

JOHANN ANTON LOSY: LUTENIST OF PRAGUE

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for Ružena

Foreword

A lengthy paper devoted to the life and works of Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal is in need of some justification. In several earlier articles based upon archival material, I attempted to present information about the lives of a number of Bohemian lutenists,¹ and among them I devoted one short study to Losy, the father of the lute in Prague.² In those papers I primarily attempted to clarify uncertainties concerning Losy's life and to correct errors that had been made by earlier researchers; it was not my intent to give a detailed account of his life or of his surviving works.

The present study attempts to gather together everything known about the activities of the great Prague lutenist. There are several reasons for making this attempt. First is the fact that Count Losy, as wealthy and influential a man as he was, did not remain a mere dilettante as did so many of his noble contemporaries. Through his works, of which only a portion has come down to us, Losy shows himself to be more than an amateur of his instrument; his talent and training enabled him to achieve higher things. Second, he and the somewhat older Esajas Reusner are the sole representatives of the early German baroque school of lute playing and, thus, are of considerable importance. The proof of their importance rests on the fact that their music continued to be quoted long after their deaths. Measured by the number of surviving manuscript copies, the esteem of Losy's work is equalled only by that enjoyed by Ennemond and Denis Gaultier. Last, but not least, Losy's school of lute playing constitutes an essential part of Bohemian musical history.

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

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

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

Testudo notissimum in nostra partibus instrumentum; nam tanta per omnes domos quocunque te vertis in Triurbe hac Regia, Lautnarum est copia, Ut nescio quot Maximorum Palatiorum, in casu hujus probandi asserti, tectis ex integro construendis succerrere cum ein posses.

Thomas Balthazar Janowka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae*, Prague, 1701.

In his important study of Austrian lute music, published in 1918, Adolf Koczirz presented a brief biography of the Prague lutenist Johann Anton Losy, Count of Losinthal.³ The title of Koczirz's study defines a time span between the years 1650 and 1720. During this period in Bohemia, which then was part of the Austrian monarchy, the lute experienced an unexpected flowering of activity. This activity, however, suddenly died out around the year 1720. Shortly before and after this year the triumvirate of the Bohemian lute died: first Aureus Dix, soon thereafter his friend Antoni Eckstein, and finally Johann Anton Losy. It is not by chance that the period chosen by Koczirz corresponds to the span of Losy's life.

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

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

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

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

As an example of this inherited art in a bourgeois Silesian family, let us cite the Kropfganss family. The eldest, Johann Kasper, was a student of Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee, one of the

French emigrants mentioned above. His son Johann (I) remained a merchant, but cultivated lute playing as a dilettante. His teachers were his father as well as a certain Meley, again a Frenchman. His son, Johann (II), became a student of Silvius Leopold Weiss and eventually became professional lutenist at the house of Count von Brühl in Dresden. His brother, Johann Sigismund, and his sister, Elenore, were also known for their skill on the lute.⁵

The founder and master of the new style in Silesia was Esaias Reusner the Younger. His father also had been a lutenist and composed a collection *Musikalischer Lustgarten* (Breslau, 1645) in the old Renaissance tuning. The younger Esaias was born in 1636 in Löwenberg (near Liegnitz), became a page to the Swedish General Wittenberg, later entered the service of the Imperial Commissar Müller, and subsequently that of the Countess Radziwill. He was initiated into the secrets of the new French style by an unknown Frenchman. We find him later in the service of Prince Georg von Liegnitz und Brieg, to whom he dedicated his first publication *Deliciae musicae*.⁶ This print was republished after his death under the title *Erfreuliche Lautenlust*. A book of lute songs on religious texts appeared in 1679, the year of his death. At this time he was serving at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, in Berlin.⁷

Reusner the Younger is credited with establishing the order of dances in the lute suite; previously, as in the sequence of movements by a composer such as Pierre Gaultier, they had been left to the whim of the performer. At the beginning of his suites, Reusner often placed not an allemande, but a movement other than a dance, which he called “Sonata” or “Praeludium.” A similar sonata movement is found among the rarely encountered works by Achazius Kazimir Huelse, who according to Baron was valet to Count Losy and the Count’s lute teacher.⁸ This title, otherwise absent in suites at this time, as well as the composer’s given names, suggests that Huelse may have belonged to the Silesian circle of lutenists. It must be remembered that Silesia was still part of Austria at the time and communication between Silesia, Prague, and Vienna was quite easy because of this union.

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

The Polish noble Riwitzki also belongs to this period and to this circle of lutenists. According to Baron, he lived at the court of the Polish King Augustus II and died in 1712.⁹ Jakob Kremberg was another lutenist who came from Poland, but he was of German descent. He was born in Warsaw about 1650, studied in Halle and Leipzig, and served in the courts of Dresden, Stockholm, and London. His *Musikalische Gemütszergetzung* was published in 1699.

