

The Role of German-Speaking Countries in the Rediscovery and Renaissance of the Lute (c.1830–1950), by Claude Chauvel, revised by the author, Andreas Schlegel, Joachim Lüdtke and Rainer Stelle

Following on from Andreas Schlegel's obituary of Claude Chauvel in the last issue of The Lutezine, we are happy to present a revised version of one of Chauvel's more important papers in an English translation. Peter Martin's paper 'The long and winding road to the modern lute revival: a brief illustrated survey of pioneering publications 1850–1950' in Lute News 133, Chris Hirst's 'Did the lute actually die out? The lute in the 19th century and new directions for the "modern lute"' in Lute News 126, Peter Holman's essays in Lute News 84, 96, 97 and 104, not to mention Matanya Ophee's 'A History of Transcriptions of Lute Tablature from 1679 to the Present', in The Lute xliii (2003) all complement it in different ways, and with a good number of illustrations.—Ed.

Claude Chauvel first gave this lecture in French at the colloquium "Luths et luthistes en Occident" in May 1998.¹ He gave it in German on the occasion of the Festival of the Lute in Basel, 14 March 1999. At that time it ran to around 45,000 characters (without spaces) and was extended by 12 more footnotes.

Around 2015-17 it was revised and supplemented for the first time by Claude Chauvel, Andreas Schlegel, Joachim Lüdtke and Rainer Stelle (and somewhat expanded to 48,700 characters).

In many conversations, Claude Chauvel and Andreas Schlegel discussed the developments according to which today's lutenistics is moving further and further away from the historical knowledge of rediscovery. It was therefore a concern to expand the lecture into as comprehensive a text as possible, which offers a basis for an in-depth examination of the history of lutenistics between the 'disappearance' of the lute and Walter Gerwig's generation in the 1950s.

The revision (and expansion to around 76,000 characters and 115 footnotes) primarily concerns the verification and completion of the references given by Chauvel, including links. The additions to the content of the main text are indicated by square brackets. In the case of sources that can be viewed as digital copies via general web addresses such as IMSLP or GoogleBooks, the providers are indicated in the footnotes in square brackets.²—Andreas Schlegel

This paper does not intend to be, and cannot be, anything other than a kind of overview of the slow process of the lute's renaissance in our contemporary music scene. Paradoxically—or so it seems to me at least—contemporary lutenists are much less familiar with and affected by the initial stages and arduous progress of this adventure than they are by the development of their instrument since its introduction from the Orient.

Be that as it may, it is impossible to mention all aspects of the rediscovery and revival of the European lute in the context of such a lecture; it is intended merely as a brief introduction to a more extensive (but not exhaustive) study of the subject.

For the moment, however, I would like to limit myself to the German-speaking countries alone—which roughly corresponds to the former empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as Alemannic Switzerland. Their privileged position in our study is doubly justified. For if on the one hand these countries represented the very last stronghold of lute cultivation in Europe until some time into the 19th century, on the other hand they were also the very first whose interest in the

1 The French version is printed in: *Luths et luthistes en Occident. Actes du colloque organisé par la cité de la musique, 13-15 may 1998*, (Paris 1999), pp. 343–49 (with 40 footnotes).

2 I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the people who contributed additions! These included Reinhard Glätzle, Stefan Hackl, Andreas Stevens.

instrument was reawakened, and this in an epoch in which the lute had long since disappeared from memory everywhere else. Therefore, the fundamental importance of these countries for lute research cannot be denied.

And before we delve into the history of music, allow me to remind you of one thing: in Germany, it is also the case that the word ‘lute’ has always been derived from the noun ‘der Laut’ (Middle High German *lût*). It was not until the linguistic research of Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) that its actual Arabic origin was revealed for the German-speaking world.³

[Linguistic research experienced a tremendous upswing in the 16th century due to the Bible translations of the Reformers. The studies of the scholar Joseph Scaliger mentioned in the footnotes should be seen in this context. Daniel 3:5 may serve as an example: In the complete Zurich Bible printed in 1531, we read: ‘. . . so you will hear the sound of the horns/ which will be blown/ along with the harps/ *schwäglen*/ psaltery/ voices/ and all kinds of singing . . .’, whereas in Luther’s translation of 1534: ‘. . . when you will hear the sound of the trumpets/ drones/ harps/ violins/ psaltery/ sounds/ and all kinds of playing . . .’. Such differences were hotly debated at the time and promoted modern textual criticism—after all, it was about the Word of God.

In contrast to this textual criticism, which was oriented towards the Bible and ancient authors, Grimm and his successors in the 19th century were concerned with researching the past of their own (German) language].

After Reichardt, Hamann and Rust (of whom three sonatas for violin and lute have recently come to light again thanks to the important work of Andreas Schlegel)⁴; after Naumann, Faustinus Weiss, Scheidler and so many others who, whether masters or lovers, had revered the lute, it seemed inevita-

3 Article “LAUTE, f. “ in: Grimm, Jacob und Wilhelm: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1885) Vol. VI (= Vol. 12 DTV), Sp. 371–372. Digitised version in the dictionary network of the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemid=L02445>, retrieved 9/1/2022. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, in his *Historisch-theoretisch und practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, (Nuremberg, 1727), p. 7, gives the various sources that emphasise the Arabic origin of the word: ‘Josephus Scaliger and Bochartus even want to derive its name from an Arabic word which is called Allaud, as the learned Society of Trevoux did not hesitate to mention in their great Lexico’. Baron refers to the *Dictionnaire de Trevoux*, which was published by Jesuits from 1704. This in turn is based on Antoine Furetière’s (1619–88) posthumously published *Dictionnaire Universel* (The Hague and Rotterdam: Arnout and Reinier Leers, 1690) (see <http://furetiere.eu>). In it, Furetière writes in the article “Luth”: ‘Quelques-uns tiennent que ce mot vient de l’Allemand laute ou lauten, qui signifie sonare. Joseph Scaliger & Bochart le derivent de l’Arabe allaud.’ (Some assume that the word comes from the German Laute or Lauten, which means sonare [to sound, to be loud]. Joseph Scaliger & Bochart derive it from the Arabic allaud.) Bochart’s passage could be located: Bochart, Samuel: *Geographia Sacra: Chanaan Seu De Coloniis Et Sermone Phoenicum*, (Caen, 1646), p. 783: ‘Gallice lut, Hispanice laud, & Arabice dicitur [...] alaud articulo præfixo’, see urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11401519-2 (as at 20/1/2022). The passage by Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), to which Bochart probably refers, could not yet be found. Chauvel thus wants to show that French scholars already knew the origin of the word from Arabic, which is now considered certain, before 1609, while the Germans only ceased to believe the derivation from the word meaning ‘sound’ with Grimm’s dictionary.

4 Schlegel, Andreas (ed.): *Friedrich Wilhelm Rust: Drei Sonaten für Laute und obligate Violin / Flöte* (Dessau, ca. 1791), reconstructed and edited by Andreas Schlegel (Menziken, The Lute Corner, 1998). Chauvel mentioned this edition because ‘the Rust case’ was a musicological scandal in 1912/13: Prof. Wilhelm Rust (1822–92), Thomas Cantor in Leipzig, published these sonatas in 1892 in a romanticised version that was supposed to portray his grandfather as Beethoven’s predecessor. In order to cover up these romanticisations, the original manuscript was painstakingly adapted to the edition. When this was uncovered by Ernst Neufeldt in 1912, it discredited Wilhelm Rust’s work, which since 1853 had also included the editing of the (old) Bach Complete Edition. An account of the case and the editing work, including literature, can be found at <https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/andreas-schlegel/kammermusik-mit-lauteninstrumenten> (15/1/2022).

bly doomed to an early death in the late 18th century. Many voices were raised, like a distant echo of those who had lamented the demise of the instrument in France 100 years earlier.

There are examples enough: Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–91), for example, who bitterly regretted that ‘today, good lute players are extremely rare . . . They are only found in imperial cities, in convents, especially among nuns, and at small courts [. . .]’. He concludes in a plaintive tone with these words: ‘The art of music would therefore lose a very touching peculiarity if the lute were to be completely displaced’.⁵

When Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) on his travels attended an amateur concert in Vienna in 1808, the former lutenist stirred in him: ‘There was a Neapolitan guitarist [most probably Mauro Giuliani] who played so perfectly that he often called back to me the good old days of real lute playing; I have never [he continued] heard anything so perfect on an instrument so imperfect’.⁶

Later, in 1820, E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822)—a true, passionate musician among poets—drew from his Königsberg childhood the still vivid memories of the ‘heavenly tones’ of this ‘instrument currently relegated to the musical lumber room’. And furthermore: ‘I cannot be blamed [...] if I, a thirsty child, not yet capable of myself, still without a consciousness that had germinated in word and speech, slurped down in eager draughts all the melancholy of the wonderful magical sound that the lutenist [actually his aunt Charlotte Wilhelmine, called “Füßchen”] let flow from her innermost being’.⁷

In the first two decades of the 19th century (which the lute barely survived), the great movement of rediscovering the German past appeared, from which Romanticism generously fed. For this intellectual movement (which had in fact already emerged towards the end of the previous century) music, following literature, philology and the fine arts, offered a wide field of research when people became aware of the richness of its history and, of course, of the extent of its still unexplored heritage, especially as far as instrumental music was concerned.

