must have been important for the Jesuit order, for the Habsburg Imperial couple and for the Losy family.⁴⁵ For both of his degrees there are surviving examples of a printed thesis, each with an interesting frontispiece.⁴⁶ The first page of his work from 1667 was made by Georg Andreas Wolfgang after a painting by Johann Friedrich Hess.⁴⁷ In the centre is located the patron of Losy's bachelor thesis – Vaclav Eusebius von Lobkowicz. He was the Duke of Żagań (Germ. Sagan) in Silesia like to his grandson, the lutenist Philipp Hyazinth von Lobkowicz (1680–1737) who corresponded with Silvius Leopold Weiss.⁴⁸ Weiss must have been on good terms with the Lobkowicz family because they were godparents to the lutenist and his wife Maria Elisabeth's children three times.⁴⁹

Lobkowicz' coat of arms shows the Silesian eagle connected with Żagań Duchy.⁵⁰ A similar eagle could be found in the Losy's coat of arm but more characteristic is the swan which is located in the blazon of the mentioned Italian town of Piuro, in the Losy's castle in Štěkeň and in their palace in Prague, too.⁵¹ The view of Piuro was presented in the engraving from Losy's bachelor thesis and in the same form also in a Bohemian newspaper from 1618.⁵² The chairperson of the examination board in 1667 was a Jesuit Father Johann Robert Wallis who was born in Szprotawa (Germ. Sprottau) in Silesia in 1636.⁵³ We know about the author of the doctorate from the printed philosophical thesis which has a frontispiece prepared by

43 Cf. Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 76–77; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 75.

44 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 71.

45 Cf. Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 76–77; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 75–76.

46 Cf. Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 49–86.

47 A copy preserved in the National Gallery in Prague, Department of Drawings and Graphics, Inv. no. R 82017.

48 Cf. Johann Heinrich Zedler, 'Lobkovitz, Philipp', in: *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 18, Halle and Leipzig 1744, col. 41; Douglas Alton Smith, 'A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), pp. 27–31; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 49–86.

49 Smith, 'A Biography', p. 20.

50 Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', p. 74.

51 Ibid., pp. 58, 60–61, 74, 82.

52 Cf. *Wahrafftige erschreckliche Neue Zeitung* (see above n. 12); Kahl and Falappi, *La frana di Piuro*, pp. 219–220; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', p. 79.

53 Cf. Ivana Čornejová and Anna Fechtnerová, *Životopisný slovník pražské university. Filozofická a teologická fakulta 1654–1773*, Prague 1986, p. 14; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 69–70.

the engraver Bartholomeus Kilian the younger (1630–1696) from Augsburg following the drawing by the famous artist Karel Škréta.⁵⁴ This work was dedicated to Margareta of Spain (the subject of an earlier painting by Diego Velazquez) and her husband. Emperor Leopold I, both of whom are shown in this engraving together with our lutenist, Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior.



Figure 1. The frontispiece of the bachelor thesis of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior published in Prague 1667. Prague, Národní galerie.

54 A copy preserved in the National Library in Prague, call no. 65 A 24; cf. Gustav Pazaurek, *Carl Scretta (1610–1674): Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Prague 1889; Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 76; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 76–78; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 49–86.



Figure 2. The frontispiece of the Ph.D. thesis of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior published in Prague 1668. Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky.

Another drawing by Škréta was also used as frontispiece in the printed lute music collection *Pièces du Lut* by Jacque Bittner whose origin is uncertain but probably came from Bohemia, Moravia or Silesia.⁵⁵ His lute book was printed

55 Wallace John Rave, *A Baroque Lute Tablature: Jacob Bittner, Pieces de Lut, 1682*, M.A. thesis, University of Illinois 1965 (the microfilm of the typescript available in the Library of

twice, in 1682 and in 1702, in Nuremberg like the work from 1727 by the previously mentioned Silesian lutenist Ernst Gottlieb Baron. The cross cultural relation concerning the “lute line” in Bohemia and Silesia may also be confirmed by the fact that it took a very short time for the copy of Losy’s thesis to appear (1668) in the private library of the commanding officer in Głogów (Germ. Glogau), Jobst Hilmar Freiherrn von Knigge (1605–1683).⁵⁶ This private collection was part of a big library in the Catholic Gymnasium in Głogów and at that time belonged to the Jesuits. At about the same time as Losy received his degrees, Esaias Reusner junior was in Vienna (between ca. 2 November 1667 and 27 April 1668) and dedicated his *Delitiae testudinis* to Emperor Leopold I.⁵⁷ We know about this from surviving correspondence from Brzeg (Germ. Brieg) to the City Council of Gdańsk (Germ. Danzig).⁵⁸ Whether Reusner junior and Losy junior ever met, we do not know, but probably their works influenced each other. After his graduation Losy left Prague and made a journey to complete his studies. What is most interesting about his trip to Germany, is the musical contest between him, Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722) and Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1669–1750).⁵⁹ The hammered *dulcimer* instrument played by Pantaleon was very intriguing. In a letter sent from Leipzig on 8 December 1717 Kuhnau mentioned that during the presentation of Hebenstreit’s instrument Count Losy asked him: “Da wurde der Herr Graff ganz ausser sich gesetzt, er führte mich aus seinem Zimmer über den Saal, hörte von weiten zu, und sagte: Ey, was ist das? Ich bin in Italia gewesen (*Nota bene in punkto* der musicalischen Welt), habe alles, was die Musica schönes hat, gehöret, aber dergleichen ist mir nicht zu Ohren kommen”.⁶⁰ Kuhnau mentioned also that

the Lute Society of America); *Pièces de Lut Composeès par M: Jacque Bittner Dedieès à Monsieur Piere Pedroni de Treÿenfels* [1702], ed. facs. François-Pierre Goy and Michael Treder, Lübeck 2009 (review of the edition by Markus Lutz in: *Lauten-Info. Quartalsschrift von Deutsche Lautengessellschaft* (2010) no. 1, p. 31); Michael Treder, Emily D. Ferrigno, François-Pierre Goy and Peter Steur, ‘Die handschriftlich ergänzten Tabulaturen zum Druck „Pièces de Lut” (Jacque Bittner)’, *Lauten-Info. Quartalsschrift von Deutsche Lautengessellschaft* (2010) no. 3, pp. 9–17; Michael Treder, ‘Pièces de Lut von Bittner (Büttner / Bittnero). Konkordanzen in Barocklautenmanuskripten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Die Laute* 9/10 (2011), pp. 41–63.

56 Paul Knötel, ‘Eine schlesische Soldatenbibliothek des 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens* 29 (1895), p. 249.

57 Cf. Esaias Reusner, *Delitiae testudinis*, Wratislavia and Brieg [?] 1667.

58 Cf. Richard Münnich, ‘Ein Brief Esaias Reusners’, in: *Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstage Sr. Exzellenz des Wirklichen Geheimen Rates Rochus Freiherrn von Liliencron*, Leipzig 1910, pp. 173–175; Koczirz, ‘Eine Titelaufgabe’, pp. 636–640; Joachimiak, ‘Unknown Source’ [in print].

59 Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, p. 78; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 78, 79–80.

60 Cf. Johann Mattheson, ‘Die Orchester=Kanzeley’, *Critica Musica* 2 (1725) no. 7, p. 237, transl. by Emil Vogl (‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 80): “The Count was quite beside himself; he led me out of this room and across the hall, listened from afar, and said: *Ey, was ist das?*”

this meeting occurred twenty years before, so it must have been ca. 1697: “Der vornehme und *excellente* Lautenist, der Graff *Logi*, stellte vor 20. Jahren ohngefehr [...]”.⁶¹ From this statement it is known that Losy was not only in Leipzig but also in Italy – the center of the “music world”. It is possible that Losy was also in France but this is only based on an analysis of his works which were written in the French lute manner. Vogl conjectured that Losy could have been also a student of French lute masters such as Charles Mouton, François Dufaut or another Parisian student of Denis Gaultier.⁶² A somewhat symbolic view is presented in the engraving *Musica* made by Johann Oertl (1688–1718?), who was active in Wrocław,⁶³ after a drawing by Johann Jacob Eybelwischer; this appears in the print *Cabinet der Lauten* by Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée published probably in Wrocław ca. 1695, then again in 1735 and dedicated to a wealthy count in Silesia – Johann Baptista Neidhardt the younger, who fate was similar like the Losy family in a close Silesian Jesuit’s relation.⁶⁴ In this book of twelve *Partien* is also included a single *Courant Extraordinaire de Monsieur Le Comte Logy*. Among the works of Count Losy von Losinthal this is the one and only printed piece. In his preface Le Sage called Count Losy “the Prince of all Artists on his instrument”.⁶⁵ In the engraving can find four books with the names of famous lutenists written on their spines: C. Logy (= Losy) on the top then Dufaut, Mouton and Gaultier; the book beneath is turned away so that it is impossible to see its spine and therefore we cannot read a name on it. Losy is here shown like a lutenist ruling over the French masters of the instrument, so the suggestion his teachers may have been French could be possible. It could be confirmed by some pieces written down to the French lute sources like to e.g. the Vaudry de Saizenay (F-B Ms. 279.152) or Ruthwen manuscript (F-Pn Rés. 1110).

I have been in Italy, have heard all the beautiful things music has to offer, but nothing like this ever met my ears before”.

61 Mattheson, ‘Die Orchester=Kanzeley’, p. 237. Emil Vogl (‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 78, 79) wrote that Losy’s travel over the Europe was probably between 1697 and 1699 but it seems there is not enough source to prove it.

62 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 78.

63 Johann Oertl made also an engraving on the following the drawing by Johann Jacob Eybelwischer. It shows a pleasure boat on the Odra River in Popowice (Germ. Pöpelwitz, currently a district of Wrocław) with Charles III Philipp of Pfalz further Pfalzgraf and Kurfürst of Pfalz on 26 July 1706 (the fest of St Anna) with a melody played in the background. It could be possible that there was a Silesian young lutenist S. L. Weiss among the musicians, cf. Grzegorz Joachimiak, ‘Sylvius Leopold Weiss wielkim lutnistą był?’, *Ruch Muzyczny* 52 (2008) nr 25, pp. 34–36.

64 Grzegorz Joachimiak, ‘Uwagi do «wrocławskiego» druku *Cabinet der Lauten* Philippa Franza Le Sage’a de Richée i muzyczna działalność rodziny Neidhardtów’, *Muzyka* 56 (2011) no. 3, pp. 123–151.

65 Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée, *Cabinet der Lauten*, Wrocław [?] ca. 1695, preface, Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ant. pract. L 895.

Count Losy was married twice. Firstly to Sophia Polixena von Großegg. They married in Vienna probably before the death of Johann Anton Losy senior in 1682.⁶⁶ On 1 September 1685 the first son of the lutenist and his wife was born but after two hours he died without being named.⁶⁷ Sophia Polixena died on 21 October 1696 in Vienna; she was then 40 years old.⁶⁸ The second marriage was with the Countess Francisca Claudia Strassoldo, but before this celebration Losy had to settle 50.000 florins on his future wife.⁶⁹ They had two children: Maria Anna (born on 3 February 1703) – she died on 17 April 1705 as was published in the *Wienerisches Diarium* in a special column separate from the main text.⁷⁰ The second child was a son, Adam Philipp (1705–1781).⁷¹ There is also another story about the date of Losy's death and his funeral. The exact date of Count Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior's death can only be conjectured. The last will and testament found by Koczirz was written and signed by Losy on 1 August 1721.⁷² One week later, on 8 August 1721, he wrote and signed codicil, which had to be added to the *desky zemské* register, in which he appointed his wife Francisca Claudia Gräfin von Strassoldo to manage his fortune; moreover, she received an additional 50.000 florins, but if she wanted to change her last name, only this money would be under her control and the rest of the fortune would go to their son Adam Philipp who was underage in 1721.⁷³ The third date which appears in Losy's testament records is Tuesday, 2 September 1721 after the holiday of the Holy Guardian Angel.⁷⁴ Probably on this day the last will and testament was confirmed by "Carl Graf von Bredau, Jos. Franz Löw Ritter von Erlsfeld, Joseph Hubert Freiherr von Hartig".⁷⁵ The final date is Tuesday, 9 September 1721, which appears in the third part of the testament, entitled "Francisca Claudia, Vormundschaftsübernahme", concerning the administration of Adam Philipp Losy's legacy by his mother Francisca Claudia née von Strassoldo.⁷⁶ Count Losy junior remembered many persons and institutions in his will. Among others he listed:

66 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 77, 90.

