

Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600

Florence Gétreau

▶ **To cite this version:**

Florence Gétreau. Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600. Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts, May 2005, Michaelstein, Germany. pp.179-204. halshs-00186692

HAL Id: halshs-00186692
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00186692

Submitted on 11 Nov 2007

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Florence GÉTREAU

Instrument making in Lyon and Paris around 1600

Musical performance practice in national dialogues of the 16th century: Schools of instrument building in the 16th century.
Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Instrumentenbauschulen im 16. Jahrhundert.
Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein — Musikinstitut für Aufführungspraxis. XXXIII. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung und 26. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium Michaelstein, 06. Bis 08 Mai 2005.
Proceedings in progress.

The recent meeting on regional schools of instrument making, on the occasion of the scientific research done on the instruments preserved in the Cathedral of Freiberg, seems to be a sort of "new wave" of interest for this subject. In any case it is a good occasion to focus on two French centres and to present what we know about them today.

Biographical data concerning the makers

Paris and Lyon: first research by scholars at the end of the nineteenth century

I will start in 1893, a date when were published successively Constant Pierre's "classical" book *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique*[1], and at the same time Henry Coutagne's fundamental study on *Gaspard Duiffoproucart et les luthiers lyonnais du XVIe siècle,*[2] a booklet preceded one year before by Albert Jacquot's monograph on *Pierre Woeiriot,*[3] the famous engraver, author of the exceptional portrait of this maker. Constant Pierre's book is devoted to France, with a strong predominance of "facts, remarks, anecdotes, critics, biographical notes, technical details"[4] on Parisian makers; Coutagne's booklet, in the other hand, deals with regional aspects, focusing on one of the most prominent makers of all times, "hero" of Lyon, emblematic figure of the European lutherie.
General Secretary of the Conservatoire in Paris, historian of this institution and active scholar searching archives and documents, Constant Pierre set out in his Foreword, his modern methodology: "wishing to write original articles, borrowing nothing – contrary to tradition – from similar dictionaries already published, we undertook long research […] and we recorded only facts established by precise documents".[5] If he is not the first to publish and comment on in great detail the *Lettres de création du métier de faiseur d'instruments de musique en maîtrise et de leurs privilèges et statuts* (statutes of the instrument makers' guild) – in fact Louis Adolphe Le Doulcet, comte de Pontécoulant had already published them in 1861 in his

[1] Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique – les luthiers et la facture instrumentale*, Paris 1893, reprint Genève 1976.
[2] Henri Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoproucart et les luthiers lyonnais du XVIe siècle*, Paris 1893, new edition of his article published in: *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-lettres et Arts de Lyon* 3 (1893), pp. 418–481.
[3] Albert Jacquot, *Pierre Woeiriot: les Wiriot-Woeiriot, orfèvres-graveurs lorrains*, Paris 1892.
[4] Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique* (see footnote 1), p. XI : « On trouvera par conséquent dans les pages qui vont suivre, un mélange de faits, de remarques, d'anecdotes, de critiques, de notes biographiques, d détails techniques, etc. ».
[5] Ibid., p. IX and XI : « Désireux d'écrire des articles originaux, n'empruntant rien – contrairement à un usage assez fréquent – aux dictionnaires similaires parus antérieurement, nous n'avons pas hésité à faire de longues recherches […] et nous n'avons enregistré que des faits prouvés et établis par des documents précis […]».

Organographie[6] and Louis Antoine Vidal in 1874 in *Les instruments à archet* (vol. 1)[7] – Pierre is the first scholar to make reference to the first hand source preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale.

In Chapter III, *Research on ancient makers (15th–18th centuries)*, only two pages concern makers active during the sixteenth century. All makers are organ builders working in the French provinces. None is active in Paris. The first Parisian makers listed in his book were worked around the middle of the century (Pierre Le Duc, Jacques Dumesnil, Simon Bongars, Pierre Aubry, Nicolas Chéron).