But what about the lute? While it still existed in the nostalgic memory of some musicians and music lovers, for most it was little more than a faded relic of an era that had come to an end; a symbol that, deprived of its object, served only to decorate distinguished music salons. In contrast to the harpsichord, whose large repertoire was played continuously, even on original instruments (one thinks, for example, of Chopin’s pupil Thomas Tellefsen,⁸ of Louis Diémer⁹ or of Ferruccio Busoni),¹⁰ the lute

5 Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst (1784/85)*, edited by L. Schubart, (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806), p. 306. [IMSLP]

6 Reichardt, Johann Friedrich: *Vertraute Briefe, geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*. (2 vols.) (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comp-toir, 1810). vol. I (10 Dec.1808), pp. 218–20. [GoogleBooks]

7 Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus: *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr* [. . .] Erster Band (Berlin: A. Hoffmann & Comp., [1819]), pp. 88–89. Quoted from Hoffmann, E. T. A.: *Dichtungen und Schriften . . . Complete Edition* ed. by Walther Harich, Vol. V (Weimar: Erich Lichtenstein, 1924), pp. 110–11. Digital copy: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006917398> (consulted 20/1/2022)

8 Thomas Dyke Acland Tellefsen (1823–74), Norwegian pianist; came to Paris in 1842 to study with Chopin, whose friend and constant copyist he became. On the occasion of a private concert in 1853, he played fugues by Bach on an original 18th-century instrument: ‘Sur un clavecin dont la construction date aussi d’un siècle, et qui a appartenu à Philippe-Emmanuel Bach, M. Tellefsen a dit quelques fugues de l’illustre Sébastien Bach, dont le style a paru plus clair, plus net sur ce clavier, où ces chef-d’œuvre ont pris naissance, que sur nos pianos modernes, dont la sonorité ambitieuse lutte contre celle de nos foudroyants orchestres.’, in: *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris 1853*, IX. Jahrgang Nr. 52 (25. XII. 1853), p. 447. [Google Books]

9 Louis Diémer (1843–1919), famous French pianist and teacher. His collection of printed music from the 16th century, which has since been scattered all over the world, can be found in Howard Mayer Brown’s *Instrumental Music printed before 1600* (Cambridge 1979), p. 471. As early as around 1865, Diémer included harpsichord pieces in his concerts, which he played on an instrument by Pascal Taskin from 1769 (now in the Russell Collection; <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/stcecilias/record/96075> (consulted 10/1/2022)).

departed from the musical world of the time without having found an adequate replacement among the three successor instruments: the mandora, the gallichon or the guitar. Of course, its 'strange' tablature also contributed greatly to its isolation and decline, especially since the few who had succeeded in fathoming the secrets of its notation still long and stubbornly cultivated the legend that this was a writing for initiates . . .

The first investigations covered two areas: notation and bibliography. In an effort to be accurate, only Kiefhaber's bibliographical essay on Hans Gerle should be mentioned here,¹¹ published in 1816 in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and undoubtedly one of the very first attempts to deal with the history of the lute.

The Royal and Imperial Viennese court counsellor Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850), a pupil of Albrechtsberger, extraordinarily inquisitive and a declared enthusiast for early music (he was later also interested in the music of the Arabs and in the ancestor of our instrument) was really the first true pioneer of lute research. In 1831, he devoted an extensive chapter to the lute, as well as to the various ways of notating its music, in his study 'Die Tabulaturen der älteren Practiker [. . .], aus dem Gesichtspuncte der Kunstgeschichte betrachtet' (The tablatures of the older practitioners [. . .], viewed from the perspective of art history),¹² from which I would like to quote a few sentences that prove to be a very instructive sample of the spirit of the times. Kiesewetter is not particularly fond of what he calls 'the daunting tablature' and considers it to be the main cause of the decline of the art of the lute. He displays outrage several times that in 'a time when wonderful music was already known, so many remnants [lute pieces and the like are meant here] have been bequeathed to us in such a strange script'. That tablature represented for him only a limited procedure without any abstract dimensions is clear from his essay: 'One cannot help but wonder how, even at a time when the art of music, / especially instrumental music, was still in its infancy, one could fall for such a kind of notation, which could awaken no musical idea at all in the observer, nor could it be read with the mind, but only with the fingers'. (This criticism too was long-lived: without going back to Perrine [1679], one remembers, among others, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, who regretted as early as 1759 that 'lute players still remain separatists with regard to their tablature and do not want to convert to a new way of writing the notes'.¹³) The chapter in Kiesewetter's study is illustrated with eight musical examples: The various types of tablature, reproduced as quasi-facsimiles, range from Sebastian Virdung to Jacob Bittner, each followed by their 'decipherment' on two systems in suspended polyphony.

Our author is hardly more taken with the lutenists of the 16th and 17th centuries. For him, their compositions are just 'old stuff' compared to those of the middle of the previous century, which he clearly prefers. (On this point, he hardly falls out of line with the long line of music theorists, the only

10 Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) one of the greatest piano virtuosos of his time. At the same time, he is considered an extremely original composer. His Sonata 'ad usum infantis Madeline M* Americanæ', written in 1915, may have been intended for harpsichord. Busoni bought an instrument from Arnold Dolmetsch in 1910. (See booklet for *Ferruccio Busoni: Late Piano Works*; Marc-Adré Hamelin, https://www.hyperion-records.co.uk/dc.asp?dc=D_CDA67951/3 (consulted 10.1.2022).

11 Kiefhaber, Johann Karl Sigismund: 'Bibliographische Nachrichten von Hans Gerle dem Älteren, berühmten Lautenisten zu Nürnberg im 16. Jahrhundert', in *AMZ*, XVIII (1816), No. 19-20. pp. 309–15; 325–9. urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10527966-5 (as at 10/1/2022).

12 Kiesewetter, Raphael Georg: 'Die Tabulaturen der älteren Practiker [...], aus dem Gesichtspuncte der Kunstgeschichte betrachtet', in: *AMZ*, XXXIII Jg. (1831), No. 3, Sp. 33-38; Vorrede; No. 5, Sp. 65-74 und Musikbeilage: 'Die deutsche Tabulatur'; No. 9, Sp. 133-145 und Musikbeilage: 'Zweyter Artikel. Die Lauten-Tabulatur'; No. 12, Sp. 181-185; 'Orgel-Tabulaturen (angeblich) in Italien im XV. Jahrhundert'; No. 16, Sp. 249-259; 'Die italienische Tabulatur oder die bezifferten Basses'; No. 23, Sp. 365-376 und Musikbeilage: 'Die Noten-Tabulatur oder Partitur der alten Contrapunctisten', digitised, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10527981-8 (as at 12/1/.2022).

13 Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm: *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 1 (Berlin, F. W. Birnstiel, 1760), p. 498. (Reprint: Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1974) [IMSLP].

only tribe of historians of the arts, who since antiquity have repeatedly proclaimed a strange faith in the progress of their art.) Kiewewetter's statements, which are based on the abstract ideal of 'classical' polyphony, but not on any visual, auditory or digital experience, do not seem to have provoked any reaction at all among the very few 'practitioners' who still cultivated lute playing in Vienna, Prague or Königsberg . . .

Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–77),¹⁴ who had collected a considerable amount of handwritten as well as printed lute tablatures, which were to form an important part of the music library of the city of Leipzig from 1856 onwards (among them above all most of the so-called 'lute works' of J. S. Bach that have come down to us), devoted only a few pages to the instrument in his book on *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*,¹⁵ which is more of a short bibliographical list of titles of lute literature. However, one had to wait until the last third of the 19th century for a true, sincere interest in lute music to emerge among the representatives of the two newly emerging disciplines, musicology and music research.

[In Switzerland, the present D-B Mus.ms. 40588, which contains lute parts of the 'Kappeler Lied' by the Zurich reformer Huldreich Zwingli and therefore became known early on, triggered a debate on tablature: the manuscript could have been in the library of Wildegge Castle,¹⁶ a few kilometres from Brugg in the canton of Aargau, from an unknown date probably until at least around 1848.¹⁷ This is evident from a copy with the title 'Die Lautenschule / Ein Geschenk aus dem Schlosse Wildegge' (The Lute School / A Gift from Wildegge Castle), in which various dates from 1848 to 1852 can be found.¹⁸ The copy was made in part by the well-known 'madrigal' composer Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall (1795–1856), who lived in Wartensee Castle near Rorschach on Lake Constance from 1843 until his death.¹⁹ His tablature transcriptions into the guitar notation style of the time are exceptional for that period.

In 1876, Father Anselm Schubiger published a sketch of the 'lute neck' from the copy (or the original?) and wrote: 'Twenty years ago, his friend Fr. Alberik Zwyszig,²⁰ who unfortunately passed away all too soon, gave him [. . .] an illustration of this lute system drawn by his own hand on straw paper [. . .].'²¹

14 Becker, Carl Ferdinand, *Die Hausmusik in Deutschland in den 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1840, reprint: Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1973).

15 Becker, Carl Ferdinand, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 2. Vermehrte Ausgabe (Leipzig: E. Fleischer, 1855), pp. 271–9: II. Tonwerke für die Laute (reprint: Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969).

16 It is questionable whether Pearsall or one of the other persons involved in the transcription received the manuscript itself as a gift or whether the gift note refers to the copy and states that it came from Wildegge. The Effinger dynasty, of which there was both a Brugg and a Bernese line, lived at Wildegge from 1438 to 1912. In 1911, the property passed to the Swiss Confederation. The history of Wildegge and the Effingers is described in Meier, Bruno *Gott regier mein Leben. The Effingers of Wildegge. Landadel und ländliche Gesellschaft zwischen Spätmittelalter und Aufklärung* (Baden, 2000); Müller, Felix, *Austerben oder verarmen? The Effingers of Wildegge. A Bernese Patrician Family during the Enlightenment and Revolution* (Baden, 2000).

17 The examination of the Wildegge library catalogues of 1756 and 1801 is still pending, so that no reliable information can be given on the date of possible inclusion in the Wildegge library and the date of departure.

18 Today in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, Ms.Hist.Helv. XLIV.135 <http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=36576> (with link to the digital copy) (consulted 13/1/2022)

19 Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall studied with Josef Panny in Mainz from 1825(?) to 1829, in 1832 studies with Ett in Munich, in 1834 private studies in Vienna. He was a pioneer of Cecilianism in England. It was possibly this same Robert Lucas (de) Pearsall who sold the Missal of the von Hallwyl family (scribal entry 'Per me Ulricum Hirslin de Lentzburg anno 1483'), which had been at Wartensee Castle for testamentary reasons, to England. It has since returned to Aargau and can be seen in the Burghalde Museum, Lenzburg. See: Bretscher-Gisiger, Charlotte, Gamper, Rudolf & Marti, Susan: *Das Missale des Ulrich Hirslin - Eine prächtige Handschrift aus Lenzburg* (Lenzburg, 2006), esp. pp. 22–24.

20 Zwyszig is the creator of today's Swiss national anthem.

21 Schubiger, Anselm: 'System der Lauten aus einem Manuscript vom Jahre 1532', in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* VIII. Jahrgang (1876), No.1, pp. 6–8.

In 1884, Gustav Weber mentions a copy of ‘Tabulatur auf die Lauten (entziffert von Pearsall)’ found in the estate of Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836).²² Nägeli was an important publisher who, for example, arranged the first new edition of Bach’s *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* in 1801. In 1930 Johannes Wolf described Ms. 40588, which was acquired by the Berlin State Library in 1926.]²³

A tireless worker, the self-taught Robert Eitner (1832–1905) carried out the thorough cataloguing and evaluation of countless volumes stored in more than 200 libraries in Europe. His numerous works, essays and publications, including the monumental 10-volume *Biographisch-Bibliographische Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (Biographical and Bibliographical Source Dictionary of Musicians and Music Scholars),²⁴ revealed the hitherto unsuspected richness of the lute literature and from then on allowed a better evaluation of the role the lute had played in music history. This is attested, for example, by the *Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im 16. Jahrhundert* (1878)²⁵ by Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski (1822–96), Schumann’s first biographer and his concertmaster in Düsseldorf. The work, richly illustrated with musical examples, contains as yet completely unknown lute pieces by Dalza, Judenkünig, Attaignant, Hans Newsidler, Francesco da Milano, Vincenzo Galilei and Adriaensen, of which he presents a four-part transcription addressed to pianists rather than hypothetical lute players. But these transcriptions are performed purely ‘philologically’, i.e. without the slightest attempt to reconstruct the polyphonic voice leading.