67 Ibid., p. 77; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 79.

68 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 76; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 79.

69 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 77; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 79.

70 *Wienerisches Diarium*, 15 April 1705, 'Hoher Todts=Fall', <http://anno.onb.ac.at/anno.htm>, 21.08.2011; Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 77.

71 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 77–78, 81–82, 93; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 79.

72 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 77, 91–93; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 84.

73 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 92.

74 Currently this holiday is celebrated on 29 September but the rest of information namely that it was Tuesday on 2 September 1721 is correct.

75 Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', p. 92.

76 Ibid., p. 93.

zwei Assistenz-Räte: den Hoch- und Wohlgeborenen Herrn Carl Joachim Grafen Bredau iher Röm. Kaiserl. Majastät Geheimen Rat; den Wohlgeborenen Herrn Johann Hubert Freihern von Hartig-Berens
 der Foundation den Kreuzherren zu Tachau (12.000 fl.)
 dem P. Wolff S. J., meinem Beichvater, zur Errichtung und Exornation eines Altars nach seinen Intentionen bei St. Clement in Prag (1500 fl.)
 den P. P. Franciscanis in Tachau (400 fl.)
 den P. P. Hybernus in Prag (600 fl.)
 den P. P. Capucinis bei St. Joseph in Prag (400 fl.)
 den armen Leuten auf meinen Gütern (300 fl.)
 dem Gergl Grümmer, meinem Kammerdiener (300 fl.)
 meine Schwägerin Marie Eleonore von Strassoldo in Wien im jungfräulichen Kloster bei der Himmelsporten (2000 fl.) den hochgelehrten Herrn Johann Franz Löw Ritter von Erlsfeld Dr. phil., med. et iuris utriusque für die Cur [...] den hochgelehrten Herrn Franz Tobl, iuris utriusque doctor für die Mühewaltung bei der Abfassung des Testamentes den Herrn Joh. Schmidt, Hyberno phil. et med. doctor
 meinem Buchhalter Christoph Funck [...] (2000 fl.)
 meines Buchhalters jetzigen Schreiber Anton Funck (50 fl.).⁷⁷

The next date connected with Losy's death is known from research by Emil Vogl. It is 22 August 1721, the date of the record in the death book of St Henry's parish (*Kostel svatého Jindřicha*, known also as *Kostel svatého Jindřicha a Kunhuty*) in Prague's New Town:⁷⁸

Od Losi / Pohřben praevis parochialis juris contentatione / vysoce urozeny p. / hrab. excell. p. p. Jan Antonín hrabě Losy z Losinthalu / starý 71 roků / na vodnatelnost jsa skrze mně sac / viatico z povolení pak mého in absentia mei skrze velebn. p. s. Wolfa tovaryšstva Ježišovo posledním pomazáním zaopatřen leží u p. p. Hybernů / item testor Joh. Bernh. Schönflug farář u sv. Jindřicha.⁷⁹

This confirms Count Losy's age as 71 years on the day of his death, although the exact date (day and month) remains uncertain. He died in his palace on Hibernia street; formally this was in St Peter's parish in Prague's New Town, but the parish priests of St Peter's and St Henry's had an agreement recorded Losy's death in the book of St Henry's.⁸⁰ Fr. Joh[ann] Bernh[ard] Schönflug from St Peter's agreed to this because he was absent at this time, moreover the Jesuit Fr. Wolf was Count Losy's private confessor (as confirmed by the testament records cited by Koczirz) and the Jesuits, who received from Losy 1500 florins

77 Ibid., pp. 91–92.

78 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 84.

79 Ibid., p. 85: "Von Losi, buried *praevia parochialis juris contentatione*, the high-born Lord, Count excell. Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal, 71 years old, of dropsy, provided by me, *sac. viatico* with my permission *in absentia* of priest Wolf of the Society of Jesus, with extreme unction, lies in the Hibernian Church, *item testor* Johann Bernhard Schönflug pastor of St Heinrich".

80 Ibid., p. 84.

for the altar in St Clement's church, administered the last rites to him.⁸¹ Count Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal, like his father, was buried in the family crypt of the Antonius Chapel at the church of the Immaculate Conception in Prague, not far from his palace on Hibernia street.⁸² Unfortunately after 1810 this crypt was destroyed.⁸³

The son of Count Losy junior, Adam Philipp Losy, like his father, was a music lover, and played the contrabass in an amateur orchestra.⁸⁴ He married Maria Ernestine Fuchs, the daughter of Maria Theresa – the future widow of the Count Anton Christoph Karl von Nostiz. This family played a very significant role in Silesian artistic patronage as well as being bibliophiles.⁸⁵ Count Adam Philipp Losy von Losinthal also graduated at the same Jesuit University in Prague as his father (there even exist his two theses: *Theses ex Univers Philosophia* from 1735 and *Theses Philosophiae Rationalis* from 1739).⁸⁶ Generally, most of his life was spent in Vienna, where he was a highly esteemed and important person. Between 1746–1761 he was the head of the *Cavaliere della Musica* (“Hof- und Kammermusikdirektors”), between 1749–1750 was a president of the Imperial privy council, and from 1751 head of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna.⁸⁷ With Adam Philipp the male line of the Losy von Losinthal family ended.⁸⁸

81 Cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 91–92; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 84–85.

82 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 85.

83 Ibid., p. 85.

84 Cf. *Wienerisches Diarium*, 17 May 1724, no. 40; Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*, Wien 1869, repr. Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 81, 85; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 79; Markus Lutz, ‘Graf von Questenberg. Theorbist in Caldaras Oper *Euristeo*’, *Die Laute* 9/10 (2011) pp. 133–135.

85 Cf. Johann Gustav Büsching, *Bruchstücke einer Geschäftsreise durch Schlesien in den Jahren 1810, 1811, 1812*, Breslau 1813, pp. 62–65; Nikolaus von Lutterotti, ‘Michaels Willmanns Gemälde in der Schloßkapelle zu Lobris, Kreis Jauer’, *Schlesische Geschichtsblätter. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* (1930) no. 2, pp. 25–30; Richard Šípek, *Die Bibliothek des Freiherrn Otto d. Jg. von Nostitz (1608–1665), Landeshauptmanns zu Schweidnitz und Jauer*, in: *Śląsk i Czechy. Wspólne drogi sztuki*, eds. Arkadiusz Wojtyła and Małgorzata Wyrzykowska, Wrocław 2007, pp. 217–225.

86 They are preserved in the collection of Národní knihovna České republiky in Prague.

87 Cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 81–85, 93; Simon Mraz, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in den 30er und 40er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des internationalen, politischen und künstlerisch-organisatorischen Umfelds*, M.A. thesis, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien 2007, pp. 31, 90, 108.

88 There is also a new book about Count Adam Philipp: Jesse Russell and Ronald Cohn, *Adam Philipp Losy von Losinthal* [book on demand], Miami 2012.

Influences on Lute Playing Abilities of Count Losy

The most significant time for the flowering of lute music in Bohemia is the period around the life of Count Losy junior: ca. 1650–1721.⁸⁹ Ernst Gottlieb Baron said about the playing and music of Losy: “Der wegen seiner sonderbahren Geschicklichkeit hochberühmte und mit vielem Geiste begabte Böhmishe Graff Logi, setzte unser Edles Instrument vollends, so wohl was im Bezug als was die *Cultur* anlanget in einen solchen Stand, dass man sich zu scheuen nicht Ursache hat, es mit dem *Besardo Principem quasi et Reginam Musicorum Instrumentorum omnium* heute zu Tage zu nenen [...]”.⁹⁰ This mentions a very skilful way of playing the lute that we know about from Johann Kuhnau’s correspondence, as mentioned before. Kuhnau describes in details the musical contest between the famous musicians who met in Leipzig:

Der vornehme und *excellente* Lautenist, der Graff *Logi*, stellte vor 20. Jahren ohngefähr, und zu der Zeit, als *Monsr. Pantalon* noch bey uns einen *Maitre de Danse* agirte, ein *Concerthen* zwischen ihm, diesen und mir, an. Der Graff liesse sich auf seinem Instrument, wie es ihr *Orchestre* von einem, der den Nahmen eines Virtuosen und Meisters bahaupten will, er ordert, in sehr gelehrten *præludiren*, und mit einer schönen und *galanten Partie*, mit aller gelehrten *delicatesse*, hören: Ich that auch, was ich auf meinem *Clavicordo* vermochte, und was schon damahls mit dem *Orchestre* in disem Stücke einerly Meinung, dass ein solches, ob gleich stilles, Instrument zur Probe und guten *Expression* der *Harmonie* auf dem *Claviere* am besten diene ** [footnote:] (Es merckte sich dieses, der die befiederten Instrumente den *Clavicordiis* vorziehen mich *vid. p. 150. 151. huj. Tomi*). Endlich that *Monsr. Pantalon* seine Sprünge, und nachdem er uns allerhand *caprices* mit den blossen Schlägen gewiesen hatte, verbandt er endlich die *Tangenten* mit Baum=Wolle, und spielte eine *Partie* [...].⁹¹

89 Cf. Koczirz, ‘Österreichische Lautenmusik’, pp. 49–96; idem, *Österreichische Lautenmusik* (DTÖ 50), pp. 91–92; idem, ‘Böhmische Lautenkunst’, pp. 88–101.

90 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, p. 73, transl. by Smith, *Study of the Lute*, pp. 66–67: “The Bohemian Count Losy, very famous for his extraordinary dexterity and gifted with a great mind, brought our noble instrument to such high stature with respect to both its esteem and its cultivation, that we are justified in naming it today the queen of all musical instruments, as Besard does [...]”.