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

dictine priest Iwan Jelinek, who lived not far from Prague. Thanks to the activity of Count Losy, Prague played a leading role in lute music. Aside from those musicians known to us by name, there were doubtless numerous others who cultivated the lute in private circles.

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

Turning to the lute music of Austria, we find that Adolf Koczirz has portrayed this subject in an exemplary manner.¹¹ He did, however, include some lutenists only tenuously connected with the Austrian area. Among these are Rochus Berhandzki, court lutenist to the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel; the French Marshall Count Tallard, an important lutenist who was executed in Bregenz; the French emigrant Jacques de Saint-Luc; and the Netherlander Adam Ginter. Even Theodor Herold does not belong among the list of Austrian lutenists, since he was *Kapellmeister* at the court in Mainz. The Neapolitan musician Giuseppe Porsile belongs to only a limited degree, being an opera composer who wrote only a few insignificant minuets for the lute, probably at the wish of the Empress-Widow Amalia. None of these musicians can be considered part of the Viennese School, so far as one can speak of such a school at all.¹²

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

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

Certainly the most important of the Viennese to dedicate his talents to the lute was Johann Georg Weichenberger.¹⁴ Born in 1676 in Graz, he was one of the music-making officials at the Viennese court. His works survive in several Bohemian manuscripts and his trios for lute, violin, and bass often show the influence of Losy, who was a generation older. Losy often appeared in Vienna on official business, and we can assume that the Viennese lutenists clustered around the famous and influential Count. Without doubt some attempted to imitate his style. Weichenberger’s solos show a different style from his trios, and we can only guess at the reason for this apparent disparity. He died in Vienna in 1740.

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

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

Two anonymous fragments augment the small number of tablature books written on Bohemian soil. We also know of two German lutenists who were active in Bohemia, probably for only a short time around the turn of the century. One, Valerius Otto, was organist at the Thein Church. His principal work, *Neue Paduanen, Intraden und Currenten* (Leipzig, 1611), contains dances for a consort of viols. The other, Matthäus Reymann, was born in Thorn and served as preceptor in a noble household. His lute book, *Noctes Musicae*, was dedicated to four members of the Cejka family and published in Heidelberg in 1598.¹⁷

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

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

According to both sources the family came from the Canton Grisons in Switzerland and bore the name Losy de Losys.²¹ The genealogy always falsely cites Purs as the name of the home town. Purz in Canton Grisons is doubtless meant, however, since a town with the name “Purs” does not appear in Swiss gazetteers. In a decree of 1647, by which Johann Anton Losy the Elder, father of the lutenist, was elevated to the old aristocracy, his Swiss heritage is specifically mentioned. Signed by the Emperor in Klattau in Bohemia, the same document also mentions a cousin, Balthaser de Mora, who was in the Imperial military service and likewise described in the decree as Swiss.²²

The earliest member of the family to be cited in the Dobrzensky genealogy is a Losy de Losys (no forename is given), who married a woman from the Lugami family. From this marriage was born Thomas Losy de Losys, who in turn married a woman from the family de Mora “ex matre de

Brochis.” Three children were born of this union: Johann Anton (father of the composer), Johann Baptist, and a daughter Jakobina. The latter two remained their entire lives in Switzerland.

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

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

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

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

The two sons of Johann Anton Losy the Elder were the musician of the same name and his younger brother Johann Baptist. The birth dates in the Dobrzensky collection are in part improbable and in no way binding. Johann Baptist seems to have been born in 1652, since there exists a decree of adulthood by his father from the year 1673, and at that time this status was legally set at the age 21.²⁸

Like his brother the lutenist, Johann Baptist studied at the Jesuit University in Prague and finished with a dissertation in 1668.²⁹ In this slim booklet he sings the praises of the emblems on the Losy coat-of-arms: the crowned Austrian eagle, the swan with a star in its beak, in the middle an F. III (the initials of Emperor Ferdinand III), a mailed fist protruding from a tower gate, three white stripes on a dark background; the shield is borne by two crowned lions; above the shield are three helmets and again the heraldic eagle and swan, all crowned by the initials F. III with the Austrian imperial crown. Johann Baptist is cited in German as *poeta academicus*.

We learn something of the life of the younger Losy from documents in the Czechoslovakian State Archive in Prague. The life of this young nobleman from a very rich household, however, does not present a pretty picture. In 1677 a merchant and citizen of Prague, Maithasar Septier, requests house arrest for the young Losy and demands payment of 1126 florins, 23 *Kreuzer*. Similar sums are demanded by the tailor Peter Wolkin for goods delivered, and Donat Häussker Freiherr von Heyden exacts the payment of borrowed money.³⁰ The total debt upon the death of the younger Losy about 1686 amounted to the considerable sum of 45,887 florins. Johann Baptist Losy appears to have belonged among those profligate Prague youth of wealthy houses, who recklessly squandered their paternal money.