Henry Coutagne, on the other hand, a scholar of Lyon, presented his research on Gaspard Duiffoproucart (also known as Kaspar Tieffenbrucker) for the ceremony admitting him to the Academy for Sciences, Literature and Art of Lyon in March 1893. The title of his historical study says that it contains "supporting documents and a portrait", the main archives documents being transcribed "in extenso". With the usual rigour of archivists, he demonstrates, how, from a "subtle article" written by Ernst Ludwig Gerber[8], subtle because based only on elements inferred from the portrait engraved by Woieriot, a totally fantasist biography was built up, amplified, repeated, watered down by Jean-Baptiste Roquefort-Flamericourt[9], François Castil Blaze,[10] François-Joseph Fétis,[11] Jules Gallay,[12] Antoine Vidal,[13] Albert Jacquot[14] and Gustave Chouquet,[15] to quote only French musicographers. They all contributed to build the legend and to obscure the "heroic" career of the famous maker. Some of them pretended that Duiffoproucart was commissioned by François Ier in 1515 in Bologna to build the set of instruments for his chapel in Paris; and because he could not stand the cold and foggy weather of the capital, he asked to retire to Lyon!

Coutagne, in return, starts with an iconographical and organological analysis of the maker's portrait, brings to light a dozen mentions and comments about his lifestyle, his situation in the city, and important moments in his career (the documents are related to taxes on imported wine; acquisition of land; citizenship etc.). Probably because he does not have a commercial interest in lutherie, Coutagne feels free to emphasise that Roquefort was not only the first charlatan biographer but also the first to list instruments attributed to Duiffoproucart. A so-called bass gamba, sold to Vuillaume (later part of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Bruxelles[16]), copied by him in 1827, was the starting point for the increase in forgeries. Coutagne then discusses (pp. 34–41) with discernment the authenticity of three bass gambas

---

[6] Louis Adolphe Le Doulcet, comte de Pontécoulant, *Organographie. Essai sur la facture instrumentale. Art, industrie et commerce*, Paris 1861, reprint Amsterdam 1972.

[7] Louis Antoine Vidal, *Les instruments à archet […] suivi d'un catalogue général de la musique de chambre*, Paris 1876–1878.

[8] Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler […]*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1812–1814, p. 950.

[9] Jean-Baptiste Roquefort, *Gaspard Dieffoproucart*, in: Louis-Gabriel Michaud (ed.), *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris 1811–1861, 2 – (1812). Inspired by Alexandre Choron and François Fayolle, *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens […]*, Paris 1810–1811.

[10] François-Henri-Joseph Castil Blaze, *Chapelle-musique des rois de France*, Paris 1832, p. 54.

[11] François-Joseph Fétis, *Antoine Stradivari et recherches sur l'origine et les transformations des instruments à archet*, Paris 1856, pp. 50–51; François-Joseph Fétis, *Duiffoprugcar*, in: *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, vol. 3, Paris, 1837, p. 74.

[12] Jules Gallay, *Les luthiers italiens aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles*, Paris 1869, pp. 203–204; Jules Gallay, *Les instruments des écoles italiennes*, Paris 1872, p.102.

[13] Antoine Vidal, *Les instruments à archet* (see footnote 7), vol. 1, pp. 162–165; Antoine Vidal, *La lutherie et la luthiers*, Paris 1889, pp. 59–61.

[14] Albert Jacquot, *La musique en Lorraine, étude rétrospective d'après les archives locales*, Paris 1882, p. 50, reprint, Genève 1972.

[15] Gustave Chouquet, *Le musée du Conservatoire national de musique. Catalogue descriptif et raisonné*, Paris 1884, reprint Genève 1993, p. 5, n° 1.

[16] Victor-Charles Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de musique de Bruxelles*, vol. 3, Gand 1900, reprint Bruxelles 1978, pp. 47–48, no. 1427.

and one violin (for more than a century present in the Paris museum), adding with perspicacity:

"We react above all against the easy way used by certain authors to build the history of sixteenth century lutherie on the basis of apocryphal makers and dates. We want to stress that doubts were already expressed before us about that point by Vidal and Hart. In fact, authentic violins from the sixteenth century are so few, that they are quite unobtainable".[17]