91 Mattheson, ‘Die Orchester=Kanzeley’, p. 237, transl. by Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, pp. 79–80: “About twenty years ago, at the time when Monsieur Pantalon [Hebenstreit] still played *maitre de danse* here, the noble and excellent lutenist Count Logi arranged a little concert (*Concerthen*) between him, Pantalon and me. The Count permitted himself to be heard on his instrument as the *Orchestre* demands from one who asserts the name of a virtuoso and master** [footnote: Vogl supposed that this is reference to the work by J. Mattheson: *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* from 1713. Mattheson did describe a double fugue on the pp. 150–151] with very learned prelude (*præludiren*), and with a lovely and *galante Partie*, with all imaginable *delicatesse*. I did what I could on my *Clavicordio*, and was even then in accord with the opinion of the *Orchestre* on this matter, that such an instrument, though quiet, serves best for practicing and good expression of harmony on the keyboard (*Clavier*). Finally Monsr. Pantalon showed his skill, and after he had demonstrated his musical treasure in

This meeting must have been very intriguing for all three artists. Kuhnau confirms with his words that Count Losy played very well and was regarded as a professional musician. During the contest he presented very difficult pieces and his performance was admired so he could be called a virtuoso. Probably, at the beginning he improvised a prelude *non mesuré* (“in sehr gelehrten *præludiren*”) as was typical for lute music at this period, and he then played lovely *galanten Partie* with all imaginable *delicatesse*. Probably this was a sonata (suite) which combined the French and the Italian styles: the French *style brisé* performed with sophisticated ornaments, and the Italian *cantabile* with which Losy had been already familiar; Kuhnau mentioned his private conversation about the instrument by Hebenstreit in which Losy told him about his previous sojourn in Italy. The definition of “Orchestra” could refer polyphonic pieces like, for example, the double fugue which Mattheson describes in his *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (pp. 150–151). All the words used by Kuhnau could mean that music performed at the meeting in Leipzig had had some elements of the so-called galant style.⁹² So we can assume that Losy’s skill in lute playing made it easy for him to go beyond the boundaries between French lute music in the *style brisé* and the new style prevalent in the German language-speaking area in Central Europe, together with the added Italian elements that created his own “Losy style”, somewhat like the pieces from *Cabinet der Lauten* in a similar convention by Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée published probably in Silesia⁹³. His mixed French and Italian style was also mentioned by Baron: “Dieser hochberühmte Meister, hat schon die neue Italianische und Frantzösische *Methode* dieses Instrument zu *traktiren*, so glücklich *combinirt*, dass er nicht allein sehr anmuthig und *Cantabile* ins Gehör, sondern auch Künstlich und Fundamental *componieret* hat”.⁹⁴ Losy sometimes used Italian expressions like “È una nota d’oro” (“It is a golden note”) to describe his musical ideas, as is remarked by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749) in his note about Losy in the *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* published by Mattheson.⁹⁵ Stölzel was very close to Losy especially when the Count was already living in his palace on Hybernia street in Prague and Losy was

various kinds of preluding, improvising (*fantasiren*), and all sorts of *caprices* with the bare sticks, he finally bound up the sticks with cotton and played a *partie* [...]”.

92 Per Kjetil Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music in the 18th Century*, Göteborg 2000 (Skrifter från Institutionen för musikvetenskap, Göteborgs universitet 58), pp. 49–60.

93 Cf. Charles Nelson Amos, *Lute Practice and Lutenists in Germany between 1500 and 1750*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa 1975, p. 209 [the microfilm available in the library of Lute Society of America]; Emil Vogl, ‘The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 14 (1981), pp. 15–17; Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, p. 58.

94 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, p. 74, transl. by Smith, *Study of the Lute*, p. 68: “This famous master so successfully combined the new Italian and French method of playing the lute that he not only composed very charmingly *cantabile* for the ear, but also artfully and profoundly”.

95 Cf. Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg 1740, repr. Berlin 1910, pp. 171–172; Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 81.

ailing, so probably spent most of his time in bed.⁹⁶ After his stay in Wrocław and Italy Stölzel arrived in Prague in 1715 and stayed there until 1718 (very similar trips were made around the same time by S. L. Weiss). Stölzel visited Count Losy many times so he was able to describe his day hour by hour. Actually the whole of Losy's day was filled up with making music. In the morning Losy usually played his "small lute" for a few hours ("Dieses geschah gemeiniglich Vormittage etliche Stunden in Ihrem Bette, als worin Sie sitzend eine kleine Laute schlugen, welches ich oft anzuhören die Gnade hatte").⁹⁷ In the afternoon he played the violin in a room with a very well sounding harpsichord which served as for accompaniment, probably to the Count's playing ("Nach der Mittags=Tafel spielten Sie gemeiniglich die Violine, in dem Zimmer, wo Ihr überaus=wohlklingendes Clavicymbel stunde, mit welchem dazu accompagniret wurde").⁹⁸ His skill in playing the violin was equal to that of his lute playing and his favourite music was in the Lullian and Fuxian style ("Über nichts aber bezeugten sie ein grösseres Vergnügen, als wenn ein Gang ungefehr in den lullischen oder fuxischen *gusto* einschlugen. Denn diese zween meister, *Lulli* und *Fux*, hatten bey Ihnen vor allen den Vorzug").⁹⁹ And in the evening he performed a *Divertissement* usually from some Lully's opera prints ("Wie denn auch am Abend gemeiniglich etwas aus den lullischen gedruckten Opern Ihrem musikalischen *Divertissement* den Schluß machte").¹⁰⁰ Losy's passion to French music could be the explanation why so many pieces were arranged for baroque guitar, lute and other instruments, to which should be added pieces written by Losy himself in the repertoire for mandora (cithern), *angélique*, keyboard and probably even for violin.¹⁰¹ Stölzel mentions full-voice pieces in the French broken style by Losy ("[...] vollstimmige, mehrentheils gebrochene, frantzösische Art, fertig und gelehrt [...]") which could mean the same kind of music as Kuhnau mentioned.¹⁰² Another document by Stölzel in Mattheson's *Grundlage* is the entry for "Hartig" (without

96 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

97 Cf. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 171; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

98 Cf. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, pp. 171–172; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

99 Cf. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 172; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

100 Cf. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 172; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

101 Cf. *Pieces Composée Par le Comte Logis* written in the guitar tablature, currently probably in Lobkowicz's collection in the Nelahozeves Castle Library, olim CZ-Pn Ms. II. Kk 77; Jan Antonín Losy, *Pièces de Guitare*, ed. Jaroslav Pohanka, Prague 1965 (*Musica Antiqua Bohemica* 38); Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarrentabulaturen*, p. 295; Vogl, 'The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 23–29; Jan Olof Rudén, *Music in Tablature. A Thematic Index with Source Descriptions of Music in Tablature Notation in Sweden*, Stockholm 1981; Tim Crawford, 'New Sources of the Music of Count Losy', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 15 (1982), pp. 52–83; Johann Anton Losy, *19 Stücke für Barock Laute*, ed. Tim Crawford, Munich 1986; Ewa Bielińska-Galas, 'The Composition of Johann Anton Losy in Lute Tabulatures from Krzeszów', *Musicology Today* 1 (2004), pp. 77–95.

102 Cf. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 171; Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 81.

forename), a name known to us from the famous “Music Academy” in Prague.¹⁰³ This family was surely very close to Count Losy. He listed “Herrn Johann Hubert Freihern von Hartig” in his last will and testament as Assistant to the Councillor, and he also was a witness to Losy’s will and codicil.¹⁰⁴ Johann Hubert Freiherr von Hartig was head of the Prague Music Academy.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, his first wife, Maria Josepha Scheidlern, was Losy’s niece; her mother was a Losy von Losinthal.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, Johann Anton Losy, the lutenist, was a witness to, and signed, the marriage contract of Ludwig Joseph Hartig, the Johann Hubert’s brother, in 1705.¹⁰⁷ It seems that Count Losy the lutenist was at the very musical centre of Prague which he probably aided financially. The idea of creating this institution was born unexpectedly in Silesia — in Wrocław. This can be confirmed by a petition from 27 March 1713 addressed to the government of Prague to create there a Music Academy which would be as good as the one that was already in Wrocław.¹⁰⁸ This document was signed by Prague citizens, one of whom was the lutenist and horn-player, Georg Adalbert Kalivoda.¹⁰⁹ It could be possible that Kalivoda knew about Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel’s opera *Narcissus*, performed in 1711 or 1712 in Wrocław’s *Collegium Musicum*.¹¹⁰ Mizler mentions furthermore that this opera was dedicated to countess Barbara Theresa von Neidhardt, the mother of Johann Baptista Neidhardt the younger.¹¹¹ Works by Stölzel were also esteemed in Prague as was shown later in the pieces performed among other things in Prague’s church of The Knights of the

103 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, pp. 102–103.

104 Vogl wrongly named the witness as Joseph [sic!] what was noticed in: Václav Kapsa and Claire Madl, ‘Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music Academy: Research into the «Profound Silence», Left by a «Pope of Music»’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), p. 67, n. 59.

105 Ibid., pp. 64, 72.

106 Ibid., p. 64.

107 Ibid., p. 64.

108 Paul Nettel, ‘Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag’, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1922/23), p. 157.

109 The rest of them were: Andre Joseph Proßl, Philipp Franz Kreuzberger and Jan Živny; cf. *ibid.*, p. 157; Josef Zuth, *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, Wien 1928, p. 152; Koczirz, ‘Böhmische Lautenkunst’, p. 97; Tomislav Volek, ‘Hudba u Fürstenbergů a Waldsteinů’, *Miscelanea Musicologica* 6 (1958), pp. 119–120; Georg Adalbert Kalivoda, *Partita in F-major from the Buenos Aires Ms. for Baroque Lute*, ed. Michael Treder, Bologna 2011 (La Rhétorique des Dieux. Baroque Lute Music Collection), p. ii.

110 Lorenz Mizler, ‘Denkmal dreyer versorbener Mitglieder der Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften’, in: *idem*, *Musikalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern*, vol. 4, Leipzig 1754, repr. Amsterdam 1966, pp. 143–157.

111 Cf. Joachimiak, ‘Uwagi do «wrocławskiego» druku’, pp. 119–120.

Cross with the Red Star.¹¹² In his defence of the lute from Mattheson's complaints, Ernst Gottlieb Baron mentioned an anecdote about the informal students' lives of students in Silesia and Bohemia: "Nun möchte ich gerne wissen, welcher *Spiritus familiaris* dem Herrn Matheson weiß gemacht, daß seine angenehme schnarrende Davids=Harpffe zum völligen Accompagnement vor der Lauten geschickter sey[n]. In Schlesien und Böhmen marchiren wohl öfters die verdorbene Catholischen Studenten in Wein- und Wirthshäusern herum, welcher man von Lautenisten nicht gehöret hat".¹¹³ In this passage Baron indicates the lute was a proper instrument for accompaniment. He mentioned the entertainment of Silesian and Bohemian students who did not use the lute in taverns. But why did he use Silesian and Bohemian students as an example? Maybe as a citizen of Wrocław he knew how the students' social life looked in the capital of Silesia. He had been in Wrocław since his birth in 1696 until 1715 and had begun playing the lute when he was 14 years old. His first teacher came from Bohemia: Jacob Kohott, probably Jacob Kohaut (1678–1762), the father of the famous lutenist Karl Kohaut (1726–1782).¹¹⁴ The Czech businessman and musical enthusiast, Johann Christian Antoni von Adlersfeld also had close relations with the Prague Music Academy.¹¹⁵ Today he is mainly associated with his lute tablature book which contains almost exclusively works (some in autograph) by the famous Silesian lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss.¹¹⁶ This source is now preserved in the British Library in London. Probably there also survive some pieces by Antoni Adlersfeld, but they would be very hard to distinguish from the works by Antoni Eckstein who was also very close to Count Losy.

As was mentioned above, the copies of music by "two Prague lutenists" Eckstein and Dix will now be discussed more closely. Their works can be found in a few manuscripts from Silesia connected with the Cistercian abbey from Krzeszów (Germ. Grüssau):

- A. Eckstein: PL-Wn 396 Cim. (olim K. 44), PL-Wu RM 4142 (olim Mf. 2010);
- A. Dix: PL-Wu RM 4140 (olim Mf. 2008), PL-Wu RM 4141 (olim Mf. 2009), PL-Wu RM 4142 (olim Mf. 2010).

112 Jiří Fukač, 'Die Oratorienaufführungen bei den Prager Kreuzherren mit dem roten Stern als Typ lokaler Musikfeste', *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* H29 (1994), pp. 69–89.

113 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, pp. 126–127, transl. by Smith, *Study of the Lute*, p. 107: "Now I would like to know what friendly spirit fooled Herr Mattheson into thinking that his pleasant, twanging harp of David is more suited to full accompaniment than the lute. In Silesia and Bohemia the debauched Catholic students often march around in the taverns, which we do not hear of lutenists".

114 Cf. Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, p. 297. Probably Joseph Kohaut and Wenzel Joseph Tomas Kohaut were their relatives, see Irena Bieńkowska, 'The Music Ensemble of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760)', *Musicology Today* 6 (2009), pp. 72–77, 86.