Besides his commercial ability, Losy the Elder also possessed considerable personal courage. This was demonstrated in 1648 at the close of the Thirty Years War when, through betrayal, the Swedes were successful in capturing the Prague *Kleinseite* on the western bank of the Moldau in a sudden attack. The Imperial troops withdrew fighting to the right bank of the river and students successfully defended the Charles Bridge, so that the enemy was unable to enter the Old Town. By circling the city, the Swedes tried to enter the besieged city from the east. Here Losy the Elder distinguished himself in defending a breach in the fortifications of the Porzicz Gate. He displayed his intrepidity to such a degree that he was raised to the Bohemian crown nobility in 12 December of the same year and received the title of baronet. During the defense of Prague he armed a free company of nobles and Imperial servants with weapons by his own means, personally commanded the company in battle, and later borrowed money to repair the bulwarks. We even know the names of his officers: his lieutenant was Wenzel Jezberowski, later vice-secretary of Bohemia; his ensign was a certain Benedikt Smolik.³¹

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

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

Old Losy was the model of the baroque man. The grand scale of his commercial ventures and his recklessness combined with personal courage were typical of the feudal men of his time. He was unsentimental in his transactions, without sensitivity for the needs of others, and pursued his goals inconsiderately. He had a debtor, who had gotten behind in his payments and offered payment later, thrown into debtor's prison by four musketeers.³⁴ He fought in court with the heirs of the architect

Santini de Bassi over small sums,³⁵ and for years conducted a lawsuit seeking to obtain the village of Kuriman, only to lose in the end.³⁶ His intractable will to be in the right can be seen in a letter to the Prague magistrate, in which he protested against the chimney sweep Demartini, who “through carelessness almost caused a fire in the attic of his palace.”³⁷ No artistic inclinations, such as stand out so clearly in his elder son, are evident in him, although he seems, through the engagement of the lutenist Achazius Kazimir Huelse as the valet of his son, to have supported the latter’s tendencies to musical education; at least he did not hinder them.

The family possessions, which consisted of landed estates and houses in Prague, were divided by the elder Losy into two estates in fee-tail under the names of his two sons. These were united after the death of Johann Baptist into one estate and fell upon the death of the elder Losy to the older brother Johann Anton, the lutenist. The possessions of the Losys were so great that Stölzel’s report that Losy the musician drew 80,000 florins annually from his estates in rent does not seem implausible.³⁸ Many of these properties in Bohemia had been bought cheaply as they had been affected by the Thirty Years War and were burdened with large debts.³⁹ Losy the Elder acquired other properties from the confiscated possessions of Protestants who had to leave the country after the Battle of White Mountain. Of particular importance was a building Losy bought in 1637 on Hibernia Street (Hybernergasse or Hybernská) in the Prague New Town from Franz Chiesa. Like Losy, the Chiasas were foreigners, who had gained importance as tax inspectors of the Salt, Beer, and Wine Council. Chiesa had bought the building for speculative purposes earlier the same year from the agents of the widow of the executed Commissar of the Diet, Valentin Kochanowzki from Prachtitz, for 3600 of Meissen currency. In 1648 Losy bought the adjoining building from Ferdinand Anton Chiesa for 9000 florins and a hundred *Thaler* deposit. This house, too, had been confiscated from a Protestant, Müllner von Mühlhaus. The third adjoining house, actually only a ruin, he bought for one hundred *Thaler* from Daniel Archezius and the widow Ludmila Jemnicka. The value was only in the land; the house was uninhabitable.

About 1660 Losy commissioned the Italian architect Carlo Luragho to rebuild the three buildings into a palace. The result still carries the construction number 11/1033, Hibernia Street 7. The palace had a large garden, a lovely loggia that connected the side tract with the main building, and inside one still today finds painted ceilings and stucco-work. The façade was redone in the eighteenth century by the architect Philipp Heger, after the building no longer belonged to the Losys. In the middle projection he added a columned portico with balcony to the main portal; this was removed in 1936. After the male line of the Losys died out, the palace came into the possession of Count Windeschgrätz and later Count Kinsky, Beethoven’s patron. Kinsky sold it to a Viennese insurance company, which in turn sold it in the nineteenth century to the Social-Democratic Party. Today the palace serves as a Lenin Museum.