Coutagne demonstrates that Duiffroproucart is related to lute makers of the Tieffenbrucker family quoted by Ernest Gottlieb Baron in his treatise,[18] a dynasty with many instruments preserved and shown in 1892 in the Musical and Theatrical Exhibition organised in Vienna[19]. With pragmatism, he points out the fact that "one can figure a priori that an artist of this importance settled in a centre where instrument making was flourishing […] a hypothesis confirmed by research carried out in local archives".[20] Thanks to archival documents, he offers us also an amount of first hand biographical data on a dozen instrument makers: Nicolas Bontemps, Honoré de Lœuvre, Benoît Lejeune, André Vinatte, Jehan Helmer and Philippe Flac, these last two of German origin and stringed instrument makers; Pierre Le Camus, Simon, Mathelin de La Noue, Luc Gentil and François Furet specialised in wind instruments. With intuition and pragmatic deductive demonstration, Coutagne underlines that violin making is claimed in Lyon, thanks to archival documents, no earlier than 1548 (before that date only "rebecs" and "rebequets" – rebec players – are mentioned); he deduces from this that Duiffoproucart cannot be considered as the "inventor" of the violin in France, a legend still alive among luthiers during the twentieth century! Concerning the origin and development of the violin in Europe, he is convinced that "we need to extend the geographic field of research concerning instrument making, obstinately confined to Italy".[21] Given that three makers among the professionals working in Lyon are of German origin, he means that everything suggests that, if our craftsmen come from foreign schools, we should seek their headquarters in the countries of the North, not the South. Can we conclude that Coutagne already had an intuition concerning the importance of the Lech valley and of Füssen for the dissemination of European lutherie?
Six years after these "revelations", so often used and quoted, Georges Tricou continued this pioneering work and, from Coutagne's notes, published new documents, especially about the Layolle dynasty, a family of organ makers, and about the Rafi dynasty, "fleustier" (flute makers). The collection of documents is copious, giving all the essential biographical elements known today about this latter family. Tricou only knew of one flute by Rafi, "bearing the author's mark", a specimen coming from the Correr-Contarini collection, belonging already at that time to the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire de Bruxelles.[22] It is mainly on aspects concerning other specimens, their localisation and technical analysis, that studies about Rafi have progressed during the past decades.[23]

---

[17] Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoproucart* (see footnote 2), p. 55 : "Nous réagirons surtout contre la facilité avec laquelle certains auteurs ont édifié l'histoire de la lutherie du XVI^{e} siècle sur des instruments de fabricants et de dates aprocryphes. On ne saurait trop insister sur les doutes émis déjà avant nous sur ce point par Vidal et Hart. En réalité les violins authentiques du XVI^{e} siècle peuvent compter parmi les pièces rarissimes, disons même presque introuvables".
[18] Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historische theoretisch und practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, Nuremberg 1727, ch. VII, pp. 88–98.
[19] *Fach-Katalog der musik-historischen Abteilung von Deutschland*, Wien, 1892.
[20] Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoproucart* (see footnote 2), p. 46.
[21] Ibid., p. 61.
[22] Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique* (see footnote 16), vol. 2, p. 309, no. 1066.
[23] See in our selected bibliography, Lesure, Byrne, Puglisi, Bär, Allain-Dupré.

Paris: a new generation of archivists (1950–1975)

After these pioneering works on Lyon, it was not until the post-world war era that new generations of palaeographers focused on Paris instrument makers. François Lesure, a renowned musicologist, played the leading role. With a multiple training at the Sorbonne, the Conservatoire of Paris and the École des Chartes, this music archivist was also interested in art sociology (he studied under Pierre Francastel). His *Mémoire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes* (at the Sorbonne) completed in 1948, is an *Introduction to the study of instrumental music in France during the sixteenth century*, with a study on *Instrument makers and instrument making in Paris from 1544 to 1610*.[24] From that work, published in 1954 in the very new *Galpin Society Journal*, came his study on *La facture instrumentale à Paris au XVI^e siècle.*[25] Almost nothing has been done since that time from first hand sources (in the guild registers and notarised minutes) about this early period of Parisian instrument making.
After the book of references published by Jules Ecorcheville in 1907 on civil certificates concerning musicians,[26] Lesure works with a similar methology to that of Coutagne sixty years earlier, publishing full documents, giving an interpretation of them, as we will show later, and providing many references (in his *Note on violin making during the sixteenth century*, he indicates that he could gather about 50 new names of makers).[27]
Between 1960 and 1973, a group of female scholars, inspired by Norbert Dufourcq (we all know his classical publications on French organ and musical life under the Bourbon kings), regularly published new collected sources about Parisian musicians in the journal *Recherche sur la musique française.*