115 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, p. 102.

116 Cf. Madl, 'Johann Chrystian Anthoni von Adlersfeld', pp. 33–46; Lutz and Treder, 'Böhmische Lautenisten', pp. 8–16.

Here we find six out of a total of 21 pieces surviving and known by Dix. Some of his works are lost, like the two sonatas for lute duo listed in the Breitkopf Catalogue from 1761.¹¹⁷ In this catalogue are many pieces for lute, divided into categories as follows: “XI. Die Laute: 1. Solos, 2. Duetten, 3. u. 4. Trios und Parthien für eine Laute mit andern Instrumenten, 5. Concerte für die Laute mit andern Instrumenten, 6. Præludia und dergleichen Lautenstücke, 7. Arien zur Laute aptirt”. In the section “2. Duetten” is listed: “*Aureo, Dix. II. Sonate à due Liuti a 16 gl. [guldens]*”. This means that Dix’s composition was published, but it is lost today. In the *Wienerisches Diarium* of 17 January 1731 were advertised pieces of Dix annotated “quator partes”, which probably means “in four parts” (see Figure 3).¹¹⁸

Possibly the inscription mentioned concerns a single part from two lute duos. This piece is also missing. But furthermore, the list contains a lot of other lute works by famous composers who were not usually associated with lute music. Unfortunately there are no pieces by Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal but many others from this cultural circle whose music Losy probably knew:

Nachfolgender Musicalischer Sachen hakber hat sich ein kaufender Liebhaber bey dem Verleger des Wieneris. Diarii zu erkundigen:

Sig. Pichler [Piechler, Bigler, Bichler]

Silvio Leopoldo Weis

Giuseppe Valentini

Sig. Werner [?]

Gio. Zamboni [Giovanni]

Giorno Natalizio dell Illustriss. [?]

Sig. Gio. Gasparo Krebeckl [?]

Segr. del Eccel. [?]

Sig. Conte di Gallas [Johann Wenzel Conte di Gallas]

Sig. Quirino Colombani

Sig. Heinichen [Johann David]

Sig. Corelli [Arcangelo]

Sig. Strahl [?]

Sig. Aureo Dix [Aureus]

Sig. Filippo Saulio [Filippo Sauli]

Sig. Bononcini (Arie) [Giovanni]

Francesco Gasparini

Sig. Ant. Caldara [Antonio]

Baron d’Astroga (Cantata) [Emanuele Gioacchino Cesare Rincón, barón de Astorga]

Sig. Floriano Aresti

117 *Verzeichnis Musicalischer Werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente [...] welche in richtigen Abschriften bey Joh. Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf [Ausgabe 2 und 3: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf und Sohn] in Leipzig [...] zu bekommen sind [1761] [non-thematic catalogue].*

118 *Wienerisches Diarium*, 17 January 1731, ‘Anhang zu Num. 5’, pp. 49–50; Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, p. 407.

Anno 1731. (Num. 5.) 17. Januarius.



Wienerisches DIARIUM.



Mit Ihrer Röm. Kaiserl. und Cathol. Majestät Freyheit.

Bu finden in der Kaiserlichen Hof-, Buchdruckeren / gegen dem Hof-
Ball-Haus über / bey Johann Peter v. Ghelen.

Aus der Turkey.

Constantinopel 29. October. 1730.

Sogleich der neue Groß-Sultan zum öftern denen rebellischen Janitscharen hat anbefehlen lassen / daß sie die Waffen niederlegen / und sich nach Haus begeben solten / so versammeln sie sich doch noch von Zeit zu Zeit wiederum in ziemlicher Anzahl / und verlangen trotzia die Bestrafung dieser und jener Bedienten / welche sie benennen / und die Einziehung derselben Güter / wie auch ferner / daß der Groß-Sultan / zur Aufnahme der Handlung mit denen Fremden / neue Verordnungen machen solle / woran man auch wirklich arbeitet / und hält man auch wegen der übrigen Forderungen deren Kessellen / welche man in allen Stücken gänzlich zu vergnügen suchet / fast alle Tage Divan. Der Bassa von Bosnien verwaltet nur als ein Verweser das Amt des Groß-Beziers / und ist dieser wichtige Posten für den in Asien befindlichen Bassa Kuperli bestimmt / wiewol man die hithero mit diesem Amt verbunden gewesene große Gewalt sehr eingeschränket hat. Diejem Kuperli ist Befehl zugesandt worden / die jenigen Bassen tödten zu lassen / welche in der letzten Schlacht mit denen Persianern sich zaghast bezeiget haben. Der Hospodar in der Wallachey / ein Sohn des ver-

storbenen Hospodars / Diauro Cordato / ist abgesetzt worden / und hat man ihne auch mit Weib und Kindern in das Gefängnuß geworfen / und alles sein Vermögen eingezogen. Es befinden sich alhier bey 6000. Personen / welche sich ehemals mit Bücher- / Schreibern ernähret hatten / nun aber durch die eingeführte Buchdruckeren um solche ihre Nahrung gänzlich gebracht worden seynd / dieselbe fordern eine Schadloshaltung / und ist ihre Vermessenheit so groß / daß man besorget / sie möchten zu einem neuen Aufstand Anlaß geben. Verwichener Tagen ware auch in der Vor-Stadt Pera ein Brand / wor durch über 110. Häuser eingeäschert worden.

Aus Portugal.

Lisbona 2. Decemb. 1730.

Don Lopo Furtaco de Mendonca, erster Graf von Rio-Grande, Glied des Kriegs-Nachts / Admiral derer Flotten unseres Königs / und Commandeur von Loula, des St. Jacobi-Ordens / ist am 20sten des verwichenen Monats gestorben : derselbe hat dem König 66-Jahr so wol in Africa, als Europa gedienet.

Aus Spanien.

Sevillien 8. Decemb. 1730.

Die Ministern unseres Königs / haben

Figure 3. Wienerisches Diarium, 17 January 1731, no. 5.

(cont.)

Sig. Conti (Cantata) [Francesco Bartolomeo]

Sig. Giuseppe Persone (Cantata) [?]

Chiara Techler (Cantata) [connected with David Techler – luthier?]

Sig. Cavalier Alesi. Scarlatti [Alessandro]

Sig. Gio. Crist. Reihinhard (Cantata) [Giovanni Cristoforo?]

Francesco Mancini

Sig. A. M. P. (Cantata) [?]

Sig. Quirino Colombani (Cantata)

Sig. Hendel. [Georg Friedrich]

49. }
 Num. 50. } Del Sig. Aurco Dix quatuor par-
 51. } tes.
 52. }
 53. }
 Num. 54. } Verschiedene Stuf.
 55. }
 Num. 56. d'Autore incognito, a Liuto,
 Violino, e Baffo.
 Num. 57. } Del Sig. Filippo Saulio.
 58. }
 Num. 59. Sonata a Liuto I., Liuto II.,
 Violino I., Violino II., e Baffo.
 Num. 60. Sonate di diversi Autori.
 Num. 61. Arie del Sig. Bononcini.
 Num. 62. Officium Defunctorum.
 Num. 63. Cantata Burlesca.
 Num. 64. Cantata facile di Gio. Bononcini.
 Num. 65. Del Sig. Francesco Gasparini.
 Num. 66. Del Sig. Ant. Caldara.
 Num. 67. } Cantata del Sig. Gio. Zamboni.
 68. }
 Num. 69. Cantata del Baron d'Astroga.
 Num. 70. Cantata a Voce Sola con Violino.
 Num. 71. Del Sig. Floriano Arcffi, sua
 compositione.
 Num. 72. Cantata Soprano del Sig.
 Conti.
 Num. 73. Cantata del Sig. Giuseppe Pe-
 rone.
 Num. 74. Viola di Gamba traslata per
 il Liuto.
 Num. 75. Cantato Soprano del Sig. Gio-
 vanni Heinichen.
 Num. 76. Cantata del Sig. Bononcini.
 Num. 77. Cantata a Voce Sola di Con-
 tr'alto.
 Num. 78. Cantata di Chiara Techler.
 Num. 79. Aria recitata nel Teatro di
 Firenze 1715. del sig. Caldara.
 Num. 80. Cantata Alto Solo.
 Num. 81. Cantata Soprano.
 82. }
 Num. 83. } Cantate.
 84. }
 Num. 85. Del Sig. Cavalier Aless. Scar-
 latti.
 Num. 86. } Nel Ciro del Sig. Scarlatti.
 87. }
 Num. 88. Cantata del Sig. Gio. Crist.
 Reinhard.
 Num. 89. Cantata del Sig. Francesco
 Mancini.
 Num. 90. Cantata del Sig. A. M. P.
 Num. 91. Cantata del Sig. Quirino Co-
 lombani.
 Num. 92. Cantata a Voce Sola con Ho-
 bois grande, e Violino.
 Num. 83. Cantata di Gio. Zamboni.
 Num. 94. Cantata a Voce Sola del Sig.
 Francesco Mancini.
 Num. 95. Cantata a Soprano Solo del Sig.
 Francesco Mancini.
 Num. 96. Sonates pour la Flute du Roma-
 no L. I. 4. Stuf.
 Num. 97. Sonates pour la Flute du Ro-
 mano L. 2. 4. Stuf.
 Num. 98. VI. Sonate del Sig. Arcan-
 gelo Corelli, a Flauto primo, Flauto secon-
 do, Organo, & Violoncello.
 Num. 99. Thæ Simphoniis or Instrumental
 Parts, in the Opera Coll d. Rinaldo. 2.
 Stuf.
 Num. 100. Arie dell Opera di Rinaldo
 composta dal Sig. Ibendel, &c.
 Item 3. treffliche Lauten.
- NB.
- Hey dem Verleger des Wienerischen Diarii
 ist zu haben: Die feytsende Turtel; Taub/
 nach ihrem gefangenen Geliebten; das ist:
 einige schöne und sehr nuzliche Gebetter/von
 dem Leiden unsers Heilands Christi Jesu/
 und Mitleiden seiner wehrtesten Mutter Ma-
 ria/ durch die ganze Passion, von Anfang/
 als Christus seiner liebsten Mutter sein Lei-
 den offenbarte/ sich bey ihr beurlaubend/
 bis zu dem Ende seines Leidens/ als er gen
 Himmel gefahren. Mit zugesetzten schönen
 Tag- Seiten/ auserlesenen Litaneyen/ kräf-
 tigen Morgen- und Abend- Beicht- Com-
 munion- und Mess- Gebettern/ sieben Buß-
 Psalmen/ einer neuen Heil. Wochen für die
 arme Seelen in dem Segfeuer/ und 25. Aus-
 pfern gezieret. Das Exemplar kostet 51. Kr.
 Item ist auch zu bekommen: Auslegung
 des Heil. Mess- Opfers/ oder wahre Erklä-
 rung deren Ceremonien/ so bey der Heil-
 Mess- geschehen: allen und jeden Jungen/
 und Alten sehr nuzlich/ und zu wissen noth-
 wendig/ in lauter Fragen ausgeheilet/ und
 vorgestellt. Ungebunden das Exemplar
 für 6. Kreuzer.**
- Wien / gedruckt und zu haben bey Joh. Peter v.
 Obelen / Kaiserl. Hof- Buchdruckern.

Figure 3. (cont.).

The Habsburg empire was one of the European music centers where Italian music was especially cultivated; we know this from the many music collections in Bohemia and Silesia.¹¹⁹ Like the duchies in the Habsburg empire these regions were influenced by Italian art from different sides, not only from Vienna but also from Poland and Saxony (especially in the 18th century).¹²⁰ It should be mentioned that in the 1731 *Wienerisches Diarium* advertisement are listed composers whose pieces were arranged for lute by someone else, e.g. pieces by Piechler, Johann

119 See *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* and also the manuscripts list available online (<http://opac.rism.info>), as well as the printed list of music prints.