A second important Losy property was the estate and castle Steken in the Strakonitz District of Southern Bohemia. In 1638 Losy the Elder had been awarded the estate of Johann Anton Eggenberg, gentleman of Krumau,⁴⁰ but only in 1648 could he establish his right of possession. Steken is a rectangular castle on a gently rising, but rocky, hill in the midst of an English park, now gone to seed, with a lovely arcaded courtyard and a chapel dedicated to St. Barbara. Above the portal and in the great hall the Losy coat-of-arms can still be seen today. The castle has now been converted into a home for the elderly.⁴¹

Steken Castle, somewhat apart from the great military road to Southern Bohemia, was the sole possession of Losy to escape the war. The house in the *Kleinseite* had been plundered and rendered uninhabitable by the Swedes when they captured the left bank of the Moldau in 1648 and the palace on Hibernia Street was not yet built, the property consisting of two uninhabitable buildings and a

ruin. Fear of epidemic and death by starvation would have led the family to take refuge in the castle in Southern Bohemia after the liberation of Prague, in which Losy had personally taken part with his company. Steken had been spared the plundering of the withdrawing soldiers of General Württemberg. Here in Steken, later to become the widow's seat of the musician's mother, undoubtedly was born the lutenist Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to establish Losy's exact birthdate and, along with previous writers, have had to content myself with an assumption about his birthplace. In all probability, however, Steken is the birthplace of the composer; the genealogical collection of Count Dobrzensky in the Prague State Archive, indeed, gives it as the birthplace of all the children of the House of Losy. On the other hand, Dobrzensky clearly is incorrect in giving the date of birth as 1684. One secure point in Losy's life is the date of his graduation as a Doctor of Philosophy. This occurred in the year 1668. Thus Dobrzensky's date is obviously false. The confusion over the birthdate is made all the greater by Ernst Gottlieb Baron in his *Study of the Lute*, where together with such misinformation as Losy being ennobled for his outstanding lute playing, we read that Losy at his death was "approximately 80 years" old.⁴² It is clear that the age of Losy at death has been confused with that of his father.

The year of Losy's death has always been known as 1721. Therefore, it was only a matter of finding out which parish in its diocese included the palace on Hibernia Street, in which Losy died. I was fortunate enough to find in the church records of the parish of St. Heinrich in the Prague New Town that Losy was 71 at his death. We may, therefore, assume that Losy was born about 1650. This date gains credence when we remember that Losy's brother, Johann Baptist, was declared legally of age by his father in 1673 and, thus, probably born in 1652 as the younger brother of the musician. In all likelihood, Losy's birthdate will never be precisely established. The church registers for Steken, which lie today in the State Archive in Wittingau, begin only with the year 1687; the preceding ones were destroyed by fire.

The first date in Losy's life that can be securely documented is his matriculation in the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. Koczirz cites the entry from the "Matricula seu album universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis."⁴³ This book was removed from Prague during World War II and is now lost. It contains the years 1654-1723, beginning with the year of the uniting of the Jesuit College with the rest of the Charles University. According to the entries in this matriculation book, Losy matriculated in 1661. The entries on the completed baccalaureate and the awarding of the doctorate in the philosophical faculty have been preserved.⁴⁴ According to the latter, Losy received the baccalaureate on 6 June, 1667 and graduated as doctor of philosophy on 15 August 1668. We should not be surprised that an 18-year-old noble from an influential Catholic house could receive this academic degree at such an early age, especially when we consider the course of study in those days. Losy could enter the *collegium parvum* or the *studia inferiora* at age nine; the prerequisite was the ability to read and write. Until this point he was probably educated by a tutor. After six years of *studia inferiora*, which corresponds to today's middle school – more preparation was not required – he commenced at 15 his studies in the philosophical faculty of the university. The study of philosophy, which at that time was the domain of the Jesuits, lasted three years.⁴⁵ The object of study in the first year was logic, in the second year physics was read, and studies were ended after the third year with metaphysics. To these studies were added instruction in ethics and mathematics during all three years. If we consider the preceding process, it will not appear impossible that Losy could have attained the degree doctor of philosophy at age eighteen. For this reason it is unnecessary to postulate an earlier birthdate.



The façade of the Losy palace on Hibernia Street, Prague, as it appeared ca. 1980.
(Photograph by D. A. Smith)

Losy published his dissertation, in accordance with the taste of the time. This publication contains the only known portrait of the young Losy and is the only portrait to survive. Koczirz, who first called attention to this publication, probably never saw it, otherwise he could not have missed the picture.⁴⁶ For his description of the thesis, he relied on a study by Paul Knöttl, who mentioned Losy's dissertation in the course of his description of the library of Freiherr Jobst Hilmar von Knigge.⁴⁷ The copy now in the University Library in Prague originally came from the collection of the Prague Lobkowitz family.⁴⁸ The volume contains several graphics, which have nothing at all to do with the thesis. They have been described by Pazaurek, who mentioned them during the compilation of the graphic work of Karl Skreta, but without mentioning the topic that concerns us here.⁴⁹

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

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

Such dedication pages were common at the time and Skreta executed several others. Together with the engraver Bartholomäus Kilian the Younger from Augsburg (1630- 1696), he illustrated the dissertations of Karl Maximilian Lazansky, two brothers Sternberg and Ferdinand von Althan, and Johann Walderode von Eckhausen.⁵⁰

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

time new lutenistic art. Whether his model was Charles Mouton, Dufaut, or another student of Gaultier cannot be determined.