Among these musicians there is an interesting number of instrument makers. Probably not easily accessible to foreign colleagues, I would like to mention the useful work done by Yolande de Brossard (1965)[28], Colombe Samoyault-Verlet (1966)[29] and Bernadette Gérard (1973).[30]
Madeleine Jurgens, an archivist palaeographer who worked in the Archives nationales, offered during the same period, in 1967 and 1974, two monumental volumes, each one with more than 1 000 pages, on *Documents du Minutier central [des notaires] concernant l'histoire de la musique. 1600-1650.*[31] Impressive compendia of documents preserved in 20 Parisian Notarial offices (among 72), and produced between 1600 and 1650, they constitute a gigantic store of information, too few exploited, even if published. They are presented as references, together with an abstracted analysis. A selection of documents is partly transcribed. The third part of each book is devoted to instrument makers. We find here a chronological list of professional acts (for example apprenticeship contracts, 18 concern the period interesting us here). They are completed by private acts, alphabetically presented (248 acts for 72 makers for the period around 1600). The same work is done about organ makers

[24] François Lesure, *Introduction à l'étude de la musique instrumentale en France au XVI^e siècle. Les facteurs d'instruments de musique et la facture instrumentale à Paris de 1544 à 1610*, Paris 1948.
[25] François Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris*, in : *The Galpin Society Journal* 7 (1954), pp. 11–34, reprint in: *Musique et musiciens français du XVI^e siècle*, Genève 1976, pp. 63–103.
[26] Jules Ecorcheville, *Actes d'état civil de musiciens insinués au Châtelet de Paris (1539–1650)*, Paris 1907.
[27] François Lesure, *Notes sur la facture du violon au XVI^e siècle*, in: *Revue musicale* 38 (1956), pp. 30–34.
[28] Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris. 1532–1792. Actes d'Etat civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1965.
[29] Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens: notices biographiques et documents (1550–1793)*, Paris 1966.
[30] Bernadette Gérard, *Inventaire alphabétique des actes relatifs aux musiciens parisiens conservés aux archives de Paris*, in: *Recherches sur la Musique française classique* 13 (1973), p. 181–213.
[31] Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600–1650)*, vol. 1, Paris 1967; vol. 2, Paris 1974.

and clock founders, completed by certain contracts entirely published. String makers (4 for our period) and instrument dealers are also quoted.

Among these musicians there is an interesting number of Wind s carried out for organ makers and clock founders, supplemented by certain contracts published in full. String makers (four for our period) and instrument dealers are also quoted.
In the last part of her volume, Madeleine Jurgens introduces us to the musical taste of Parisian amateurs, with a table giving an overall picture of instruments in the possession of private people, adding a chronological list of instrument collections and musical libraries. Between 1600 and 1630, she lists about 100 houses possessing musical instruments. One can imagine the amount of knowledge available through these two volumes. A third one, although written, was unfortunately never published but is available at the Minutier Central in Paris (Archives nationales).

Lyon: academic secondary reference works (1978–1992)

Making extensive use of the work published by Coutagne and Tricou, several students prepared doctoral theses on the theme of musical life in Lyon. Bernard Faurie presented his own work at the Sorbonne.[32] He also examined the published inventories of the municipal archives of Lyon[33] and the inventory of the records of the Lyon's charitable institutions.[34] These directories do not provide many more names of instrument makers, but do provide many more deeds for them. We should note that this thesis was never published or exploited. It is also ignored by Frank Dobbins in his reference book on *Music in Renaissance Lyons*.[35] In the part of his book entitled *Musical Activity in Lyons*, Dobbins includes a chapter on *Instrument makers [mentioned in the Archives of Lyons]*. A close examination of that chapter shows that it is a compilation of references, not the publication of the documents themselves. He also worked on second-hand references, adding to Coutagne and Tricou sources listed in the *Inventaires sommaires des archives* quoted above and exploited by Bernard Faurie. Dobbins lists more makers because he also had access to seventeen "unnumbered manuscript notes in the possession of François Lesure" from the archives of Georges Tricou. Apart from these quotations, presented in a clear systematic list, and introduced by a short summarised analysis, Dobbins proposes no organological approach on preserved instruments. Concerning Gaspard Duiffoproucart, he quotes the bass gamba "signed by him" in the Donaldson collection[36] (currently in London, in the museum of musical instruments at the Royal College of Music), and the specimen in Brussels[37] both very controversial instruments ascribed to him. As for Claude Rafi, he refers to Mahillon's catalogue,[38] considering only one of the preserved flutes and quoting Byrne's article *Instruments by Claude Rafi in the Collection of Manfredo Settala*.[39]