It was around this time that the essence of tablature began to be considered more thoroughly, and not just as an archaeological object. To be sure, it was already in the air; but to my knowledge, the first to decide on a different way of looking at this notation was the famous music scholar and Handel editor Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901) with his article ‘Abriss einer Geschichte des Musikdrucks vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert’ published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1879.²⁶

For the first time, reference was made to ‘the nature of the [keyboard and plucked] instruments’, which ‘in harmony more or less implies a free, not artificially contrapuntal music’. ‘Accordingly’, it says there, ‘the performance on these instruments is also free, improvised as it were, and the recording is limited to short, clearest possible hints’.²⁷ ‘The notation for this instrument’ [the lute], he thinks, ‘is the strangest and at the same time the most justified [. . .]. Tablature seems to have been invented for the lute [. . .], it is simply based [. . .] on the construction of the instrument [. . .]. The lute player gained two things from this tablature [. . .]: a musical notation for several simultaneous voices, and

22 Weber, Gustav: *H. Zwingli, seine Stellung zur Musik und seine Lieder, Die Entwicklung des deutschen Kirchengesanges, Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Zurich, 1884), p. 30f. It is unclear whether this is the copy already mentioned. It would be illogical, especially since Nägeli died in 1836 and Pearsall’s transcriptions were made between 1838 and 1842.

23 Wolf, Johannes. ‘Ein Lautenkodez der Staatsbibliothek Berlin’, in Haas, Robert und Zuth, Joseph (eds.): *Festschrift Adolph Koczirz zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wien, Prag, Leipzig, Ed. Strache, [1930]), pp. 46–50. In it he assigns the tablature to southern Germany and writes: ‘. . . Zwingli’s “Herr, nun heb den wagen selv” has the tune from the Strasbourg hymnal Köpphl 1537 . . .’ [!] Zwingli died, nota bene, 1531. He does not make any connection to Zwingli research, but he notes: ‘The most manifold relations to the handwritten and printed works with house music of the 15th and 16th centuries result’.

24 Eitner, Robert: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des 19* (Leipzig, 1900–1904, Breitkopf & Härtel), 10 vols. (reprint, New York, Musurgia [1947]). Digital copy: https://www.musik.uzh.ch/de/Research_BC/research/projects/eitner-digital.html (consulted 11/1/2022).

25 Wasielewski, Wilhelm Joseph von: *Geschichte der Instrumental-Musik im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Gutentag, 1878, reprint: Walluf, M. Sändig, 1972). s. Music examples no. 2–16. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/miun.ajm2008.0001.001> (consulted 13/1/2022)

26 Chrysander, Friedrich, ‘Abriss einer Geschichte des Musikdrucks vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Third Chapter. Third Period. Tabulatur’ in: *AMZ*, XIV. Jg. no. 14 (2 April 1879), sp. 209–214. [urn:nbn:de:bsb:10527962-3](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsb:10527962-3) (consulted 13/1/2022)

27 *Ibid.*, sp. 210.

a pictorial instruction for playing the lute'.²⁸ Here, then, the concrete, practical, even manual aspect of tablature is put in a bright light, but not as an ideal reproduction or abstract conception of vocal or piano polyphony. Perhaps the birth of all future, sometimes heated disputes between 'realist' and 'platonist' adherents of phonetic tablature is to be found in these then groundbreaking explanations by Chrysander . . .

Treatises and essays from this period refer almost exclusively to German lutenists and sources of the 16th century: relatively little preference was given to the Baroque and it was considered non-existent by lute specialists. Oskar Fleischer (1856–1933) finally filled this gap by publishing a rich article on Denis Gaultier in 1886.²⁹ The main object of his study was the magnificent volume *La Rhétorique des Dieux*, which the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett had acquired four years earlier, and of which he herewith presented a complete edition.³⁰ The 'Pièces' were intentionally transcribed by him 'by no means polyphonically', 'but, he adds, they sounded as such when performed on the lute, and that was the main thing' (p. 79).

With full respect for the original source, he presupposes knowledge and understanding of playing practice on the part of the reader, so that he can also feel, through this simple, almost stenographic reproduction of Gaultier's music, 'the charm [. . .] of hearing how a togetherness developed before the ear from this apparent succession of notes' (p. 80). Despite sometimes droll mistakes, a somewhat inadequate knowledge of the French language and his method of transcription, which André Tessier³¹ later made fun of—if only he had read the article carefully beforehand! . . . —despite all this, Fleischer's study has, among other things, a considerable merit: it drew attention to one of the most hidden aspects of the instrumental music of the Baroque, to that golden age of the art of the lute, which he himself tried to encounter in the Paris libraries.

No sooner had Fleischer's study been published than an extremely sarcastic report came out,³² which ended in the final instance with the following condemnation: 'Einstampfen!' (Stamp on it!). Its author, Wilhelm Tappert (1830–1907), a great, easily excitable Wagner enthusiast before the Lord, was the unimpeachable authority on the lute at the time.³³ Through his intimate contact with tablatures (he himself had a considerable collection, some of which is now in Berlin and some in Krakow), he had acquired a detailed knowledge of the subject and was often called upon by librarians and antiquarians (including Leo Liepmannssohn from Berlin)³⁴ as a specialist consultant. As a 'lute pope', he

28 Ibid, sp. 212.

29 Fleischer, Oskar: Denis Gaultier, in *VMw*, II (1886), pp. 1-180. https://www.digzeitschriften.de/dms/toc?PID=PPN479007071_0002 (consulted 13/1/2022).

30 More on the *Rhétorique* can be found at: <https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/la-rhetorique-des-dieux/einfuehrung> and <https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/la-rhetorique-des-dieux/vortrag-bremen-2013> (consulted 16/1/2022).

31 Tessier, André, *La Rhétorique des Dieux et autres pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier* (Paris, Publications de la Société française de Musicologie, E. Droz, 1932). vol. I, esp. pp. 20, 44-46.

32 Tappert, Wilhelm, 'Zur Geschichte der französischen Lauten-Tabulatur', in: *AMZ*, XIII (1886), pp. 140–142. *Allgemeine Musikzeitung AMZ?* XIII = 1884, 1886 = XV

33 For example, from 13 May to 30 June 1898, Tappert participated in the 'General Music Exhibition for the Erection of a Wagner Memorial in Berlin' and compiled 100 music sources and 7 portraits of famous lutenists from his collection for the exhibition 'The Development of Musical Notation from the 8th Century to the Present' and published the catalogue of the same name. https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Downloads/PDF-16-Lautenliteratur/1898_Tappert_-_Katalog_Notation.pdf (consulted 17/1/2022).

34 Leo Liepmannssohn (1840–1915) was an important antiquarian music and book dealer who founded an antiquarian bookshop with Dufour in Paris in 1866, worked in Berlin from 1874 until 1903, when he sold his antiquarian bookshop to Otto Haas, who in turn sold it to Albi & Maud Rosenthal in 1955. <http://www.ottohaas-music.com/history.html> (consulted 16/1/2022). The Liepmannssohn catalogues are of great importance for provenance research and are located in D-B Ab 825. An introduction is provided by Francisco Javier Romero Naranjo in his essay *Der Umlauf der spanischen Handschriften aus dem Antiquariat Leo Liepmannssohn in Paris und Berlin*, <https://core.ac.uk/reader/200772258> (consulted 16/1/2022).

saw these newcomers (one would almost like to say these intruders) poaching in his private garden, not without indignation. As early as 1879, in his review of Wasielewski's book mentioned above, he had been outraged both against the so-called 'philological' transmission and against the opinion, then quite widespread among music academics, that lute music and its written record were 'inartistic'. Soon Tappert was to give a demonstration of his erudition by publishing successively an article on Johann Sebastian Bach's lute compositions,³⁵ and one on the still obscure figure of Esajas Reusner.³⁶ As a masterpiece of his endeavours at the time, shortly before his death he brought out the almost legendary *Sang und Klang aus alter Zeit*,³⁷ a floral anthology of one hundred pieces from the 16th to 18th centuries, published in a limited edition of 525 copies. Although this anthology was not as faithful to the original as one might have imagined (Tappert placed greater value on the musicality of these pieces), it drew an attractive picture of the entire history of the lute for the researcher and the possible player and at the same time represented a (self-)erected monument in honour of the brave lute hero.³⁸

In addition, one must not forget the uniqueness of the first article dedicated to Charles Mouton's second lute book.³⁹ It was written by the Swede Adolf Lindgren, is illustrated with several facsimiles and contains seven transcriptions which Walter Gerwig brought to life more than 150 years later on his memorable gramophone record.⁴⁰

[The term 'tablature' in 1802 in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* refers exclusively to organ tablature and the principle of the 'tabula', i.e. the score-based representation of music that makes it possible to play the basso continuo.⁴¹ As a result of Kiesewetter's study of 1831, the phenomenon of tablature was increasingly included in articles on tablature in German encyclopaedias and reference works from 1835 onwards,⁴² albeit sometimes only succinctly, as for example in Schubert's *Kleinem musikalischem Conversations-Lexikon* of 1865: 'Tabulatur, method of representing tones in notes.'⁴³ More detailed is Wilhelm Rust's 1878 article 'Tabulatur' in Mendel and Reissmann's *Musikalisches Conversationslexikon*, which also prints an example from his grandfather Friedrich Wilhelm Rust's D minor Sonata for Lute and Violin from 1791—in its original version, which contradicts his own edition.⁴⁴ The systematic processing of the historical encyclopaedia entries on plucked instruments and tablature is still a desideratum in 2022.]

35 Tappert, Wilhelm, 'Sebastian Bachs Compositionen für Laute', in *Die redenden Künste*, VI (1899), Hefte 36-40 bzw. Sonderdruck, (Berlin, 1901) https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/doi/10.3931/e-rara-83280 (consulted 14/1/2022).

36 Tappert, Wilhelm, 'Esaja Reusner, der Kammer-Lautenist des Grossen Kurfürsten', in *MMg*, XXXII/8 (1900), pp. 135-146, <https://ia800900.us.archive.org/30/items/MonatshefteFrMusikgeschichte32Jg1900/MonatshefteFrMusikgeschichte32Jg1900.pdf> (consulted 14/1/2022).