After the death of his father in 1682, when Losy was 33, he took over his share of the inherited estate, and after the premature death of his spendthrift brother he became the sole heir and thereby owner of both combined estates and of the entire wealth that the elder Losy had accumulated during and after the war. Johann Anton Losy, Count von Losinthal was also heir to high state office. He held the office of Councillor (*Kammerrat*) to the Bohemian Crown. His office compelled him often to travel and stay in the Imperial capital, Vienna. There he lived in his house, a garden building on the Gasse zum Stadtgut in the Leopoldstadt District.⁵³ In Vienna he consummated both of his marriages and there his children were born, of whom two died at an early age. Losy was first married to Sophie Polyxena von Grosseg, who died in Vienna on 21 October 1696 at the age of 40. This marriage produced a son who died in 1685 shortly after birth. After the death of his first wife, Losy married the Countess Franziska Claudia Strassoldo. Before the marriage he requested the encumbrance of 50,000 florins upon his property at Tachau, payable to his bride. Losy's signature is preserved in this document.⁵⁴ A second signature survives in another document pertaining to the freeing from indenture of an orphan, a certain Franz Baloun from Ctěnice.⁵⁵ From this second marriage were born two children: a daughter Maria Anna, born 3 February, 1703, who died after two years, and a son Adam Philipp, born in 1705. Adam Philipp was the last of the Losy line. He lived primarily in Vienna, inherited the musical talent of his father, and periodically played contrabass in an amateur orchestra made up of cavaliers from the court. He died on 21 April, 1781. Since there was no male heir to inherit the great wealth of the estate, this fell after years of legal proceedings, which appeared in book form,⁵⁶ to Johann Nikolaus Count von Windischgrätz.

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

This instrument has the advantage over the *Clavieren* that one can play it with *force* and then *piano*, when a great *momentum dulcedinis & gratiae musicae* occurs. This is to say nothing of the special variation, whereby the tangents or hammers can be used now bare, now wound with cotton or something else. About twenty years ago, at the time when Monsieur Pantalon [Hebenstreit] still played *maitre de danse* here, the noble and excellent lutenist Count Logi arranged a little concert (*Concertgen*) 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,⁵⁷ with very learned preluding (*praeludiren*), and with a lovely and *galante Partie*, with all imaginable *delicatesse*. I did what I could on my *Clavicordio*, and was even then in accord with the opinion of the *Orchestre* on this matter, that such an instrument, though quiet, serves best for practicing and good expression of harmony on the keyboard (*Clavier*). Finally Monsr. Pantalon showed his skill, and after he had demonstrated his musical treasure in various kinds of preluding, improvising (*fantasiren*), and all sorts of *caprices* with the bare sticks, he finally bound up the sticks with cotton and played a *partie*. The Count was quite beside himself; he led me out of his room and across the hall, listened from afar, and said: "*Ey, was ist das?* I have been in Italy, have heard all the beautiful things music has to offer, but nothing like this ever met my ears before."⁵⁸



The first leaf of Losy's thesis.

The first writer to mention Losy was the lutenist Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee, who published Losy's "Courante extraordinaire" in his *Cabinet der Lauten* (Breslau, 1695). How highly Le Sage esteemed the Prague lutenist is shown by the copper engraving and the foreword to this collection. The frontispiece depicts a cherub pulling the curtain from in front of five books lying on a stage.⁵⁹ The books are stacked on top of each other; the lowest one lies with its spine turned away from the viewer, so that we cannot read the name of the author. The four books on top, however, have the names of famous lutenists inscribed on their spines. From the lowest we read: Gaultier, Mouton, Dufaut, and on top Losy. The honor is not only to be understood from Losy's name appearing among the most famous lute composers of the time, but that he also is considered a pupil or continuator of one of the most famous lutenists of the Parisian school. Yet we could prove only with difficulty that Losy had been a student of Dufaut. In the foreword to the *Cabinet* we read in the flowery baroque language of the time: "There is here nothing foreign, save a single courante of the incomparable Count Logi, who is now the Prince of all Artists on this instrument."⁶⁰

During the last years of his life Losy lived in his Prague palace on Hibernia Street. There the Kapellmeister Stölzel visited him in 1715. Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749) had just come from Italy and spent almost three years in Prague, where he attained an intimate acquaintance with the musical life of the city. Here he composed three operas: "Acis und Galathea," "Venus und Adonis," and "Das durch die Liebe besiegte Glück." In his frequent visits to Count Losy he won insight into the private life and the daily activities of the musician, who by then was quite elderly. Johann Mattheson published Stölzel's report in his *Grundlage zu einer Ehrenpforte*.⁶¹

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

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

At the time the Count would have been approximately 65 years old. Stölzel's report that he spent his mornings in bed playing the lute may perhaps mean that Losy was already ill and required by his doctors to spend half the day in bed. Since he did not wish to do without his beloved lute playing even then, he solved the problem in this rather unusual, but entirely understandable, manner. Count Losy appears to have suffered from heart trouble, since the entry in the death register reports that he died of dropsy. The Count could easily have become familiar with the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully in Paris. The situation is different with the music of Johann Josef Fux, which is said to have first reached the stage in 1708.⁶² On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that Losy had gotten to know these operas on his frequent stays in Vienna through copies.