120 Cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1997.

David Heinichen, Arcangelo Corelli, Antonio Caldara, Georg Friedrich Händel.¹²¹ All of them composed music in the Italian style. Among them were also some lutenists, namely: Aureus Dix, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti and the most famous Silvius Leopold Weiss. The latter, thanks to the Polish Sobieski family, left Silesia in 1708 or 1710 for Italy and came to the Polish “Arcadia” in the court of the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome where he stayed until 1714.¹²² After his Italian sojourn he was able to play Italian music like the native Italians who were renowned at that time at different courts such as the court of August the Strong in Dresden. At that court in Dresden Weiss spent the rest of his life. This period was formally started on 23 August 1718.¹²³ Weiss’s first royal music patron was Prince Aleksander Sobieski (1677–1714), who also helped the portraitist Jan Kupetzky (1666/67–1740) who came from Pezinok in Slovakia and died in Nuremberg.¹²⁴ When the painter was in Rome ca. 1696 he painted a picture of Aleksander Sobieski wearing the red national dress of the Polish nobility (Polish *żupan*),¹²⁵ but Kupetzky also painted a portrait of a few lutenists: David Hoyer (probably after 1716 because the painting shows a 13-course lute; also the subject of a copperplate engraving by Rosbach after Kupetzky’s painting), Johann Adam Graf von Questenberg (ca. 1720), Juliana Kolb (1738–1745), an unknown lutenist (painting preserved in the Rožmberk castle in South Bohemia) and an unknown mandora player (after 1723).¹²⁶

Prague Music Academy had many amateurs of music as well as financial patrons. In this context we should also mention the Lobkowicz family.¹²⁷ Close

121 Cf. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarrentabulaturen; Sources manuscrites en tablature. Luth et theorbe (c. 1500–c. 1800). Catalogue descriptif*, vols. 1–7 [without vol. 5 and 6], ed. Christian Meyer, with cooperation of François-Pierre Goy, Peter Kiraly, Monique Rollin and Tim Crawford, Baden-Baden 1991–1999.

122 Cf. Jerzy Żak, ‘The Sobieskis in Silesia and in Rome: Weiss’s First Royal Patrons’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), pp. 1–12; Francesca Vacca, ‘Weiss in Rome (1712–1713): First Archival Findings’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 33 (2000), pp. 13–31.

123 Douglas Alton Smith, ‘A Biography of Silvius Leopold Weiss’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 31 (1998), pp. 11–14.

124 Bernhard Grueber, ‘Kupetzky, Johann’, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 17, Leipzig 1883, pp. 408–410.

125 This painting is preserved in the private collection.

126 Cf. Farstad, *German Galant Lute Music*, pp. 324–325, 328; Peter Király, ‘Johann Kupetzky und Johann Wilhelm Stör. Zwei Porträtisten von Lautenspielern im 18. Jahrhundert und was man anhand ihrer Bilder erfahren kann’, *Die Laute* 8 (2009), pp. 49–75.

127 They settled among others in the Nelahozeves castle located 35 km north from Prague. The family property has been recently restored together with their regain outstanding music library by the Roudnice-Lobkowicz Foundation where over 5000 items are stored. There are many sources to do research on lute, guitar and mandolin music. Cf. Jason Feifer, ‘The Prince is a Pauper’, *Boston Magazine*, May 2008, <http://web.archive.org/web/>

relations between the Losy and Lobkowicz families already existed earlier, between Johann Anton Losy senior and Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowicz. But there were also direct connections on the line between Johann Anton Losy junior and the Lobkowicz family especially with Losy's bachelor thesis mentioned above.¹²⁸

All of this information concerns high ability of Count Losy in playing the instrument and a huge group of musicians he was familiar with. There was also a person who helped him develop not only his taste of music but also the technique of the proper playing of instruments. This was his lute playing teacher, Achatius (Achazius) Casimirus (Kazimir) Huelse/Hiltz/Hülse/Hültz.¹²⁹ There is not a lot of information about his life and music making. He was very closely connected with Nuremberg because in this city he was born and died (bapt. 18.01.1658, d. 25.06.1723).¹³⁰ On 20 February 1688 he married Anna Magdalena Kracau also in Nuremberg.¹³¹ Since 1703 Huelse was organist and music director of a choir in the Church of Our Lady in his home city; after 1706 he was in Coburg.¹³² It is not known when and how long was his stay in Prague was exactly but probably it was after he came back to Nuremberg, as was suggested by Baron:

20081013005508/http://www.bostonmagazine.com/articles/the_prince_is_a_pauper/page1, 21.08.2011; http://www.lobkowicz.cz/en/Music-22.htm, 29.09.2011.

- 128 Cf. Kapsa and Madl, 'Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music Academy', p. 57; Petra Zelenková and Martin Mádl, 'The Destruction of Piuro and the Rise of the Losy of Losinthal Family on the Thesis Broadsheet after Johann Fridrich Hess of Hesice from 1667 / Zkáza Piura a vzestup Losyů z Losinthalu na univerzitní tezi podle Jana Bedřicha Hesse z Hesic z roku 1667', *Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague* 12–13 (2002–2003), pp. 6–24, 110–123; Guido Scaramellini, 'Il piurasco Giovan Antonio Losio, musicista barocco in Bohemia', *Clavenna. Bolletino del Centro di studi storici valchiavennaschi* 42 (2003), pp. 91–100; Zelenková and Mádl, 'The Celebration', pp. 49–86.
- 129 Cf. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig 1732, p. 320; Gottfried Johann Dlabacz: *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen, und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, Prague 1815, col. 673; Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlicher Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 5, Leipzig 1900–1904, p. 222; Vogl, 'Zur Biographie Losys', pp. 189–192; idem, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 58–86.
- 130 Klaus Martius, 'Vermehrte Nachrichten von Nürnberg Lauten- und Geigenmachern', *Musik in Bayern* 38 (1989), pp. 83–85.
- 131 Cf. Manfred Grieb, *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon: Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Munich 2007, col. 660; Michael Treder, 'Achatius/Achaz Casimir Huelse/Hültz/Hiltz. Musik für die 11-chörige Barocklaute', *Lauten-Info. Vierteljahresschrift der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft* 1 (2012), p. 9.
- 132 Cf. Grieb, *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon*, col. 660; Treder, 'Achatius/Achaz Casimir Huelse/Hültz/Hiltz', p. 9. *Nota bene* this church was built from the initiative of the newly elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Charles IV of Luxembourg, the same person was connected with the Golden Bull of 1356 (see above n. 5).

Achatius Casimirus Huelse ist Cammer=Diener bey hochgedachten Graffen *Logi* gewesen, hat aber nach der Zeit in Nürnberg gelebt. Weilen er nun was rechtes bey ihm *profitirt*, hat ihm dieser Herr so hoch gehalten, dass er ihn, so oft er durch Nürnberg gereiset, zu sich holen lassen und beschenket. Er war ein Mensch, von lustigen und *ingeniösen* Einfällen gewesen, hat jedermannes Stimme und Rede so natürlich *imitiren* können, dass man solches nicht ohne grosse Verwunderung gehöret. Er hat auch selber *componiret* und suchte sein meistes Vergnügen darinnen in der *composition* allerhand *affecten* zu *exprimiren*, darinnen er auch so glücklich war, dass er alle Franßosen in diesem Stück übertroffen, weilen diese gemeinlich prächtige Nahmen vornen ansetzen, der so wenig mit der Sache, als der Himmel mit dem Erdboden übereinkommt. Bey seinen zunehmenden Alter hat er das Unglück gehabt vom Schlage getroffen zu werden, welcher ihn der gestalt verstellte, dass, ob er schon noch eine zimliche Zeit drauf gelebt hat, er mahr einem *Monstro* als Menschen hat ähnlich gesehen.¹³³

It could be possible that Baron was thinking more of musical benefits because he wrote about Huelse's musical creativity directly after mentioning his having "profitirt"; there are no other words referring to other benefits.¹³⁴ Probably Huelse sent Losy some music from Nuremberg which was a city where a lot of musicians and engravers published their own works, such as artists from Silesia, Bohemia and Moravia. The materials sent could be, for example, pieces for lute by the aforementioned Jacque Bittner or artistic works by K. Škréta connected with Losy's thesis. Recently, research has shown that Achatius Casimirus Huelse was in a very close circle of lute makers in Nuremberg society.¹³⁵ Maybe Huelse gave Losy a musical instrument as a gift made by his father, a *luthier* known as Paulus Casimirus Hiltz¹³⁶. Vogl supposed that the spelling of Huelse's surname "Kazimir"

133 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, pp. 75–76, transl. by Smith, *Study of the Lute*, p. 68: "Achatius Casimir Huelse was once the valet of the highly esteemed Count Losy, and later lived in Nuremberg. Because Losy had profited well by him, the Count held him in such esteem that whenever he traveled through Nuremberg he sent for Huelse and gave him gifts. Huelse was a man full of jolly and ingenious ideas, who could imitate anyone's voice and speech so naturally that listeners were astonished. He was also a composer himself, and he derived his greatest pleasure from expressing all sorts of affections in his composition. He was so successful at this that he exceeded all Frenchmen, for the French commonly give grand names to their pieces, but they have as little to do with the music as heaven does with the earth. In middle age, Huelse had the misfortune to suffer a stroke that left him so disfigured that although he lived quite a long time afterwards, he resembled a monster more than a man".

134 Cf. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, p. 320.

135 Cf. Martius, 'Vermehrte Nachrichten', pp. 73–93; Willibald Leo Frh. von Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 3: *Ergänzungsband*, ed. Thomas Drescher, Tutzing 1990, pp. 260–261; Treder, 'Achatius/Achaz Casimir Huelse/Hültz/Hiltz', pp. 8–17.

136 There are known three instruments made by Paul Hiltz: a lute from ca. 1650 preserved in the Musikinstrumentenmuseum in Markneukirchen, Inv. no. 627, see Hanna Jordan, *Der Bestand an Zupfinstrumenten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts im Musikinstrumenten-Museum*

could indicate Silesian or Polish roots.¹³⁷ This information could be already confirmed by a marriage document which contains a record of Maria Catherina Multz (d. 1708) and Johann Casimir Hiltz son's Paulus Casimirus Hiltz (between 1618 and 1625 [the first mention 1636] – after 1664 and before 1708) – the parents of Achatius Casimirus Huelse – which states that Paulus Casimirus Hiltz was a captain in the Polish King's service and his father Johann Casimir Hiltz was a Councillor at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg.¹³⁸ As we can see Paulus Casimirus Hiltz was probably connected with John Casimir Vasa (1609–1672), the King of Poland in the period 1648–1668, who had the same first name “Kazimierz = Casimirus” as Paulus Casimirus Hiltz and his son Achatius Casimirus Huelse.¹³⁹ Only a few compositions of A. C. Huelse survive.¹⁴⁰ Probably his interests in music were connected with a German church hymn texts by the local poet Johann Christoph Arnschwanger (1625–1696), a member of the Fruitbearing Society, which were also known in Silesia as well as by the members from Silesia: Martin Opitz, Andreas Gryphius, the Silesian Piast family like George Rudolf of Liegnitz, the brothers Louis IV of Legnica and Christian of Brieg and also connected with

Markneukirchen, in: *Instrumentenbaus – Zupf- und Schlaginstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Michaelstein 1986, pp. 48–58; and two violas from 1656 preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. nos. MI 10 and MI 11, see *Musical Instrument Museums Online 'MIMO'*, <http://www.mimo-db.eu>, 29.09.2011; Martius, ‘Vermehrte Nachrichten’, p. 84; Klaus Martius and Kathrin Schulze, ‘Ernst Busch und Paul Hiltz. Zwei Nürnberger Lauten- und Violinmacher der Barockzeit. Untersuchungen zum Streichinstrumentenbau in Nürnberg’, *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums und Berichte aus dem Forschungsinstitut für Realienkunde* (1991), pp. 145–183; Grieb, *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon*, col. 660.