37 Tappert, Wilhelm, *Sang und Klang aus alter Zeit-Hundert Musikstücke aus Tabulaturen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Leo Liepmannsohn, 1906). https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Downloads/PDF-16-Lautenliteratur/1906_Tappert_-_Sang_und_Klang_aus_alter_Zeit.pdf

38 Tappert's estate is stored in D-B.

39 Lindgren, Adolf, 'Ein Lautenbuch von Mouton', in *MfMg* XXIII (ou XXII)/1 (1891), pp. 4-18. <https://archive.org/details/MonatshefteFrMusikgeschichte23Jg1891> (consulted 20/1/2022).

40 Archive production 18027 A P, recorded on 9 April 1953.

41 Koch, Heinrich Christoph, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a.M. 1802), Sp. 1467-72. <https://archive.org/details/MusikalischesLexikon1802/mode/2up> (consulted 15/1/2022).

42 Schilling, Gustav, *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart 1835-38), here vol. 6: Riesenharfe-Zyka. (Stuttgart 1838), pp. 554-61 (article written by Dr. Schilling) https://books.google.ch/books?id=S7kZAAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y (consulted 15/1/2022).

43 Schubert, Julius, *Kleines musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon ein encyklopaedisches Handbuch enthaltend das Wichtigste aus der Musikwissenschaft, die Biographien aller berühmten Componisten, Virtuosen, Dilettanten, musikal. Writers and instrument makers, as well as descriptions of old instruments and explanations of foreign and artistic words used in music* (Leipzig & New-York: J. Schubert & Co., 1865), p. 303. [urn:nbn:en:bvb:12-bsb10599472-8](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:en:bvb:12-bsb10599472-8) (consulted 15/1/2022).

44 See footnote 3; Mendel/Reissmann, *Musikalisches Conversationslexikon*, vol. 10 (Berlin 1878), pp. 59-72. Digitalisation: <https://archive.org/details/musikalischescon10mend> (consulted 15/1/2022).

Lute research, whose beginnings we have just briefly touched upon, its first attempts and its slow progress, was, however, able to assert itself and develop more and more over the following decades. But, having arrived at this point, an important question arises: should all this research have served only to revive a long-neglected music—only never to be played or heard? Here, a look at history is necessary.

After 1871, and especially in the period that followed the resignation of Imperial Chancellor Prince Bismarck (20 March 1890), the political, economic and social conditions of Wilhelmine Germany prompted a section of the middle classes, in search of a certain ‘romanticism’, to take refuge in more or less artistic pursuits. Thus, various musical associations were founded that firmly established themselves outside official concert life, such as the Augsburg and Munich Guitarist Associations, which, by the way, were by no means uninvolved in the revival of the lute. But in parallel, we owe a decisive impulse towards the practical practice of the instrument to the enormous Wandervogel movement, (founded in 1896),⁴⁵ which offered young people the ideal of an authentic and natural life, a concern that the society of the time hardly cared about. The sometimes ancient songs that these ‘birds’ eagerly collected and sang on their excursions ‘in mountain and forest and stream and field’ could find no more ideally adapted accompaniment than that of the guitar (or *Klumpfe* or *Zupfgeige*, terms that made the hearts of Germanists of the time beat faster).

With the help of ‘romanticism’ (the romanticism of dining rooms decorated with hunting scenes!), the guitar took on the shape of the lute—but unfortunately not its characteristics!—and was thus able to considerably increase the number of its followers, thanks to the concerts of the modern troubadours whose emblem it had become.

Admittedly, for a long time these so-called ‘lutenists’ had no precise idea of what their instrument really was. Nevertheless, it is thanks to these hybrid instruments, these decorative ‘lutes’ with their six single strings tuned in guitar tuning, that many were introduced to the historical lute, whose reviving or most easily accessible repertoire they gradually discovered.⁴⁶ By the way, did not Heinrich Scherrer (1865–1937),⁴⁷ the main figure of the Munich guitarist movement, set a good example⁴⁸ by playing some pieces from the famous *Codice Lautenbuch* of Oscar Chilesotti⁴⁹ (published by Breitkopf &

45 The beginning of the movement is usually given as 1896 and in 1901 the first association was founded in Berlin-Steglitz. See e.g. Köhler, Günter, *Der Steglitzer Wandervogel 1896–1914*, in: Ille, Gerhard / Köhler, Günter (eds.), *Der Wandervogel. It began in Steglitz* (Berlin: Stapp 1978), pp. 54–85. (Friendly communication from Reinhard Glätzle.)

46 The instruments usually referred to today as ‘Wandervogel lutes’ were mainly made in the Vogtland and distributed by publishers in Markneukirchen. A good insight into the Markneukirchen instrument trade and Vogtland instrument production is provided by Weller, Enrico; Arzig, Dirk; Weller, Mario, *Historische Kataloge vogtländischer Musikinstrumenten- Hersteller und- Händler* (=Meisterleistungen deutscher Instrumentenbaukunst, Band 5), Markneukirchen 2015.

47 On Scherrer and the appropriation of the guitar movement, see his obituary: <https://archive.org/details/NeueZeitschriftFuerMusik1937Jg104/page/1257/mode/1up>. Scherrer’s lute and guitar school, published by Hofmeister in 1911, is digitised here: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/248061/punt>. Scherrer’s view of lute making is presented in *Der Lautenmacher. Eine verlorengegangene Kunst* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1920) https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Downloads/PDF-16-Lautenliteratur/1920_Scherrer_-_Der_Lautenmacher_-_eine_verlorengegangene_Kunst.pdf (consulted 16/1/2022).

48 The *Gitaristische Sammlung Fritz Walter und Gabriele Wiedemann* estate contains works, letters, documents and collections from the time of the *Gitaristische Vereinigung*, its predecessor, partial and branch associations: <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV042291873> (consulted 16/1/2022).

49 Digital copy: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Da_un_Codice_Lauten-Buch_del_Cinquecento_\(Chilesotti,_Oscar\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Da_un_Codice_Lauten-Buch_del_Cinquecento_(Chilesotti,_Oscar)) (consulted 16/1/2022). The original lute book is lost, but was retranscribed into (French) tablature by Dick Hoban in 1994: Hoban, Dick, *Oscar Chilesotti’s “Da un Codice Lauten-buch” in Lute Tablature* (Fort Worth: Lyre Music Publications, 1994).

Härtel in 1890)⁵⁰ or even some not-too-difficult excerpts from Tappert's *Anthologie* on a real double-strung lute? Not to forget his participation in the *St. John Passion* in 1905 in Munich under the direction of Felix Mottl.⁵¹

All this, however, remained purely anecdotal. The 'Historical Guitar Exhibition' at the 6th Guitarists' Day 1904 in the Munich Town Hall, on the occasion of which one could admire about twenty original lutes, most of which came from the collection of Paul de Wit,⁵² in no way changed the stubbornly Darwinian view that the guitar had evolved from the lute. It is true that some instrument makers began—albeit very timidly—to reconstruct lutes with the appearance of authenticity (such as Hermann Hauser I in Munich, Julius Hempel in Hamburg, Paul Kochendörfer in Stuttgart); but how many historical instruments were adapted to contemporary tastes and drastically 'improved' for this purpose? (Here it would be fair to mention that in the matter of 'lute recycling' the French already had a century and a half head start . . .).

[Historical musical instruments—here especially lutes—could remain at the place of their former use (e.g. in the Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster)⁵³ or be specifically collected mostly from the 19th century onwards. The collections in public museums today are mostly the initiative of private collectors. In Leipzig, for example, the collection of Paul de Wit (1852–1925), which was sold to Wilhelm Heyer (1849–1913) in 1905 and only afterwards (1926) to the city of Leipzig, forms the basis of the collection.⁵⁴ In Copenhagen, the former collection of Carl Claudius can be seen in the Danish Music Museum, or in Willisau, the Schumacher Collection, here supplemented by the collection of the music enthusiasts Christian and Leonie Patt, who played a prominent role in the early music movement in Switzerland beyond the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.⁵⁵ Lutes from Fritz Wildhagen's collection of musical instruments can be found mainly in three museums.⁵⁶ These collectors were in close contact with each other and the restorers of the collectors, e.g. Peter Harlan (1898–1966),⁵⁷ left many traces in the collections of the museums. Almost all instruments visible in instrument collections

50 In the course of the period that interests us, it is this publisher who brought out the most important works for lute. Perhaps it is useful to recall that Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–94), with whom the Leipzig firm achieved its greatest renown, developed a type for lute tablature with which the last three publications for lute of the 18th century were printed. These prints were listed in the Breitkopf & Härtel catalogues until 1903! They were: *Twelve Minuets for the Lute by Mr. Ferdinand Seidel, together with a Fantasy by Mr. Baron* (1757); *Herr Professor Gellert's Odes, Songs and Fables [...] by Johann Christian Beyer* (1760) *Divertimento Primo per il Liuto Obligato, due Violini e Basso del Segr. Carlo Kohaut* (1761).

51 See *Der Gitarre-Freund*, 4 (1905), 75 ('Chronicle'). Felix Mottl (1856–1911), one of the great conductors and Wagner specialist. From 1903 until his death he conducted the Akademie der Tonkünste in Munich.

52 Paul de Wit (Maastricht 4. I. 1852–Leipzig 10. XII. 1925). Collector of historical musical instruments, musician, music writer, publisher. *Katalog des musikhistorischen Museums von Paul de Wit, Leipzig*, ed. by P. de Wit (Leipzig 1892). In collaboration with Oskar Laffert, de Wit founded the *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* in 1880, which only ceased publication in 1942/43. He built up three instrument collections, the second of which, with 1,200 items, was bought by Wilhelm Hoyer, Cologne. Hoyer built his special house for this collection. Daehne, Paul, 'Paul de Wit's Leben und Wirken', in *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau*, 46/7 (1926), pp. 321–25.

53 Kirsch, Sebastian & Martius, Klaus: *Die Lauten des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, (= Lute, Mandora and Theorbo in Kremsmünster Abbey, Series D, Volume 1) (Peißenberg : Peißenberger Lautenverlag, 2020).

54 <https://mf.uni-leipzig.de/dt/dasmuseum/Geschichte.php> (consulted 16/1/2022).

55 <https://www.musikinstrumentensammlung.ch/index.cfm?tem=2&spr=0&hpn=2> (consulted 16/1/2022).