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

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

Count Losy is said to have been so pensive about the instrument [the lute] that he often took it along on journeys and when a good idea came to him he had the horses stopped and recorded it in his tablet.⁶³

Count Losy's character was described by Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, who united the person of Losy and his valet and lute teacher Huelse into one distorted figure.⁶⁴ Dlabacz maintained that Losy had been a cheerful man, full of clever ideas and gestures, and gifted with the ability to imitate other people's speech. This is actually the description of Achazius Kazimir Huelse found in Baron's *Study of the Lute*.

Huelse was a man full of jolly and ingenious ideas, who could imitate anyone's voice and speech so naturally that listeners were astonished. He was also a composer himself, and he derived his greatest pleasure from expressing all sorts of affections in his compositions.⁶⁵

The Count was especially fond of Huelse, and when the latter had subsequently returned ill to Nuremberg, Losy visited him there, supported and cared for him. We know nothing of Huelse's origins, although as mentioned above, his forenames suggest a Silesian or perhaps Polish background. Baron writes that Huelse suffered from dropsy before his death and that, with the swelling over his entire body caused by the disease, he "resembled a monster more than a man." Losy seems to have suffered from the same disease before his death; this is probably the cause of Dlabacz's confusion.

As to Count Losy's own character, we presume a quiet, reserved personality, appropriate for a high official of the Bohemian crown, a doctor of philosophy, and a wealthy noble. In none of the surviving documents is there any indication that he inherited the litigious and irascible character of his father. The prodigality of his younger brother is similarly nowhere documented about him and seems to have been foreign to his nature. On the contrary, we know of his concern for the welfare of his wife, whom he made financially independent. As the owner of much land and the lord of many indentured servants, we find numerous dispensations that stem from him and which were intended to make life easier for his subjects. He approved the weekly markets in Tachau, which the former, violent owner Philipp Husmann von Namedy had previously forbidden.⁶⁶ Similarly, the butchers of Winternitz, beginning in 1698, were permitted to join in a guild.⁶⁷ He granted the same permission to the Winternitz masons in 1720. In his will he remembered his employees with monetary gifts and provided that the servants receive double wages. The will also stipulated that his debtors were to have the amount of their debts reduced to one fourth.

Above I mentioned the wealth that Losy inherited as sole heir after the death of his father. Therefore, it is inconceivable that he would have played the lute in public concerts as some commentators have maintained. Nonetheless, I assume his passive participation in the founding of the Prague Academy, an association designed to promote the first public concerts in Prague. One of the signers of the request for permission to do so, which was submitted in 1713, was the lutenist Georg

Adalbert Kaliwoda. Paul Nettl indicates that Freiherr Josef Ludwig von Hartig was an aristocratic Protector and adds that the Freiherr (baron) was granted the title of Count on 20 February 1719.⁶⁸ In Losy's will, written on 9 August 1721, a Josef Hubert Freiherr von Hartig signed as a witness. Since he doubtless belonged to the inner circle of the Count's friends, his love of music would have united him and the lutenist. His is probably the Protector at the founding of the musical Academy. We can assume that Losy, too, supported these efforts. Another figure in the circle around the Count was Josef Franz Löw von Erisfeld, who had three doctorates and was the physician who treated Losy. He also signed Losy's will as a witness. In his biographical account published by Mattheson, Stölzel mentions a Freiherr von Hartig, although without mentioning a forename, and a musician friend named Adlersfeld with whom he stayed in Prague:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The great lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss bid a solemn farewell to the Count in his “Tombeau sur la Mort de Mr. Comte de Logy arrivée 1721. Composée par Silvio Leopold Weiss.”⁷⁴ Thus did one great lutenist commemorate, according to ancient custom, another great musician who had preceded him in death.

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

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¹Emil Vogl, “Loutnová Hudba v Cechách,” *Casopis Národního Musea*, Vol. CXXXIII, No. 1 (1964), pp. 11-20; Vogl, “Aureus Dix und Antoni Eckstein, zwei Prager Lautenisten,” *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (1964), pp. 41-45; Vogl “Lautenisten der böhmischen Spätrenaissance,” *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (1965), pp. 281-290; Vogl, “Ze životopisu čtyř českých loutnistů,” *Zpravy Bertramky*, Vol. 51 (1967), pp. 1-9; Vogl, “Pater Ivan Jelinek,” *Hudební Věda*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1967), pp. 693-696; Vogl, “Der Lautenist P. Iwan Jelinek,” *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (1969), pp. 53-56.