137 Vogl, ‘Johann Anton Losy’, p. 82.

138 Cf. Martius, ‘Vermehrte Nachrichten’, pp. 73–93; Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher*, vol. 3, pp. 260–261: “Der erbar und mannvest Paulus Casimirus Hiltz, der königl. Majestät in Poln gewesener Hauptmann, des edlen und festen Johann Casimir Hiltzen Churfürstlich Durchlout zu Brandenburg Hofraths ehelicher Sohn”. With the Polish royal court there was also connected the lutenist, vocalist and poet Jakob Kremberg (1650–1718). He was known mainly from the collection *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergötzung, oder Arien* (Dresden 1689). For some time he stayed near the Polish King John Casimir Vasa. (I would like to thank Professor Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska to share this information with me.) Similar matter is connected with the title page of Wodzicki's lute tablature (PL-Lw 1985) – Casimir Wodzicki, the son of Jan Wawrzyniec Wodzicki (after 1628–1696) the progenitor of this family. To learn more about this tablature, see Grzegorz Joachimiak, ‘Tabulatura lutniowa Wodzickich na podstawie źródeł z Archiwum Wodzickich z Kościelnik’, *Bibliotekarz Lubelski* 53 (2010), pp. 125–140. The question of close relations and possible connections between the Losy, Huelse, Wodzicki and Kremberg families requires other detailed research.

139 Cf. Martius, ‘Vermehrte Nachrichten’, pp. 73–93; Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher*, vol. 3, p. 261.

140 Cf. Martin Breslauer and Leo Liepmannssohn, *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr. Werner Wolffheim*, vol. 2, Berlin 1928–1929, pp. 39–40, no. 53.

the lute music of the Swedish captains: Axel Oxenstierna and Field Marshall Karl Gustav Wrangel who were connected to the Fruitbearing Society, too.¹⁴¹ The Silesian lutenist Esaias Reusner junior had a special connection to the Piast family; Reusner's music style is similar to Huelse's style.¹⁴² The titles "Sonata" and "Praeludium" appear in many characteristic parts of works by Reusner and Huelse, too.¹⁴³ Their music exists together in one manuscript preserved now in the Music Branch Library University of Melbourne (Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library) (AUS-PVu ms. LHD243).¹⁴⁴ It is possible that Reusner had an important influence on the lute activities of Count Losy von Losinthal through this connection with Huelse.

Losy was in a very close relation with his lute which helped him express the beauty of nature: "Er soll über diesem Instrument oft so pensiv gewesen seyn, dass er sich nicht gescheuet, solches mit auf Reisen zu nehmen, und wenn ihm ein schöner Einfall kommen, die Pferde anhalten lassen, und seine Einfälle in seine Schreib-Taffel zu bringen".¹⁴⁵ Several pieces with titles like "Echo", "Kuku", or other similar incidental music, can be found among his works. That could be confirmation of Baron's words about Losy's pensive and rather meditative attitude to nature and to creating music. One of these could be the very popular piece usually called *Courante des forgerons*.

141 Cf. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexikon*, p. 222; Friedrich Wilhelm Barthold, *Geschichte der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft. Sitten, Geschmacksbildung und schöne Redekünste deutscher Vornehmen vom Ende des XVI. bis über die Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1848, pp. 325–328, http://www.archive.org/stream/geschichte_derfr00bartgoog#page/n347/mode/2up, 29.09.2011, repr. Hildesheim 1969. Axel Oxenstierna and the Field Marshall Karl Gustav Wrangel were also connected with the lute music; see Kenneth Sparr, *Hinrich Niewerth. Lutenist at the Royal Swedish Court*, pp. 1–19, <http://www.tabulatura.com/Hinrich%20Niewerth.pdf>, 29.09.2011; idem, *A Lute by Raphael Mest in Sweden*, <http://www.tabulatura.com/Mestweb.htm#53>, 29.09.2011.

142 Cf. Vogl, 'Zur Biographie Losys', p. 191: "[...] Die Grundstimmung in seinen Werken, aber auch die Neigung zu anderer Stimmung, hier zur englischen Stimmung in D-dur, weist ihn in den Kreis der schlesischen Lautenschule, am ehesten in die Nähe des Esajas Reussner", „[...] Mit aller Vorsicht, die bei der Feststellung von Jugend- und Altersstil geboten ist, würde ich die D-dur-Suite dem Jugendschaffen Losys unter dem Einfluß Huelses zuschreiben". Vogl used here a lot of brachylogies most of which are not understood. The pitch *D*-Major means surely *accords nouveau* for lute which courses were tuned in order *f' d' A F D A1*, so there is *de facto* so-called *d*-minor pitch. About some close relations between E. Reusner junior, the Piast brothers and Silesian poets see Joachimiak, 'Unknown source' [in print].

143 Vogl, 'Johann Anton Losy', p. 62.

144 Cf. Breslauer and Liepmannsohn, *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek*, vol. 2, pp. 39–40, no. 53.

145 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, p. 74, transl. by Smith: *Study of the Lute*, p. 67: "Count Losy is said to have been so pensive about the instrument that he often took it along on journeys, and when a good idea came to him, he had the horses stopped and recorded it in his tablet".

Reception of Count Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal Junior's Lute Music in Silesia

Research on Count Losy's life and his works shows that we can attribute to him 378 pieces mainly from 65 lute manuscripts.¹⁴⁶ Just from the handwritten lute tablatures connected with the Cistercian Abbey in Krzeszów (Grüssau) come 43 different pieces, together with internal concordances coming to 73 items; that is, nearly 20 percent of all his known works.¹⁴⁷ Some of Count Losy's pieces from these sources have been already listed in research by Adolph Koczirz, Emil Vogl, Tim Crawford and Ewa Bielińska-Galas, but their information should now be revised and updated.¹⁴⁸ The table below shows only the pieces of Losy's music with internal concordances within the so-called Krzeszów lute tablature collection.

Table 1. Concordances of pieces by J. A. Losy within the so-called Krzeszów lute tablatures collection

Call no.	Number of pieces by Losy	Concordances				
		K. 44	Mf. 2004	Mf. 2008	Mf. 2009	Mf. 2011
K. 44	33	4	1	11	11	4
Mf. 2004	1	1	0	1	1	0
Mf. 2008	12	11	1	0	11	3
Mf. 2009	12	11	1	11	0	3
Mf. 2011	4	3	0	3	3	0

This table shows that the manuscripts K. 44, Mf. 2008 and Mf. 2009 contain eleven pieces in common and Mf. 2004 and Mf. 2011 have significantly fewer. But almost all pieces by Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior written into Mf. 2004,

146 Cf. Peter Steur and Markus Lutz, *Musik für Barocklaute. Eine Datenbank von Peter Steur*, <http://mss.slweiss.de>, 29.09.2011.

147 About a general description of this collection see: Rudolf Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau von Anfang des 18 Jahrhunderts bis zur Aufhebung im Jahre 1810*, Kassel 1996 (Musik des Ostens 15), pp. 159–165; Grzegorz Joachimiak, 'Kompozycje Sylwiusa Leopolda Weissza w śląskich tabulaturach lutniowych – próba uporządkowania wybranych zagadnień', in: *Muzyczne oblicza Śląska. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Wrocław 19.06.2008*, eds. Agnieszka Drożdżewska and Grzegorz Joachimiak, Wrocław and Lublin 2008, pp. 27–42; Tomasz Jeż, 'Some Remarks about the Provenance of the Lute Tablatures from Grüssau / Krzeszów', *Musicology Today* 6 (2009), pp. 127–152. About the whole lute tablature collection from Silesia there is being prepared now the dissertation in the Department of Musicology, University of Wrocław by the author of this article.

148 Cf. Koczirz, 'Österreichische Lautenmusik', pp. 49–96; idem, 'Böhmische Lautenkunst', pp. 88–101; Vogl, 'Zur Biographie Losys', pp. 189–192; idem, 'Johann Anton Losy', pp. 58–86; idem, 'The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 5–58; Crawford, 'New Sources', pp. 52–83; Bielińska-Galas, 'The Composition of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 77–95.

Mf. 2008, Mf. 2009 and Mf. 2011 are concordances to K. 44. It could really be possible that the pieces in Mf. 2004, Mf. 2008, Mf. 2009 and Mf. 2011 were copied from K. 44. Moreover, Mf. 2006 (not included in the table) has concordances only from non-Silesian manuscripts. K. 44 alone includes four pieces which appear twice in the same manuscript. They are:

1. *Aire*, fols. 11v–12r and *Aire*, fols. 18v–19r
2. *Gavotte*, fol. 94r and *Air* [without the letter “e” at the end], fol. 290v
3. *Gavotte*, fols. 122v–123r and *Aire*, fols. 146v–147r
4. *Courante des forgerons*, fols. 152v–153r and *Courante des forgerons En: D:*, fols. 184v–185r.

The last piece *Courante des forgerons* is very interesting. This work was uncertainly attributed to Losy.¹⁴⁹ To show the specificity of this piece and its reception, the list of concordances placed below could be very helpful.

Table 2. The list of concordances for the piece *Courante des forgerons*

No.	Siglum	Title	Key	Name of composer	Provenance	Instrument
1.	A-Wn Ms. Mus. 17706	<i>Il Marescalco</i>	C	–	Austria	lute ¹⁵⁰
2.	A-Wn Ms. Mus. S.m. 9659	<i>Schmied Courant</i>	D	–	Bad Aussee near Salzburg	guitar
3.	A-GÖ ms. Lautentabulatur 1	[<i>Courante Schmied</i>]	D	–	Benediktinerstift in Göttweig	lute
4.	CZ-Bm Ms. D 189	<i>Schmied Courant</i>	C	–	Moravské zemské muzeum, oddělení dějin hudby	manuscript for the guitar and mandora, the piece probably for two gambas
5.	CZ-Bm Ms. A 27750	<i>Faber</i>	C	–	as above	8-course mandora
6.	CZ-Bm Ms. sig. A3.329	<i>Schmied Cour:</i>	C	–	Benedictine abbey, Rajhrad	<i>angélique</i>
7.	CZ-Pnm ms. IV G 18	<i>Schmidt Curante</i>	close to F	–	manuscript of Johannes Aegidius Berner of Rettenwert	lute “1623”

149 Vogl, ‘The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy’, p. 31.

150 Vogl [ed.], *Z loutnových tabulatur*, pp. 61–62.

8.	CZ-POm s.c. (III)	<i>Le Marichal Schmidt Echo:</i>	D	–	Poděbrady	lute
9.	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 1657 (olim Cgm 3658)	<i>Schmied Courant 22</i>	C	–	Klosterbibliothek Polling; Dominikanerinnen-Kloster Heilig Kreuz Polling, Weilheim	cimbalom, organ (from 1744) ¹⁵¹
10.	GB-Cfm Ms.168 (The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book)	<i>Coranto “Battle”</i>	close to C	John Bull	Cambridge	keyboard ¹⁵²
11.	I-BDG ms. s.c. [ms. Chilesotti]	<i>Corrente Schmid</i>	D	–	Chilesotti’s transcription of the ms., now retained lost	lute
12.	PL-Wn 396 Cim. (olim K. 44)	<i>Courante des forgerons</i>	F	–	Silesia, Bad Warmbrunn (Cieplice), Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau (Krzeszów)	lute
13.	PL-Wn 396 Cim. (olim K. 44)	<i>Courante des forgerons ex D</i>	D	–	as above	lute
14.	S-K Musikhandschrift 4a	<i>Les Forgerons du Comte Logie</i>	C	Johann Anton Losy	“Matthias Silvius Svenonis Stockholm d/en/ 29 Mart. 1721”	keyboard
15.	S-Klm ms. 21.068	<i>Hammar Smeden: D dur</i>	D	–	Sweden	lute
16.	SK-Le “Pestry sbornik”	<i>Schmiedt Current</i>	C	–	Levoča	organ
17.	<i>Terpsichore</i>	<i>Courante CLXXXIII à 4</i>	close to C	Michael Praetorius	ed. Wolfenbüttel 1612	chamber music ¹⁵³
18.	<i>Apparatus Musico-Organisticus</i> , 1690	<i>Nova Cyclopeias Harmonica</i> , part “Ad Malleorum Ictus Allusio”	close to C	Georg Muffat	collection dedicated to Leopold I, published in 1690	organ ¹⁵⁴

151 *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*, <http://opac.rism.info/index.php>, RISM ID no. 450056501.