56 Martius, Klaus: "Des schönen Fülle hat den Weg gesegnet". Die Lauten in der Sammlung Fritz Wildhagen', in *Die Laute, Jahrbuch der Deutschen Lautengesellschaft*, vol. IX-X (Frankfurt a.M., 2011), pp. 64–87.

57 <https://www.burg-sternberg.de/die-burg/klingendes-museum/> (consulted 16/2/2022).

are jigsaw puzzles from several epochs and require detailed examination in order to correctly date the relevant components. Unfortunately, the labels on the lutes in most museums are misleading because they do not differentiate between the various construction stages of the instrument on display today. This differentiated representation of the original substance, all subsequent adaptations, conversions and restorations is also one of the main difficulties for the cataloguing of the instruments that have come down to us.

A special chapter is the workshop of Leopoldo Franciolini (1844–1920): he sold forgeries or altered ‘historical’ instruments to collectors.⁵⁸ Evidence of these forgeries and pastiches still exists in virtually all musical instrument collections].

Here and there, voices could be heard demanding greater respect for authenticity on the part of the musicians. I quote Aloys Obrist, who in 1906 at the 2nd Congress of the I.M.G. in Basel declared: ‘The whole movement in favour of old musical instruments and so-called historical concerts is only of value if it is accompanied by the most rigorous historical research and sifting, by knowledge of the sources, of the authentic instruments; compromises may be amusing, but they are odious⁵⁹ and, as in every art and science, amateurish, for they falsify the past, and that is like describing the time of childhood inaccurately and untruthfully in a biography [. . .].⁶⁰

There was therefore still a long way to go, as witnessed by this statement by Dr. Josef Bauer in 1905: ‘The lute and old lute playing are dead, and we have no intention whatsoever of bringing dead things back to life’.⁶¹

Nevertheless, musicologists worked on this resurrection. In a methodical approach, they accumulated documentary material from libraries, private⁶² as well as public collections, archives and museums that their predecessors lacked. The practice, however, fell far short of the mostly abstract study of the sources. The ‘Cabinet of the Lutes’ included almost only learned doctors and a handful of bookworms. For some specialists, the cardinal problem of lute-tablature transcription was far from being solved. With the growing desire to make this music accessible to a larger number of inquisitive readers, efforts were made around the turn of the century to come ever closer to the original tablatures through new expertise and refined methods, as various editions of the time were to prove. Among those who made a significant contribution to this chapter, first and foremost Oswald Körte (1852–1924) must be mentioned, whose dissertation *Laute und Lautenmusik bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*⁶³ is without doubt a landmark in this development. Looking back with astuteness on the work of his predecessors,

58 Ripin, Edwin M.: *The instrument catalogues of Leopoldo Franciolini* (Hackensack: J. Boonin, 1974) (= Music Indexes and Bibliographies No. 9). See also *Lute News* 91, 124, 139, and the current issue.

59 synonym: obnoxious, hated, repugnant.

60 Obrist, Aloys, ‘Die historische und künstlerische Bedeutung der Wiederbelebung altertümlicher Musikinstrumente’, in *Bericht über den zweiten Kongress der IMG in Basel vom 25.-27. September 1906* (Leipzig 1907), p. 242.

[Aloys Obrist (1867–1910), Kapellmeister in Rostock, Brno and Augsburg (1893–95), then Court Kapellmeister in Stuttgart from 1895; Custodian of the Liszt House in Weimar from 1902 to 1910; Chairman of the revision commission of the Liszt Complete Edition, 1900-1910; he built up a considerable collection of instruments].

61 Bauer, Josef, *Kritisches: Laute u. Gitarre*, in: *Der Gitarrefreund. Mitteilungen des Internationalen Gitarristen-Verbandes (e. V.)*, 6 (1905), no. 2, pp. 17–18.

62 Collections by Karl Wegener, Pölchau; Dr Werner Wolffheim, Berlin; Wilhelm Heger, Cologne; Wilhelm Tappert and others.

63 Oswald Körte, *Laute und Lautenmusik bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Lautentabulatur* (Dissertation. Royal University of Berlin) (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901, reprint Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1974).

he comes to the conclusion that ‘when transferring from one musical notation to another, from a dead one to a living one [. . .] the intentions and effects of the original notation [. . .] are easily lost in the process’.⁶⁴ For Körte, the ‘strictly philological’ transcription (as a ‘true-to-the-letter image of the original’) must be complemented by musical feeling. But this cannot and must not be done without thorough knowledge of the entire lute sphere: Playing and construction techniques, properties of the strings, acoustics of the instrument, rules from historical textbooks and much more. Finally, because of its unusual modernity, a sentence by Körte should be quoted here: ‘Whoever wants to play lute music on the lute must use the original tablature. He will only achieve the full impression of the intended sound effect if he provides his lute accordingly with double courses’.⁶⁵

In 1907 (the year Wilhelm Tappert died), a ‘Commission for the Study of Lute Music’ was founded under the auspices of the International Music Society. Right at the beginning, inspired by the Parisian Jules Écorcheville, the most important experts joined the commission, whose list of names sounds like a whole slice of music history to our ears today: Oscar Chilesotti, Arnold Dolmetsch, Janet Dodge, Michel Brenet, Henri Quittard, Henryk Opieski and Adolf Koczirz. This commission held its first meeting in 1909 in Vienna on the occasion of the third congress of the IMG and Haydn’s centenary celebration.⁶⁶

[The Section presented the following resolution: ‘The Commission for the Study of Lute Music, which met in Section I. e on the occasion of the Congress of Vienna, has decided to request the Commission for the Publication of the Monuments of Musical Art in Germany to pay special attention to the recording of tablatures of all instruments (in manuscripts and prints) in the records of musical collections it arranges.’⁶⁷ The resolution was adopted. As a result, music notated in tablature became ‘full-fledged’ music that seemed worthy of reproduction in ‘monument’ editions—and Adolf Koczirz’s motion that all types of tablature should be included prevailed].

The lecture given in Vienna by Alicja Simon allowed a more precise insight into the rich holdings of lute music in the Berlin libraries.⁶⁸ Only a summary report of the announced lecture by Jules Écorcheville is printed.

Adolf Koczirz then drew the participants’ attention to ‘the need for a uniform system in the transmission of phonetic tablatures that meets scientific and instrumental-technical requirements’.⁷⁰

Three years later, in 1912, the same commission presented a revised version of the *Grundlinien der Lautenforschung*.⁷¹ The direction was (and still is) the above-mentioned paper by Adolf Koczirz. Koczirz insisted that suitable symbols should be used to indicate ‘the prescribed type of technical performance’ in the transcription, and that they should be written down ‘on a double system [. . .] which is placed as close to each other as possible to ensure the uniformity of the notation’.

In this way, he believes, the transcription is capable of replacing the original tablature. But the future did not prove him right . . . The commission also expressed the wish to bring the whole of lute literature into the light of day and encouraged the researchers to incorporate the results of their investigations into the central catalogue of sources (in Paris). Unfortunately, at that time, people were content

64 *ibid.* p. 6.

65 *ibid.* p. 44.

66 *III Congress of the International Music Society-Vienna 25–29 May 1909—Report* (Vienna-Leipzig, 1909). <https://archive.org/details/haydnzentenarfei00inte> (consulted 16/1/2022). The files on section I e. (lute music) can be found on pp. 211–223.

67 *ibid.* p. 75.

68 *ibid.* pp. 212–223.

69 *ibid.* p. 211.

70 *ibid.* p. 220–223.

71 ‘Kommission für Erforschung der Lautenmusik’, in *ZIMG*, XIV/1 (Oct. 1912), pp. 1–8.

with the localisation of the sources and all too seldom took care over the description of their contents, although the principle of a standardised card catalogue was already recommended at that time. All this could be seen as a 'pre-première' of what was to be proposed anew at the Paris colloquium 'Le luth et sa musique' in 1957.

Adolf Koczirz (1870–1941), whose name has already been mentioned several times, was probably the most interesting and versatile personality of the time in this field.⁷² Although he chose the higher administrative career as his profession, he had (as some acquaintances of his said) 'only tablatures in his head'. A highly talented person; yet his abilities did not extend to practical lute playing, although Othmar Wessely's *MGG* article would like to convince us otherwise: 'In the 1920s, a young man with a lute often went to the Winter Palace of Prince Eugene (the seat of the Ministry of Finance at the time) so that Koczirz could judge the sound effect of his own transcriptions. This young man was Karl Scheit. Koczirz's philosophical dissertation on Hans Judenkünig,⁷³ which he defended in Vienna in 1903, as well as the long series of his treatises, show his immense curiosity, not only for the lute, but also for its sister instruments, the mandora and the guitar. These numerous articles are a treasure trove of historical and archival information that has lost no trace of its original value today.⁷⁴

The same applies to his always constructive reviews of specialist literature, as well as to his memorial editions of Austrian and Viennese lute music,⁷⁵ which proved to be authoritative for later editors. Koczirz also knew how to arouse the interest of some of his university students. For example, Bakfark became the subject of the doctoral thesis of Ludwig Kaiser (* 1876),⁷⁶ Anton Malecek examined Antonio Rotta's life and work,⁷⁷ and Toni Wortmann (* 1875) dealt with Le Sage de Richée's *Cabinet der Lauten*,⁷⁸ a work whose value Hugo Riemann once drew attention to.⁷⁹

Among the Viennese, the name of Josef Zuth (1879–1932), author of the still helpful *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*, should not be omitted.⁸⁰ He tried to outline the figure of Christian Gottlieb Scheidler a little more clearly,⁸¹ but unfortunately could not bring the ambitious project of his Encyclopaedia of the Lute and Guitar to completion.

72 Blümml, Emil Karl, 'Österreichisches Schaffen. Dr. Adolf Koczirz', in *Zeitschrift für die Gitarre*, Jg . IV. (1925), H.5, 11-17; H. 6, 17-20 ; H. 7, 14-19; H. 8, 14-16; H. 9, 10-14.

73 Naturally, the first Austrian specialist was first and foremost interested in the lutenist of Austria who was the first to leave traces of his art: Hans Judenkünig. Adolf Koczirz publishes his important article, which summarises the essence of his dissertation, in the *Sammelbände der IMG*, VI (1905), pp. 237–49.

74 Koczirz's estate is at the Institute for Musicology at the University of Vienna.

75 Koczirz, *Adolf Österreichische Lautenmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert* DTÖ XVIII/2-Volume 37 (Vienna: Artaria, 1911, reprint, Graz: Akad. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), idem, *Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720*. DTÖ XXV/2-Band 50 (Vienna: Artaria, 1918, reprint, Graz, Akad. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), idem, *Wiener Lautenmusik im 18. Jahrhundert*. EdM, 2nd series, volume I, Vienna and Leipzig, Universal Edition, 1942).