²Emil Vogl, “Zur Biographie Losys,” *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (1961), pp. 189-192.

³Adolf Koczirz, “Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. V (1918), pp. 49-96. Koczirz gives the same title to his anthology of lute music published the same year in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Volume 50 (Jahrg. XXV/2).

⁴See Hans Radke, “Bemerkungen zur Lautenistenfamilie Gallot,” *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1960), pp. 51-55.

⁵Carl Julius Adolf Hoffmann, *Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens*, Breslau, 1830. On the Weiss family see Hans Neemann, “Die Lauten-Familie Weiss,” *Archiv für Musikforschung*, Vol. IV (1939), pp. 157-189.

⁶Willibald Gurlitt, “Ein Beitrag zur Biographie des Lautenisten Esajas Reusner,” *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Vol. 14 (1912-1913), pp. 49-51, 278.

⁷Karl Koletschka, “Esaias Reusner der jüngere und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 15 (1929), pp. 3-45.

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

⁹Baron, p. 69.

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

¹¹Beside the titles cited in note 3 above, Koczirz contributed the study "Böhmische Lautenkunst um 1720," *Alt Prager Almanach*, Prague, 1926 and the anthology *Wiener Lautenmusik im 18. Jahrhundert*, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, 1942.

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

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

¹⁴Hoffmann, *Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens*; Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," pp. 60-64.

¹⁵Now in the Zwickau Ratsschule Bibliothek, Ms. CXV3, catalogue no.50.

¹⁶Now in the National Museum in Prague, Ms. XXIII F 174.

¹⁷For additional information on the lute in Bohemia see Adrienne Simpson, "The Lute in the Czech Lands, An Historical Survey," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. IV (1971), pp. 9-20.

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

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

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

²¹The Frenchified spellings "Logi" and "Logy" are first encountered in the collection *Cabinet der Lauten* published by Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richee in 1695. We must bear in mind that the Losy family came from the South German dialect area. In this region the "s" is pronounced "sh." Thus, the name was probably pronounced "Loschi" even by its bearers. Just this phonetic spelling ("Loschi") appears in the titles of several of the lutenist's works found in manuscript copies. The spellings Logi, Logy, Loggy, and others, also occur. In this study I will consistently use the orthography Losy, although the French spelling still appears today in many music editions. It is high time that we give back to the composer Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal his real family name.

²²This decree is published in Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p.75.

²³University Library, Prague, Sign 65 E 4706.

²⁴František Ruth, *Kronika královsky Prahy* [Chronicle of the Royal City of Prague]. Prague, 1904, p.236.

²⁵Ruth, p.1045.

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

²⁷Vogl, "Aureus Dix und Antoni Eckstein," p.44.

²⁸State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM 35/11.

²⁹State Archive, Prague, Sammlung Wunschwitz: "Gentilita / symbola / Illustrissimi Familiae Losyanae/honori et amori...ducta Joanne Baptisto Losy, Sac. Rom. Imp. Comite de Losymthal...anno MDCLXVIII."

³⁰State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM I. 31/3, 5, 6, 12.

³¹Antonin Rybička, *Měšťané a studující v r. 1648* [Citizens and Students in the Year 1648], Prague, 1870.

³²State Archive, Prague, Sign. NM L 31/4.

³³Prague National Museum, Ms. X L b 209.

³⁴State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/2.

³⁵State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/1.

³⁶State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35/9.

³⁷Prague City Archive, letter of 23 July 1678.

³⁸Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740), new edition by Max Schneider, Berlin, 1910, p.171.

³⁹An example of such a purchase is the land, castle, and town of Tachau. On 6 May, 1664 an appraisal of this property was decreed by the governor of Bohemia (see Josef Stachlůw, *Geschichte der Stadt Tachau*, Tachau, 1878). The extensive lands were valued at 265,682 Rhenish florins. Losy acquired them for 116,000 and 1000 florins deposit, less than half the appraised value. The purchase was confirmed in December of the same year by Emperor Leopold I. It should be mentioned, however, that the castle was burned down by the Swedes in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years War, the villages of the dominion were deserted, and the fields untended and gone to seed. An example of the deprivation and misery of the people during the war was the village Černíkov, which belonged to the dominion of Steken. Before the war in 1615 it had 170 inhabitants; in 1646, still before the Swedish Attack, there were only 28 souls left. The population increased only slowly after the war; Černíkov had just 36 inhabitants in 1653.