152 John Bull, *Keyboard Music*, vol. 2, ed. Thurston Dart, London 1970 (Musica Britannica 19).

153 *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius*, ed. Günther Oberst, vol. 15, Wolfenbüttel 1929, p. 105.

154 I would like to thank you Tim Crawford for reminded me about this example.

Probably there are more concordances than listed here, but as can be seen this piece was very popular for different instruments; its title is written in five languages.¹⁵⁵ However, the main problem is attribution.¹⁵⁶ Until now there was known only one version which comes from earlier than the life of Losy. This was Michael Praetorius's *Courant no. 183* for four voices written in the *Terpsichore* collection of 1612 which could be also inspired by lute music like his other dances. But there is known also one more piece written earlier than Praetorius. It is the *Coranto "Battle"* by John Bull written in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.¹⁵⁷ However neither piece by Bull and Praetorius excludes the possibility that some versions in the list were arranged by Johann Anton Losy. The titles "Courante des forgerons", "Il Marescalco", "Schmied Cour[ant]", "Hammar Smeden", "Coranto Battle", mean a dance or the craft of the blacksmith or farrier. It could be possible that Losy was interested in this piece as he liked genre scenes and illustrations of nature, as was also emphasized by E. G. Baron in his treatise.¹⁵⁸ The assumption of Losy's authorship of the so-called Smith's courante comes from the copy written in keyboard tablature preserved in Kalmar Stadsbibliotek, Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket, marked in bold in the table.¹⁵⁹ This is the only source attributing the name of Losy to the Smith's courante: „Les Forgerons / du / Comte Logie” (Figure 4). This tablature probably comes from 1721 as the title page says.¹⁶⁰ The music was undoubtedly copied by Matthias Silvius Svenonis during his stay in Uppsala although the volume itself was bought in Stockholm.

155 Cf. *Jan Antonín Losy: Pièces de Guitare*, ed. Jaroslav Pohanka, Prague 1965 (*Musica Antiqua Bohemica* 38); Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten und Gitarrentabulaturen*, p. 295.

156 Cf. Vogl, 'The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 28–31, nos. 106, 115, 129; Crawford, 'New sources', pp. 52–83; Jiří Tichota, 'Messrs. Schmidt, Marichal, Faber, Marescalco, and Count J. A. Losy', in: *Littera Nigro scripta manet. In honorem Jaromír Černý*, eds. Jan Bat'a, Jiří K. Kroupa and Lenka Mráčková, Prague 2009, pp. 163–168.

157 Cf. Peter Steur and Markus Lutz, *Musik für Barocklaute. Eine Datenbank der Manuskripte und Drucke für Barocklaute*, <http://mss.slweiss.de>, 4.09.2011.

158 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, p. 74.

159 Cf. Vogl, 'The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 28, 29, 31; Victor Coelho, *Frescobaldi and the Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas of "Il Tedesco della Tiorba"*, in: *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, Durham 1987, pp. 137–156; Crawford, 'New sources', pp. 52–83; *Sources manuscrites en tablature*, ed. Meyer, vol. III/1: *Österreich (A)*, Baden-Baden 1997; James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music: From the Renaissance to the Classical Era*, Oxford 2002, pp. 139–147; Bielińska-Galas, 'The Composition of Johann Anton Losy', pp. 77–95; Steur and Lutz, *Musik für Barocklaute*.

160 Jan Olof Rudén, *Music in Tablature. A Thematic Index with Source Descriptions of Music in Tablature Notation in Sweden*, Stockholm 1981, p. 56. According to Rudén's catalogue Matthias Silvius Svenonis (ca. 1702–1771) was matriculated at Uppsala University in March 1720. He became a lector of Greek at the grammar school of Kalmar in 1733 and the dean in 1744. He died in Kalmar.

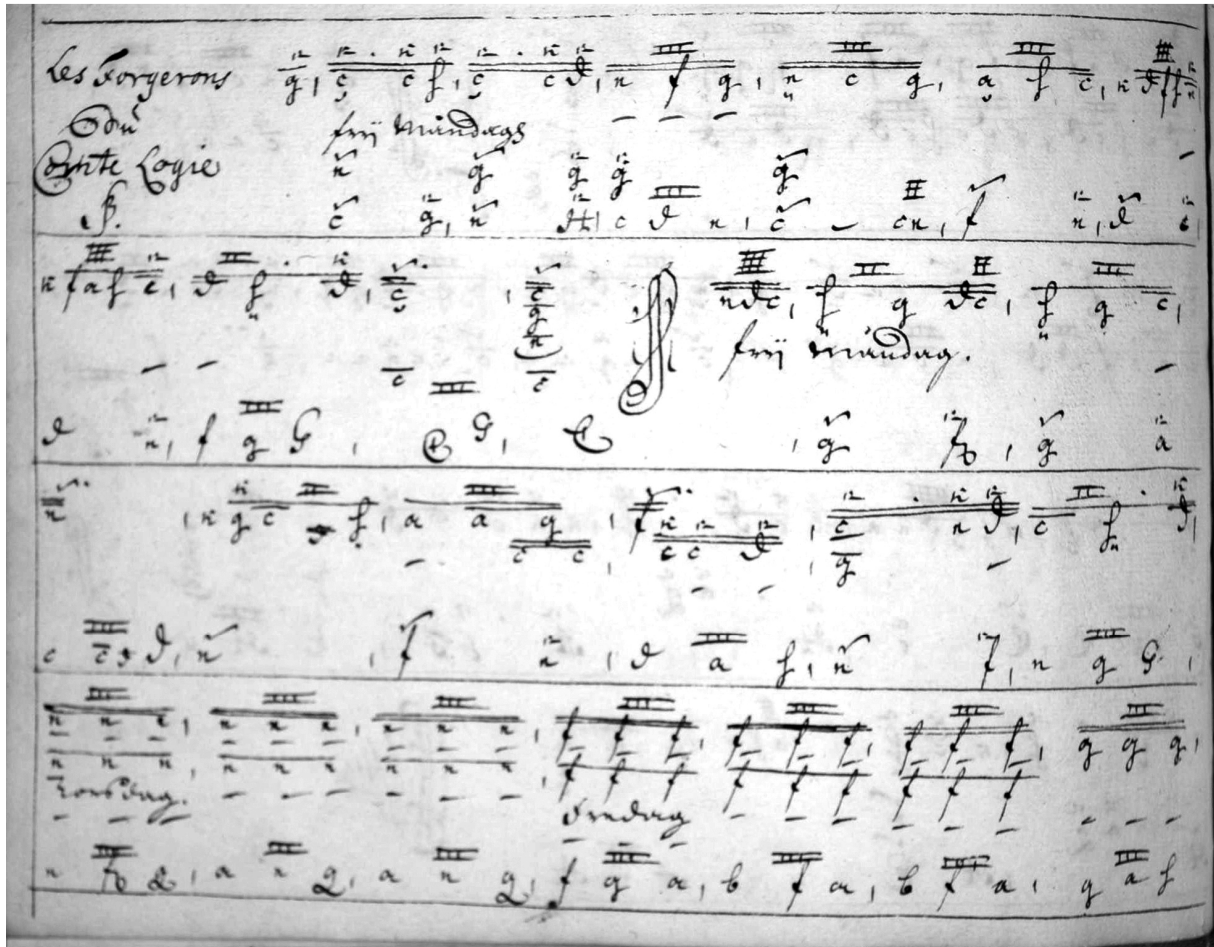


Figure 4. Les Forgerons du Comte Logie, Kalmar stadsbibliotek, Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket, Ms. Mus. 4a, fols. 56v–57r.

The manuscript is specially rich in melodies of secular Swedish song texts which can be dated to 1697–1712, therefore the copying of the *Courant des forgerons* in this manuscript undoubtedly confirms the participation of Swedish elements.¹⁶¹ The keyboard tablature copy contains a section which I would like to call the “smith’s part” because it determines the possibilities of attribution and through its features we are able to recognize many other versions.¹⁶² Moreover, there are additional inscriptions placed under the music text. These are the names of the days of the week written in Swedish. Both at the beginning and at the end of the second part (m. 17) is a note “frij Måndags”, which means “Monday off”. This encompasses the whole first strain and 15 bars of the second.

161 Ibid., p. 56.

162 The fragments of the so-called “smith’s part” are sometimes even in special separate repeated sections as in the guitar tablature A-Wn Ms. Mus. S.m. 9659, fols. 13v–14r. A copy of one page from this manuscript was published by Jiří Tichota (‘Messrs. Schmidt, Marichal’, p. 167).

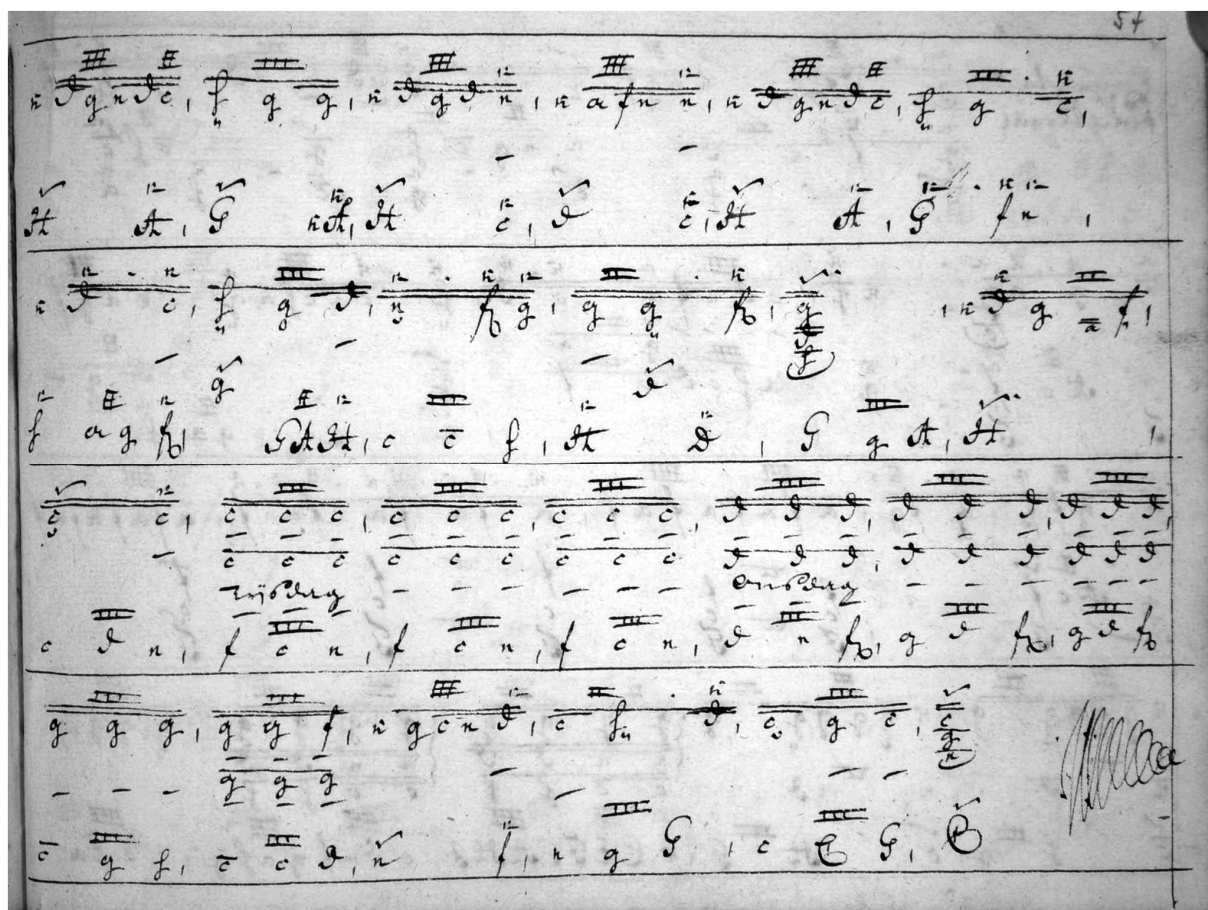


Figure 4. (cont.)