76 Kaiser, Ludwig, *Valentin Greff Bakfark* (dissertation) Vienna, 1907 (unpublished). Missing in Vienna.

77 Malecek, Anton, *Der Paduaner Lautenmeister Antonio Rotta* (dissertation), Vienna 1930 (unpublished) available in Vienna as an interlibrary loan. A biographical sketch of Rotta can be found in the *Festschrift für Adolph Koczirz*, pp. 20–23 (see footnote 81).

78 Wortmann, Toni, *Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée und sein Cabinet der Lauten* (dissertation) Vienna, 1919 (unpublished), missing in Vienna.

79 Riemann, Hugo, 'Ein wenig bekanntes Lautenbuch', in *MMg*, XXI/1 (1889), pp. 9–24, <https://archive.org/details/MonatshefteFrMusikgeschichte21Jg1889/mode/2up> (consulted 20/1/2022).

80 Zuth, Josef, *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre* (Vienna: Anton Goll, 1926, reprint: Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1972).

81 Zuth, Josef, 'Über Christian Gottlieb Scheidler', in Haas, Robert und Zuth, Joseph (eds.), *Festschrift Adolph Koczirz zum 60. Geburtstag* (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, Ed. Strache, [1930]), pp. 50–56.

[The important music library of the House of Lobkowitz, which was closely connected with Philipp Hyazinth Lobkowitz and Silvius Leopold Weiss, was described in 1927 by Paul Nettel (1889-1972),⁸² a Jewish student of Adler who had to flee to the USA in 1939].

But I do not want to dwell too long on the ‘Viennese School’ for fear that I would be accused of a certain partiality . . .

However, German musicologists and researchers were no less active at the end of the First World War. With the second volume of the *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (1919) by Johannes Wolf,⁸⁴ they now had an irreplaceable working tool at their disposal, containing a detailed analysis of the various types of tablature⁸⁵ as well as the most complete list of sources up to the 1940s.⁸⁶

If one looks at the treatises on the lute and its music written during this period, one can sense a tendency towards the advantage of individual representation as well as a certain shift of interest towards the Baroque—which also applies to the history of art and literature. Thus Helmuth Osthoff’s dissertation (1922)⁸⁷ was intended as a ‘contribution to the history of Upper Italian lute music at the end of the late Renaissance’, the core of which, however, was formed by the compositions of Santino Garsi da Parma, who had hitherto received little attention. After Tappert’s pioneering work (1900),⁸⁸ Reußner, as the main representative of the so-called ‘New French Lute School’ in Germany, once again aroused the interest of lute-oriented researchers: with their dissertations, Georg Sparmann (1926)⁸⁹ and the Viennese Karl Koletschka (1928)⁹⁰ prepared the way for the modern edition by Friedrich Blume and Walter Gerwig from 1928, which unfortunately remained incomplete (and also ‘rather extremely’ compromised).⁹¹ And Sylvius Leopold Weiß, whose name first became known in 1907 through the

82 Nettel, Paul, ‘Musicalia der Fürstlichen Lobkowitzschen Bibliothek in Raudnitz’, in Nettel, Paul (ed.), *Beiträge zur böhmischen und mährischen Musikgeschichte* (Brno 1927), pp. 60-70.

83 Claude Chauvel was a student and personal assistant of Karl Scheit in the 1960s.

84 Wolf, Johannes, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, II. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919, reprint, Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1963), 2nd vol., pp. 35-157; 2nd chapter: Phonetic tablatures. [IMSLP]

85 It took almost 50 years, until 1962, for a new complete presentation of tablatures to appear: Apel, Willi: *Die Notation der polyphonen Musik 900-1600* (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Musikverlag, 1962.) First Part: Notation of Solo Music, including the phonetic tablatures on pp. 60-87. Another 60 years after Apel, the monumental complete account will appear in 2022, which will probably also set new standards for dealing with tablature: Griffiths, John; Dolata, David; Vendrix Philippe (eds.), *Tablature: Alternate music notations 1300-1750* (Tours: CESR, 2022). The definitive book title has not yet been determined.

86 The series of source directories, which are still relevant today because of their different objectives, are listed as an appendix.

87 Osthoff, Helmuth, *Der Lautenist Santino Garsi da Parma* (Dissertation, Berlin 1922) (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926, reprint: verm. ed. Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1973). To the reprint of the first edition (Frankfurt a.M., in December 1972), 8 pp.

88 See footnote 34 [Tappert, Wilhelm, ‘Esaja Reusner, der Kammer-Lautenist des Grossen Kurfürsten’, in *MMg*, XXXIII/8 (1900), pp. 135–150] <https://archive.org/details/MonatshefteFrMusikgeschichte32Jg1900/page/n99/mode/2up> (consulted 16/1/2022).

89 Sparmann, Georg, *Esaias Reusner und die Lautensuite* (Dissertation, Berlin 1926), (unpublished).

90 Koletschka, Karl, ‘Esaias Reusner der Jüngere und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts’, in *SMW* XV (Vienna, 1928), pp. 3-45. According to a footnote by the director of publications this treatise was to serve ‘as an introduction to a subsequent volume of monuments’. In the *Festschrift für Adolph Koczirz* (see footnote 81), his essay ‘Esaias Reußner Vater und Sohn und ihre Choralbearbeitungen für die Laute’ is found on pp. 14-17.

91 Reußner, Esajas, *Sämtliche Suiten für Laute*, Heft I: Suiten I bis V aus den *Neuen Lautenfrüchten* (1676). Introduced by Friedrich Blume and edited in piano notation by Walter Gerwig (Wolfenbüttel: G. Kallmeyer, 1928). ZB Musik, Freihand Mus BG 24732

pen of Hans Volkmann,⁹² could finally be discovered thanks to the work and transcriptions of Karl Prusik⁹³ through his compositions found in the Salzburg tablatures.

The problem of tablature transcription was raised anew in these years. The occasion for this was the publication of the musical works of Luis Milan by Leo Schrade.⁹⁴ Never before had a work been reproduced in its entirety diplomatically. But the transcription printed alongside led to a fiery controversy between Otto Gombosi, who advocated the primacy of the musical sense, and Schrade, who strictly adhered to the polyphony conditioned by the instrument.⁹⁵ It is difficult to explain this delicate history in a few words: it is best to read Kurt Dorf Müller's exemplary summary on the subject of 'The Editing of Phonetic Tablatures'.⁹⁶

In addition to this already long (albeit very incomplete) list of works, one should also mention the first attempts concerning the iconography of the lute, whose directive function for instrumental practice as well as for instrument making was to emerge much later. This refers above all (and despite the very poor quality of the reproductions) to the highly interesting book *Die Laute* by Hermann Sommer.⁹⁷

Unfortunately, it has to be admitted that efforts to restore the lute to a dignified place in musical life had been crowned with failure. It was all too much driven back and forth between the crudest scratches and strumming to shabby songs to be considered a decent instrument by real musicians. There were also attempts to attract the broad masses to the lute; for example, with the instrument invented by the Cologne master luthier Georg Stößel (1867–1943) around 1915 (the Stößel lute), a

92 Volkmann, Hans, 'Sylvius Leopold Weiß, der große Lautenist'. biographical sketch, in *Die Musik*, VI, issue 17 (1906/07), pp. 273–89, <https://archive.org/details/diemusik01gergoog> (consulted 20/1/2022).

93 Prusik, Karl, *Kompositionen des Lautenisten S. L. Weiss* (Dissertation) (Vienna, 1923). (2 vols., unprinted). <https://fedora.phaidra.univie.ac.at/fedora/get/o:17397/bdef:Asset/view> (consulted 16/1/2022). Prior to this only a Preludio and an Allemande in A minor by Weiss from a lute book in Chilesotti's possession (now lost) had been published. See Chilesotti, Oskar, 'Un po' di musica del passato', in *RMI*, XIX 14 (1912), pp. 876–9.

94 Schrade, Leo, *Luys Milan. Musical Works* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927) (=Publikationen älterer Musik, II. reprint: Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1967 / 1994). It is worth recalling at this point that interest in the vihuela repertoire was aroused by the work of Guillermo Murphy: *Les luthistes espagnoles du XVIe siècle* (The Spanish Lute Masters of the 16th Century), 2 vols (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel [the preface is dated Madrid, June 1897], reprint: New York, Broude Brothers 1967). [IMSLP] The German translation was provided by Hugo Riemann. Camille Saint-Saëns (see Concerto VII. No. 59 (Dec 1985-Jan 1990)), 12-16.

95 Gombosi, Otto, Review of Leo Schrade's edition of L. Milan *El Maestro* in *ZfMW*, XIV (1931–32), 3rd issue, December 1931, pp. 185-189; Schrade's rejoinder 'Das Problem der Lautentabulatur-Übertragung' *ibid*, 7th issue, April 1932, pp. 357-363 and Gombosi's rejoinder 'Bemerkungen zur Lautentabulatur-Frage' in *ibid* XVI (1934), 10th issue, October 1934, pp. 497-498. <https://archive.org/details/ZeitschriftFuerMusikwissenschaft14jg1931-32> <https://archive.org/details/ZeitschriftFuerMusikwissenschaft16jg1934/mode/2up> (consulted 20/1/2022) Review: *Die Laute* 3, Heft 11/12, 'Lutz a l'exemplaire annoté de H. Osthoff'. https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Musikzeitschriften_bis_1945

96 Kurt Dorf Müller: 'Die Edition der Lautentabulaturen', in Georgiades, Thrasybulos Georgios (ed.): *Musikalische Edition im Wandel historischen Bewusstseins* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1971), pp. 189-202.

97 Hermann Sommer, *Die Laute in ihrer musikgeschichtlichen Kultur und kulturhistorischen Bedeutung*. Berlin, (A. Köster, 1920). On this subject of iconography and art history, mention should also be made of Geiringer, Karl, 'Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der europäischen Laute bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, Eine ikonographische Studie, in *ZfMW*, X (1927-28) Heft 9-10, Juni/Juli 1928, pp. 560-603, and Hahne-Overmann, Elisabeth, 'Ikonographie der Lautengriffe', in *ZfMW*, XII (1929-30), Heft 9-10 Juni/Juli 1930, pp. 527–31.

cross between mandolin, toy lute and Appalachian dulcimer, which used a tablature fingering technique.⁹⁸ But that is another story . . .