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

⁴¹Losy the Elder acquired many other properties, of which the following might be mentioned. In 1648 he bought the Hammerstadt estate in the Czaslau District from Burjan Ladislaus von Waldstein, who had gotten excessively in debt (see J. Siebmacher and R.J. Maraviglia, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, Nuremberg, 1886). The estate consisted only of farm buildings; a palace or livable house was missing. In 1654 Losy the Elder bought the land and castle Ctěnice near Brandeis on the Elbe (Marie Haasova-Jelinkova, *Berní rula 18, Kraj Kourimshi* [Steuerrolle 18, Kaurzimer Kreis], Prague, 1952) and increased his holdings the following year through the purchase of Winternitz near Kaanen in Northern Bohemia (see Friedrich Bernau, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Herrschaft Winternitz*, Komotai, 1877). From the heirs of Colonel Philipp Husmann von Nemedy he acquired the town and dominion of Tachau. In 1664 Losy the Elder appointed a new burgrave of Tachau, the Italian Anton Casanova de Juri. His son Johann Anton Casanova received his doctorate in 1669 at the University of Prague "under the Protectorate," as it reads in the title of the dissertation, of the young doctor of philosophy Johann Anton Losy, the lutenist. The Losys must have had close connections with the Casanovas; on 19 January, 1659 old Losy was godfather at the christening of a younger brother of the future doctor of philosophy. The christening took place in the Church of St. Galli in the Prague Old Town and the child was christened Carolus Josephus Joannes.

⁴²Baron, p.68.

⁴³Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p. 77, note 6.

⁴⁴"Matricula universitatis Prag /ensis, rectorum / decanorum / professorum et speciatim in facultate philosophica / graduatorum ab anno unionis / MDCLIV..." *Archiv der Karlsuniversität*, Prague.

⁴⁵Alois Kroess, *Geschichte der böhmischen Gesellschaft Jesu*, Vienna, 1938.

⁴⁶Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p. 76.

⁴⁷Paul Knöttl, "Eine schlesische Stadtbibliothek des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereines für Geschichte und Altertümer Schlesiens*, Vol. 5 (Breslau, 1895), p. 249.

⁴⁸University Library, Prague, Sign. 65 A 24.

⁴⁹Gustav Pazaurek, *Karl Skreta*, Prague, 1889.

⁵⁰Pavel Berger and Jan Herain, *Karel Skreta*, Prague, 1910.

⁵¹Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," pp. 69-71.

⁵²Johann Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, 1725, Vol. 2, p. 237.

⁵³Josef Zuth, *Graf Logi, Ausgewählte Guitarren-Stücke*, Vienna, 1919.

⁵⁴State Archive, Prague, Sign. SM L 35 from 21 January 1700.

⁵⁵State Archive, Wittingau, Sign. BSAU 50 g.

⁵⁶Edited by Fr. Gerzabek. University Library, Prague, Sign. 25 C 15.

⁵⁷This is probably a reference to Mattheson's *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (1713) where Losy is mentioned by name. See Douglas Alton Smith, "Baron and Weiss Contra Mattheson: In Defense of the Lute," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. VI (1973), p. 51.

⁵⁸Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, Vol. 2, p. 237.

⁵⁹The frontispiece is reproduced in Douglas Alton Smith and Peter Danner, "'How Beginners...Should Proceed': The Lute Instructions of Lesage de Richee," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. IX (1976), p. 86.

⁶⁰Es ist hier nichts frembdes, ausser einer einigen Courante des unvergleichlichen Graff Logi, vvelcher iesziger Zeit der Printz aller Künstler in diesem Saiten-Spiel zu nennen ist.

⁶¹Pp. 171-172.

⁶²Andrea Köchel, *Johann Josef Fux*, Vienna, 1872.

⁶³Baron, p. 67.

⁶⁴Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstlerlexikon für Böhmen*, Prague, 1815.

⁶⁵Baron, p. 68.

⁶⁶Franz Herzig, *Zeittafel zur Chronik von Tachau und Umgebung*, Tachau, 1937.

⁶⁷Friedrich Bernau, *Geschichte der ehemaligen Herrschaft Winternitz*, Komotai.

⁶⁸Paul Nettel, "Zur Geschichte des Konzertwesens in Prag," *Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen Musikgeschichte*, Brünn, 1927.

⁶⁹Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 345.

⁷⁰Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," p. 77.

⁷¹Od Losi/Pohřben praevis parochialis juris contentatione / vysoce urozeny p./ hrab. excell.p.p. Jan Antonín hrab ě 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 Ježíšovo poclednim pomazaním zaopatřen leží u p.p.Hybernů/ item testor Joh.Bernh.Schönpflug farář u sv. Jindřicha.

⁷²Losy's will is published in Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik," pp. 91-92.

⁷³Baron, p. 68.

⁷⁴British Library, London, Ms. Add. 30387, f. 150v.