Starting from the part we have named the “smith’s part” there appear inscriptions that indicate the following days of the week: “trisdag” – Tuesday, “onsdag” – Wednesday, “torsdag” – Thursday, and “fredag” – Friday. These names are not located accidentally because each is ascribed to one particular pitch degree of a sequence of notes that is repeated in the first and second voices: “trisdag” – c and c^1 , “onsdag” – d and d^1 , “torsdag” – e and e^1 , “fredag” – f and f^1 . The sounds that are repeated in octaves may symbolize the laborious blows of a blacksmith’s hammer. The changing pitches and the week days ascribed to them may be understood as the amount of time spent on making a particular object by the blacksmith. Every single day took him closer to finishing his task, and similarly – the changing pitch sounds ascribed to a particular week day led to the end of the piece of music. Therefore, this composition may be perceived as a unusual musical story about a week of work in the life of an 18th-century craftsman. The pieces by Svenonis have a lot of concordances with compositions by Anders von Düben the younger.¹⁶³ Düben’s family came from Bohemia and through the German lands he arrived in Sweden, where as a *Capellmeister* from 1699 to 1726 he collected many

163 Bielińska-Galas, ‘Tabulatura lutniowa’, p. 140.

pieces by foreign composers.¹⁶⁴ Maybe Losy met Düben and played this *courante* to him, then he passed it on to Svenonis. Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to confirm this supposition. However, the context of this composition suits Count Losy's taste, and may confirm the attribution of this composition to the Czech lover of the lute.

The words from Baron's treatise give some clarity about Losy's music preferences. He wrote that: "Wie es denn nicht unbillig von dem Praetorio als ein Ornament Instrument, damit man andere Musiquen gleichsam mit schmücken, auszieren und würtzen kan, schon angesehen worden".¹⁶⁵ It is not known if Praetorius's *Courante* was influenced by earlier Bull's piece. But it is really possible that Count Losy's arrangement contributed to the huge spread of this piece to many manuscripts connected with the Bohemian lute music circle. One example of this reception could be the piece titled *Courante des forgerons* written down in the manuscript PL-Wn 396 Cim. (olim K. 44) connected with the Cistercians Abbey from Krzeszów in Silesia. To show the cultural context of this music it would be useful to write a few words about the provenance of this lute tablature.

This lute manuscript was moved after the Second World War to the National Library in Warsaw, where it is kept now. There is some evidence that before then the sources from this library (probably also this manuscript) were preserved in the Schaffgotsch library, first at a library in Chojnik (Germ. Kynast) until 1833. After 1834 this library was moved to the Public Library in Cieplice Śląskie (Germ. Bad Warmbrunn) which was made public for all readers. In 1911 the whole collection underwent a transfer of call numbers.¹⁶⁶ One sheet of paper which still exists in the manuscript bears marks "31.1911 / (rote Signatur: 1911.39)", which probably means the old accession number, and the sheet of paper with the old call number "K. 44" – this mark is currently preserved only in the microfilm. Nowadays some people describe this manuscript as the "Schaffgotsch lute tablature" because it was stored in the library of this family. Indeed, the place of its preservation and the connection with the Cistercians were not an accident because in Bad Warmbrunn there resided the significant noble Schaffgotsch family. They had a close relation with the aforementioned Krzeszów monastery. In 1729 the Cistercian monk Hermien Kniebandl was moved from Opawa near Kamienna Góra (Germ. Oppau near Landeshut) to another of Krzeszów Abbey's establishments in Bad Warmbrunn, where he took

164 Ibid., p. 140.

165 Baron, *Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung*, p. 74, transl. by Smith: *Study of the Lute*, p. 67: "It was rightly look upon by Praetorius as an ornamenting instrument, with which one can decorate, embellish, and spice other music".

166 Georg Rave, 'Die Reichsgrädlich Schaffgotsch'schen Sammlungen in Bad Warmbrunn', *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge* 1926 no. 4, pp. 57–60.

the position of *praepositus* in the church of St John the Baptist.¹⁶⁷ The manuscript PL-Wn 396 Cim. (olim K. 44) was dedicated to Fr. Kniebandl as shown by the title page of the manuscript. The *Courante des forgerons* was written twice in this lute tablature: in *F* and also in *D* – an atypical key for this piece (Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5. *Courante des forgerons* [in *F*], Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS 396 Cim., fols. 152v–153r.



Figure 6. *Courante des forgerons* [in *D*], Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS 396 Cim., fols. 184v–185r.

167 Cf. Nikolaus von Lutterotti, *Abt Innozent Fritsch, der Erbauer der Grüssauer Abteikirche*, Schweidnitz 1935, p. 39; Ambrosius Rose, *Professbuch von Grüssau. Leben und Wirken der Zisterzienser 1292–1810*, Cologne 1990, p. 66; Rudolf Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau von Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Aufhebung im Jahre 1810*, Kassel 1996 (Musik des Ostens 15), pp. 160–161.

Both have the same title which means “courante of the smiths” but they are not exactly the same and surely they were arranged by different lutenists. These pieces are not only in different keys but also have different rhythm and structure. The Schaffgotsch manuscript is divided into key sections. The piece from fol. 184v was written in section called “Ton G”, but in the title there is an annotation “ex D” because *D* or, more precisely, *D* major is in fact its key.

22



29



Example 1. PL-Wn 396 Cim., Courante des forgerons [in F], fols. 152v–153r, mm. 22–35.

26



35



41



п.а. – non arpeggio

Example 2. PL-Wn 396 Cim., Courante des forgerons [in D], fols. 184v–185r, mm. 26–45.

The piece consists of two sections in every copy. The character of fragment (“smith’s part”) in the second section is reminiscent of the work of a smith in the repeated notes which could symbolise the repeated blows of a smith’s hammer. The first example from the Silesian source (Example 2) has only two voices in *nota contra notam* counterpoint. The rhythm is very equal. The frequent repetition of the same notes in the upper voice are very arduous and could be associated with the hits of a hammer on a horseshoe. The bass line is also very important,

creating a harmonic sequence of dominant-tonic-like progressions: *D* major to *A*, *E* major to *B* major; then it goes into *G* major, then *C*, *G*, *A* and *D* major. This copy is very similar to the piece written down in the Kalmar keyboard tablature and we could place the names of week days for each passage of music here as well (Example 3).

Example 3. *S-K Ms. Mus. 4a*, *Les forgerons du Comte Logie*, fols. 56v–57r, mm. 31–46.

The second piece in “F” (Example 1) is not exactly the same as the previous one and it was written in another key than *C* or *D* major like the piece from CZ-Pnm ms. IV G 18 manuscript. It is nine bars shorter than *D* major piece. But it also contains “the part of smith” (mm. 22–35). The structure is more extended but the repetitions in the middle voice have a different direction than in the other examples: from up to down ($f^1-e^1-d^1$, $f^1-e^1-d^1$) and in the upper voice there are long notes. It seems that this piece was probably performed in a fast tempo. The harmony goes in modulations: from *C* major to *F* major, then *G* minor, *A* major, *D* minor, *G*, *C* and *F* major. The *F* major piece from the Silesian source has a lot of differences from the normal one and it could be understood as a variant¹⁶⁸. Who arranged it? It is hard to say for sure. But surely this person was familiar with the music of the Wrocław cathedral music ensemble directed by Martin Prantl

168 Cf. Georg von Dadelsen, ‘«Wersja ostatniej ręki» w muzyce’, *Muzyka* 45 (2000) no. 1, pp. 71–86; Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Filologia a historia recepcji. Uwagi do teorii edycji’, *Muzyka* 44 (1999) no. 1, pp. 113–125.

(d. 1709), some of whose work was written down to the manuscripts for lute duo (Mf. 2001a and Mf. 2001b) by the same scribe who written down pieces to the PL-Wn 396 Cim.¹⁶⁹ This scribe was clearly an experienced lutenist and the atypical copy of the Smith *courante* in *F* major could be an example of a local Silesian creation from his hand.

When we take a closer look at the pieces by Bull and Praetorius (Examples 4 and 5) it seems that they are very similar. The other concordances have some differences connected with the texture, ornaments and register of the “smith’s part” presented here, and of course artistry but thanks to the “smith’s part” we are able to attribute and compare each of these pieces.

Example 4. John Bull, Coranto “Battle”, ed. by Thurston Dart in: John Bull, Keyboard Music, vol. 2, London 1970, p. 109, mm. 18–27.

169 Hans Erdmann Gückel, *Katholische Kirchenmusik in Schlesien*, Leipzig 1912, pp. 16–21.

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Example 5. Michael Praetorius, *Courante CLXXXIII à 4*, ed. by Günther Oberst in: *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius, vol. 15, Wolfenbüttel 1929, p. 105, mm. 18–27.*

* * *

The information presented here concerning the life and artistic activity of Johann Antony Losy von Losinthal junior together with the sources about musical culture in Silesia show that Bohemia, Silesia and also Vienna – then the Habsburg capital – were not only in a very close political relation but also in terms of their common culture. These relations are shown in a particularly interesting way in the field of lute music, which was played in both monastic and secular circles. The exchange of information was specially fast between the Jesuit centers, as may be proved by the fact that J. A. Losy's philosophical thesis was delivered to the library in Głogów in such a short time. The artistic activity of lutenists connected with Silesia (for

example Esaias Reusner junior, the Weiss family, Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée) and even with Poland (the Nuremberg family of Huelse/Hilz) was present in the musical culture of Vienna and Bohemia. This casts a particularly interesting light on a piece of music bearing various titles in different languages: “Courante des forgerons”, “Il Marescalco”, “Schmied Cour[ant]”, “Hammar Smeden”, “Coranto Battle”, “Faber”; but we have also seen how the very characteristic element of the “blacksmith’s work” was symbolically presented in the compositions, which were not written by a single composer. So far research has suggested that this composition was connected to the works of Michael Praetorius and John Bull. The source from Kalmar discussed here adds the possibility of thinking that Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior should join this group. Moreover, the Swedish source enables us to make a more detailed interpretation of this piece in the context of the “blacksmith’s work” section. This is possible thanks to the inscriptions which refer to particular days of a craftsman’s week. It is hard to say if a particular person who worked in a particular place was meant here. However, the source from Silesia deserves special interest as it contains the composition *Courante des forgerons* written down twice in two different versions. One of them is unique in the context of key and style of arrangement. All of these elements lead to the conclusion that the artistic activity of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal junior had a wide reception in Central Europe, where Silesia and Bohemia not only marked their presence but were also very crucial places for the artistic development of many leading lutenists of the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries.