Towards the end of the First World War, however, a completely different wind was already blowing, thanks to the so-called youth music movement, whose genesis and development are well known to you, I assume. Initially under the aegis of Richard Möller (1891–1918), who died at an early age, then of Fritz Jöde (1887–1970) and Walther Hensel, instrumental practice was finally able to develop in close connection with choral singing, in accordance with true musical requirements. The symbolic organ of this movement, the monthly journal *Die Laute* taught, informed and educated its readers with very sophisticated articles and published works for them that now addressed instruments built true (or nearly true) to the originals.

This was the case for Bruger's editions. Hans Dagobert Bruger (1894–1932) was regarded in Berlin at the time as a recognised specialist of the lute, who tried to teach his students contemporary practice.⁹⁹ His pseudo-critical editions almost exclusively contain material already published elsewhere, which he lavished with turgid dynamic and performance signs. But one would have to give him credit for sincerely trying to popularise by all means (albeit the most dubious ones) the playing of good lute music, which would otherwise have remained mostly unattainable in limited editions, in dissertations and in monumental volumes.

In close connection with those musical movements of the twenties and thirties were some publishing houses, above all the Julius Zwißler (later Georg Kallmeyer) publishing house in Wolfenbüttel, whose journal, *Die Laute* was then transformed into the *Musikantengilde* under Jöde's leadership. A small number of enthusiastic collaborators gathered around the young founder of the Bärenreiter publishing house, Karl Vötterle, who were determined to promote the lute in parallel with the other old instruments (harpsichord, viola da gamba, recorder).¹⁰⁰ Together, Joseph Bacher,¹⁰¹ Walter Pudelko,¹⁰² Ernst Molzberger¹⁰³ and others brought out a veritable blossom of music booklets offering lutenists an attractive repertoire outside the beaten track.

Franz Julius Giesbert (1896–1972) was no less active in this field. Fresh from his musicological studies in Bonn, Berlin and Munich, he began in 1925 'to publish music from the Renaissance to the

98 Lieser, Stefan, 'Die Stössel-Laute', in *Gitarre & Laute*, VII/4, (July-August 1985), pp. 13–18 and Andreas Schlegel and Joachim Lüdtke, *Die Laute in Europa 2. Lauten, Gitarren, Cistern und Mandolinen* (Menziken, 2011), p. 347 (and notes 418–419) and: http://www.studia-instrumentorum.de/MUSEUM/zith_stoessel.htm (consulted 21/1/2022).

99 Bruger, Hans Dagobert, *Schule des Lautenspiels für die gewöhnliche Laute / Baßlaute / doppelchörige und theorbierte Laute* (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1926). In it the guitar tuning is used (without the low-tuned third string).

100 Funck, Eike, 'Alte Musik und Jugendmusikbewegung', in Reinfandt, Karl-Heinz (ed.), *Die Jugendmusikbewegung. Impulse and Effects* (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1987), pp. 63–91. On the youth movement see also: <https://www.burgludwigstein.de/forschen> (consulted 16/1/2022).

101 e.g. in Bacher, Joseph, *Lehrwerk für die doppelchörige Laute*, 1st volume: Lautenfibel (Kassel: Bärenreiter edition 1236 [1938]). In it he advocates tablature playing and his approach, which consults historical sources, is exemplary. Reinhard Glätzle has written a dissertation: *Josef Bacher (1900–1978) as a Pioneer of Guitar, Lute, Viola da Gamba and Recorder Playing in the 20th Century* (Salzburg 2018). This dissertation is a gateway to the history of the early music movement with an incredible wealth of information. Glätzle continues to work on this book and will publish it in the foreseeable future.

102 Pudelko, Walter (ed.) Series: *Meisterwerke alter Lautenkunst* (Augsburg: Bärenreiter), from 1925; from it e.g.: No. 1: *Matthäus Weissel: Tänze, Fantasien, Präludien* (1925); No. 5: *Robert Dowland: Couranten*, (1925). Walter Pudelko also worked in the library of the von Dohna family at Schlobitten Castle before its destruction in 1945 and discovered there, among other things, the Dowland songbooks. See: Schlegel, Andreas, 'The Story behind the Dohna Weissel prints', in: *Lute News* 121 (April 2017) pp. 37–39.

103 Molzberger, Ernst (ed.) *Lautenstücke von Hans Neusidler* (Kassel: Bärenreiter [1939]).

early Classical period through his own publishing company (primarily for lute, recorder and strings) together with Karl Gerharz (a now sadly forgotten, outstanding expert on the instrument)'.¹⁰⁴ Giesbert was one of the few, and possibly the first,¹⁰⁵ to advocate tablature playing. As the most suitable, he initially used the Italian tablature which he had reversed, but later chose a copy of his own which was closer to the original. For us lutenists, Giesbert will remain primarily the author of the *Schule für die Barocklaute* (1940)¹⁰⁶ and the much less well-known *Kurze Unterweisung in der deutschen Lauten-Tabulatur*.

Of course, there are many lutenists and guitarists to be mentioned here, almost all of whom came more or less directly from the aforementioned movement: Heinz Bischoff (1898–1963), a school friend of Berthold Brecht, turned to playing the old *Chorlaute* at an early age (c.1925) and published *partitas 'in the old style' for this instrument. Of Ernst Pohlmann (1902–1983), we all know the book Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone*, first published in 1968, which he considered his life's work.¹⁰⁷

Dr. Hermann Leeb (1906–79), the long-time partner of the tenor legend named Hugues Cuénod (1902–2010[!]), pupil of Segovia, Pujol, Gombosi and Prunières, taught lute at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, founded in 1933 by the patron of the arts Paul Sacher, from 1933 to 1945 and was a member of the concert group of this institution until 1951. Various editions, including the edition of the works of Francesco da Milano announced by him in 1957, were unfortunately never realised.¹⁰⁸

Once again I would like to mention Karl Scheit (1909–93), who even then was far advanced in knowledge of the instrument—but I had better stop talking about him, otherwise we'll run out of time . . .

Hans Neemann (1901-1943) is certainly the most striking personality of this first heyday of the lute in our epoch. He came from a completely different background and began as a concert pianist before

104 See Giesbert, Elisabeth 'Giesbert, Franz Julius', in Unverricht, Hubert (ed.), *Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein* (Mainz, Schott, 1981), pp. 36–41. Today's homepage of *Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein 2*: <http://www.mmm2.mugemir.de/doku.php?id=giesbert> (consulted 21/1/2022).

105 Chauvel is mistaken. Joseph Bacher, op. cit. (footnote 101) had already propagated playing from tablature in his 1938 lute primer and prints all pieces in French tablature.

106 Giesbert, Franz Julius, *Schule für die Barock-Laute-Mainz*, B. Schott's Söhne, 1940, 2/1962. Ders.: *Kurze Unterweisung in der Deutschen Lautentabulatur*. According to information from the Schott publishing house, there are drafts of this edition in the archives, but the project was presumably abandoned after the author's death. Where Chauvel got the information is unknown.

107 Pohlmann, Ernst, *Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone. Die Lauten-Instrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Lilienthal/Bremen 1st edition 1968 (297 p.), 2nd, expanded edition 1972 (416 p.), 3rd unchanged edition 1975 (416 p.), 4th completed and corrected edition 1975 (385 p.), 5th revised and supplemented edition 1982 (423 p.)).

108 The edition 'Die Werke für Laute von Sixt Kärgel und Melchior Newsidler, Heint.' listed in the article on Hermann Leeb in the *Schweizer Musiker-Lexikon* (Zurich, 1964), p. 226, was also never published, according to the publisher. From 1944 he was head of the music department of Radio Zurich. According to Hans Oesch, *Die Musik-Akademie der Stadt Basel. Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Musikschule Basel 1867-1967* (Basel, 1967), the following people were involved in the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (SCB): Dr. Hermann Leeb (1906-1979): 1933-45 as a teacher, 1933-1951 in the concert group; Fritz Wörsching (1901–76): 1936 [until after 1966] in the concert group, 1936 [until 1967] as lute and guitar teacher at the SCB, 1959 [until after 1966] as guitar teacher at the music school; Eugen M. Dombois (1931–2014): since 1963 [until after 1966] in the concert group, from 1962 as a teacher; Konrad Ragossnig (1932–2018), a Scheit pupil: 1965–66 at the music school, then only at the conservatory [until 1983] and at the SCB vocational school (for guitar!) [until after 1966].

turning to the baroque lute,¹⁰⁹ on which he performed in his own concert for the first time as early as 1926. Extraordinarily little is known about him, his personality or his working methods. By chance, the specialist press reported on his presence as a soloist at the 18th Bach Festival in Kiel in November 1930, where ‘his performance of the difficult movements [by Bach] sometimes seemed somewhat inhibited’.¹¹⁰ Together with his pupil Kurt Rottmann, he was invited to the Reich Bach Festival in Leipzig in 1935 on the occasion of Bach’s 250th birthday anniversary and took part in the performance of the *Trauer-Ode* (probably also the *St John Passion* conducted by Günther Ramin). He also let himself be heard on stage and in radio studios all over Germany (enquiries for possible tapes have unfortunately yielded nothing so far). As the main defender of tablature playing¹¹¹ and undisputed master of the baroque lute, he wrote a textbook,¹¹² which vouches for his intimate knowledge of the entire historical lute practice. Through hundreds of as yet unpublished pieces, selected with both eclecticism and taste, which he brought to light, he enriched the repertoire of our contemporary lutenists more than anyone else and helped Sylvius Leopold Weiß to achieve the fame he enjoys today. It is difficult to imagine the tremendous energy that this musicologist, active musician, researcher, pedagogue, consultant in instrument making (Meinel company, Markneukirchen), editor of various publications and worksheets, who died in 1943 shortly before completing his 42nd year, brought to our instrument.¹¹³

In 1943, the year of Neemann’s death, he also wrote his habilitation thesis *Studien zur solistischen Lautenpraxis des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Studies on Solo Lute Practice of the 16th and 17th Centuries) submitted by Wolfgang Boetticher (dated 1944 as a university thesis). The collection work, begun around 1934 and essentially completed in 1939, enjoyed, according to Boetticher, ‘the support of many specialist colleagues’ at home and abroad. Just as in his philosophical dissertation on Schumann and his future Lassus monograph, Boetticher aims for completeness. But in many details, unfortunately, one also notices the haste caused by a time of war. It is true that this work could not be taken up as it would have been in other times. But its importance became apparent later, namely when its bibliographical appendix was distributed to the participants of the Paris colloquium ‘Le luth et sa musique’ (1957) as source material for the compilation of an ‘International Catalogue of Sources of Lute Music’.¹¹⁴

109 Neemann, Hans, Grundfragen des Lautenspiels, in *Zeitschrift für Hausmusik* 5 (1936), no. 4, 151–5. On p. 152 he writes about the time and motivation given to the baroque lute: ‘My extensive knowledge of the old tablatures, playing practice and far-reaching research for practice and science, began almost two decades ago initially for my own benefit . . .’ Thus he may have begun his studies shortly after 1916. (Friendly addition by Reinhard Glätzle.)