[32] Bernard Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au XVI^e siècle. 1528–1574*, 3 vol., Paris 1978 (Thèse de 3^ème cycle, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne).
[33] Fortuné Rolle, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790*, I, Paris 1865; II, Paris 1875; Fortuné Rolle, Marie-Claude Guigue, Georges Guigue and Joseph Vaesen, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790*, III, Paris 1887.
[34] André Steyer and Fortuné Rolle, *Inventaire sommaire des archives hospitalières antérieures à 1790* (Ville de Lyon, La Charité ou Aumône générale), 5 vol. (Alphabetical Index in vol. 5), Lyon 1874–1880.
[35] Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, Oxford 1992.
[36] *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments and objects forming the Donaldson Museum*, London 1894.
[37] Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif et analytique* (see footnote 16).
[38] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 309, no. 1066.
[39] Maurice Byrne, *Instruments by Claude Rafi in the collection of Manfredo Settala*, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965), pp. 126–127.

Following in his tracks, Edouard Martin, a student at the Sorbonne, achieved a Master's degree in 2005 in Economic and Social History on *Gaspard Tieffenbrücker et la lutherie lyonnaise du XVI^e siècle.*[40] He gathered all previous publications, but he also discovered that Gaspard Duiffoprucart was already established in Lyon five years earlier than indicated by Coutagne and his followers. In 1548 he rented a house from Maître Pierre Pelu, stonemason, citizen of Lyon. Gaspard is called "Honorable homme Gaspard Duifobrocard faiseur de luth". He is indeed quoted in all documents as lute maker.[41]

The updating of dictionaries

The table presented here as an appendix with my selected bibliography on instrument making in Lyon and Paris shows to what degree dictionaries have or have not integrated publications produced by archivists.

1. Vannes. For Lyon, he confused the works by Coutagne and Tricou. For Paris he took into account in his second edition the publications by Lesure.
2. Lütgendorff/Drescher. For Paris, the new edition takes into account all the bibliographical references published in *Recherches sur la musique française* and by Madeleine Jurgens that I recommended to Thomas Drescher at the end of the 1980s. For Lyons, it lacks Dobbins's book published two years after this volume.
3. Langwill/Waterhouse. Dobbins's work is fully integrated, even though issued only one year before.
4. Boalch/Mould. Dobbins's work is ignored, although published three years before.

Profession and production

What follows is an assessment of the historical interest of documents gathered by these scholars.

Free trade and guilds

In the case of Paris we have to accept with François Lesure that "up to the very end of the sixteenth century, makers in the capital worked under the regime of a free trade."[42] Paris, a city of jurymen (elected representatives of a guild), had still many unorganised trades, but the royal administration, mentioning instrument makers in the list of "mediocre" (poor) trades, urged them to propose a guild. Lesure considers that the statutes accepted by the king in 1599, "are officially establishing practices already and for a long time in use."[43] Unfortunately we have no idea how this guild worked because no archives have been preserved before the end of the seventeenth century.
In the case of Lyon, we have to consider that this highly commercial city, at a crossroads in Europe, with its three or four fairs a year, was a major route for exchange between Italy, Lorraine, Flanders, Bourgogne and the Ile-de-France. Claude de Rubys, in his work on the "privilèges des habitans de Lyon" confirms that the free statute of the city allowed anybody and even foreigners, to become a citizen and to trade, without controlled access:

[40] Edouard Martin, *Gaspard Tieffenbrucker et la lutherie lyonnaise du XVI^e siècle dans les courants d'échanges européens*, Paris, 2003 (Mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire économique et sociale, Université de Paris I)
[41] Ibid., p. 6.
[42] Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris* (see footnote 25), p. 11.
[43] Ibid., p. 11.