110 Schröder, Otto, ‘Das 18. Deutsche Bachfest in Kiel’, in *ZfMW*, XIII (1930-31), Heft 2, (Nov. 1930), pp. 91–97, especially pp. 96–97. The movements played by H. Neemann were: Gavotte I/II from the G minor Suite BWV 995; Fugue in G minor BWV 1000; Fantasia, Sarabande and Giga in C minor BWV 997.; ‘. . . his performance of the difficult movements sometimes seemed somewhat inhibited, both technically and musically’.

111 Neemann, Hans, ‘Einführung in das Spiel der Laute nach der Tabulatur’, in: *Die Gitarre* VIII (1927), Heft 3-4, p. (with music supplement). Neemann’s comrade-in-arms was Erich Schütze, who published ‘Die praktische Bedeutung der Lautentabulatur’ in the same issue, pp. 15-18. Digitised: <https://www.digitalguitararchive.com/2021/02/die-gitarre/> <http://www2.kb.dk/elib/noder/rischel/RiBS1077.pdf> (consulted 26/1/2022).

112 Neemann, Hans, *Die doppelhörige Laute* (Fredersdorf, H. Neemann Verlag, 1932).

113 This document from 1934 gives an impression of Neemann as a businessman as well: <https://digital-collections.csun.edu/digital/collection/VOBCorr/id/753/rec/174> (consulted 28/1/2022).

114 Claude Chauvel’s hand copy, to which he added many handwritten remarks and additions, can be viewed at: <https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/claude-chauvel/schriften-claude-chauvel> (consulted 20/1/2022).

After the Second World War, lute research, which had been severely weakened by the exile or death of many of its participants, survived in the early years mainly thanks to a network of connections that a few connoisseurs and enthusiasts of the instrument expanded: Erich Schütze from Berlin (1899–1978), Hans Neemann's oldest collaborator and partner; the erudite Studienrat Hans Radke (Fraustadt, 18 VI. 1894–Darmstadt, 18 VII. 1989) from Arolsen; Kurt Rottmann, former pupil of Neemann, who emigrated to Chile in 1935; the Prague physician Dr. Emil Vogl (Prague?, 1901–Prague, 3. VI. 1977);¹¹⁵ Josef Klima (Vienna, 17. VI. 1900–Vienna, 13. II. 1991), whose house in Maria Enzersdorf had become a kind of place of pilgrimage for many lute lovers; and several others who were closely connected by a deep (although not exclusive) love of the baroque lute.

Instrument making, mainly carried out by Peter Harlan (1898–1966) at Burg Sternberg/Lippe since 1947 and above all Hans Jordan (1905–79) from Markneukirchen, soon had to respond to an ever increasing number of requests from lutenists.

Nevertheless, it was necessary to wait for the opening of the first official lute class at the Cologne Academy of Music in 1951 before one could speak of a true 'rebirth' of this instrument.

Walter Gerwig (1899–1966), its initiator, can rightly be called the 'father of the post-war lutenists'. Coming from the old youth movement, he familiarised himself with the lute completely autodidactically. From some of his own musical experience he developed a technique and a personal style in which the linear is placed before chordal playing (as was advocated by most instructional works—including Josef Bacher.¹¹⁶ His innate sense of rhythm, elegance of melody playing and polyphonic expression characterised each of his interpretations and made them so attractive that they still serve as a source of inspiration for many of today's lutenists. The numerous recordings in which he participated from 1949 onwards (some 50, with him appearing as soloist in more than 15) were a defining musical experience for many. Disinclined to engage in useless musicological rhetoric, he preferred to play from notes rather than tablature throughout his life. He never regarded the lute as an end in itself, but as an instrument for making music. Therefore, whatever the style, he always remained faithful to the 10-course instrument in Renaissance tuning.

His musical repertoire, averse to any specialisation, ranged from Oswald von Wolkenstein to Joseph Haydn and far beyond, for it was he who in 1944 inspired Johann Nepomuk David to compose his Sonata op. 31, No. 5: one of the rare interesting 20th century works inspired by the lute.¹¹⁷

115 Vogl, Erich (ed.): *Z loutnových tabulatur českého baroka* (From the Lute Tablatures of the Bohemian Baroque), Edition Supraphon 1977; numerous essays such as: Antoni Eckstein, 'Zwei Prager Lautenisten', in *Die Musikforschung*, XVII. Jahrgang (Kassel und Basel, 1964), pp. 41–45. (Erich Vogl is not to be confused with Emil Vogel, who edited this standard work in 1892: *Bibliotheca della musica vocale italiana di genere profano stampata dal 1500 al 1700, contenente la letteratura delle frottole, dei madrigali, delle canzonette, arie ed opere in musica. Compilata dal Dott. Emilio Vogel. Edita a spese della fondazione Schnyder von Wartensee . . .*—*Library of printed secular vocal music of Italy from the years 1550-1700 . . .*, (Berlin: NW, Druck und Verlag von A Haak, 1892, reprint: Olms 1962). This catalogue was supplemented by 'Il Nuovo Vogel': Einstein, Alfred; Lesure, François; Sartori, Claudio (eds.): *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700. Nuova edizione interamente rifatta e aumentata con gli indici dei musicisti, poeti, cantanti, dedicatari e dei capoversi dei testi letterari*, 3 vols. (Pomezia: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977.)

116 Bacher, Josef, *Lehrwerk für die doppelchörige Laute*, 1st volume, Lautenfibel (Kassel, Bärenreiter, [1938]). The songs are largely taken from songbooks by Walter Hensel (e.g. *Das Aufrecht Fähnlein* (Augsburg: Stauda 1923) or *Spinnerin Lobunddank* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 640 [1932]).

117 Paul Hindemith had previously been inspired by Hans Neemann to compose for the lute, but this project could not be realised due to Neemann's premature death. On the other hand, there is a lute part in Hindemith's *Suite of French Dances from the "Livres de Dancieries" of Claude Gervaise and Estienne du Tertre (1547-1557) printed by Pierre d'Attaignant, arranged for small orchestra* (London etc.: Schott, 1958) (composed 1948) [IMSLP].

After all, it is not one of his least merits to have inspired, trained and guided numerous students who have since become famous, such as Eugen M. Dombois, Michael Schaeffer, Eike Funck, Dieter Kirsch or Lothar Fuchs: a living legacy that continues to bear rich fruit.

Now that we have reached the end of this little hike, we cannot help but look back with gratitude at the many generations of musicians, researchers and collectors of all kinds. On the terra incognita of that time, a hortus musicus full of 'new lute fruits' has grown for us, and this thanks to the enthusiasm of all these people with their questions, with their convictions, even with their errors . . . And if I may, I would like to paraphrase Mozart when he commented on Emanuel Bach: 'They are the fathers; we are the children. Whoever can 'do something right' has learned from them; and whoever does not admit this is a . . .'. Thank you.

Abbreviations and sources for research

<i>AMZ</i>	General Musical Newspaper
<i>DTÖ</i>	Monuments of Musical Art in Austria
<i>Mf</i>	<i>Die Musikforschung</i> , Kassel, 1948 ff
<i>MMg</i>	<i>Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte</i> , Leipzig 1869 ff
<i>RIM</i>	<i>Rivista musicale italiana</i>
<i>SMW</i>	Studies in Musicology
<i>VfMW</i>	Quarterly journal for musicology
<i>ZIMG</i>	Journal of the International Music Society
<i>ZfMW</i>	Journal for Musicology, Leipzig 1919-1935

Important in the amateur sector: Journal for House Music

Important musical magazines can be found via:

[https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Kategorie:Zeitschrift_\(Music\)](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Kategorie:Zeitschrift_(Music)) (consulted 21/1/2022)

Guitar magazines are offered by the Digital Guitar Archive:

<https://www.digitalguitararchive.com/journals/> (consulted 23/1/2022)

More and more, entire archives of guitar and lute editions are being made available in digital form. For example, the International Guitar Research Archives at California State University, Northridge:

<https://digital-library.csun.edu/IGRA-scores> (consulted 28/1/2022)

Source directories that are still relevant today because of their different objectives:

- 1900-1904: Eitner, Robert, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des 19. Leipzig, 1900-1904* (Breitkopf & Härtel (10 vols.), reprint, New York, Musurgia [1947]). Digital copy: https://www.musik.uzh.ch/de/Research_BC/research/projects/eitner-digital.html (consulted 11/1/2022)
- 1919: Johannes Wolf: *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, II (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919, reprint: Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 35–157: Chapter 2. Phonetic tablatures. [IMSLP]
- 1943/44: Boetticher, Wolfgang, *Studien zur solistischen Lautenpraxis des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, Phil. F., Hab.-Schr., 1944. Digital copy of the copy made in 1957 with handwritten additions and corrections by Claude Chauvel: <https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/claude-chauvel/schriften-claude-chauvel> (as at 20/1/2022)

- 1968-1982: Pohlmann, Ernst: *Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone. Die Lauten-Instrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Lilienthal/Bremen 1st edition 1968 (297 p.), 2nd, expanded edition 1972 (416 p.), 3rd unchanged edition 1975 (416 p.), 4th completed and corrected edition 1975 (385 p.), 5th revised and supplemented edition 1982 (423 p.)).
- 1978: Boetticher, Wolfgang: *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Henle 1978) (RISM B VII). On Boetticher's National Socialist past, see current encyclopaedia and Wikipedia entries.
- 1980: Ness, Arthur J., 'Sources of lute music', in *New Grove*, vol. 17, pp. 733–753.
- 1991-1999: Christian Meyer et al. (eds.): *Sources manuscrites an tablature. Luth et théorbe (c.1500-c.1800). Catalogue descriptif*, (Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller 1991ff.) Published so far:
Vol. I: Confoederatio Helvetica (CH), France (F), 1991
Vol. II: Federal Republic of Germany (D), 1994
Vol. III/1: Austria (A), 1997
Vol. III/2: République Tchèque (CZ), Hongrie (H), Lituanie (LT), Pologne (PL), Fédération de Russie (RF), Slovaquie (SK), Ukraine (Ukr), 1999
- 1995-2020: Boye, Gary, *Music for the Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela (1470-1799)*: <https://applications.library.appstate.edu/music/lute/home.html> (consulted 20/1/2022). This list is excellent for prints, but must be treated with caution for manuscripts, because the dating and localisation of manuscripts is based on the often outdated work presented by Wolfgang Boetticher in 1978.