"Car les mestiers de ladicte ville, hors les orfèvres, les barbiers, & les serruriers, ne sont jurez comme en plusieurs autres villes de ce royaume: & ce à l'occasion des privilèges des foires & de la liberté du commerce, par vertu de laquelle est loisible à gens de toute sorte & de toutes nations, de venir librement habiter en ceste ville, pour y exercer leurs trains, trafics ou mestiers, sans estre astrains à aucune maistrise, acte d'experience, ou chef d'œuvre qui ne leur servirait qaue de despence, & longueur, & leur serait plus inutile & sans fruict, quand ils s'en voudroyent retourner en leur pays."[44]

Nicolas de Nicolay, in his *Description générale de la ville de Lyon,* confirms that musical instrument production is part of the "merchandise usually manufactured in the city […]":

"Plus s'y font violes, violons, cistres, guiterres, leutz, fleuste d'allemand, fleustes à neuf troux, hautbois et cornemuses et autres sortes d'instrumentz." ["Viols, violins, citterns, guitars, lutes, flutes, recorders with nine holes, oboes and bagpipes and all sort of instruments are also produced."][45]

Circulation of models

What kind of models were offered by makers? As pointed by Edouard Martin in his study on Lyon, the "eleven makers active in Lyon come from countries having commercial and financial activities with the city, and an early culture for instrument making. Five German makers come from Füssen, and six Italian makers are from Northern Italy."[46]
Lesure gives us many details about models and their circulation: In workshop inventories published by him in 1954, the following instruments are listed: 63 lutes from Padua, 17 from Venice, 24 violins from Brescia, 15 lots of strings of Firenze, 21 of Siena.[This is not a quotation by a synthesis made by myself.]

In Claude Denis's workshop in 1587, a Parisian maker who ordered 200 Italian lutes through Simon de Luz in Lyons, we find "14 lutes from Lyons, 35 lutes from Padua, 9 lutes from Venice, and 4 guitars from Lyons". In Robert Denis's workshop, his son, there is two years later "an old lute by Gaspart [Tieffenbrucker]" and after the death of Pierre Aubry in 1596, "5 old lutes by Gaspart and 2 from Lyons."[47]

The different "fashions" are also quoted: "from Cambrai" for rebecs (1551) and violins (1587), from Flanders and Germany for lutes (1589), from Spain for guitars (1587), from Padua for lutes (1580), from Paris (for a majority of instruments), from Cremona and Brescia for violins.

Lesure underlined that it is not very easy to "evaluate" the real nature of these fashions. Firstly, because no stringed instrument have been preserved from that period and these areas (the first Parisian guitar preserved is dated 1641[48] and the first Parisian harpsichord 1648[49])

[44] Claude de Rubys, *Mémoire de l'histoire de Lyon par Guillaume Paradin* ["Privilèges, franchises et immunisez octroyées par les rois très-chestriens aux consuls, échevins, manans et habitans de la ville de Lyon et à la postérité"], Lyon 1573, p. 48.
[45] Nicolas de Nicolay, *Description générale de la ville de Lyon et des anciennes provinces du Lyonnais & du Beaujolais*, Lyon 1573, reprint Lyon 1881, ch. XX, p. 161. Quoted by Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au XVI^e^ siècle*, p. 199 (see footnote 28).
[46] Martin, *Gaspard Tieffenbrucker et la lutherie lyonnaise* (see footnote 36), p. 31.
[47] Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris* (see footnote 25), pp. 37, 39-41, 42-43.
[48] It is signed by René Voboam. See Florence Gétreau, *Recent research about the Voboam family and their guitars*, in: *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 31 (2005), pp. 23–26.

thus depriving us of morphologic regional characteristics. Secondly, musical iconography and treatises are not sufficiently precise to provide complementary elements.
But quotations in inventories sometimes do provide some more information on the technology or musical use of instruments:

"troys fleustes d'allumens dont deux coupées [à deux corps?]; quatre autres piffres l'un grand et les troys aultres petitz; troys musettes et sept petits" (1544); "troys flutes à tabourin dont deux petites et une grande" (1551); "un haultboys de moyen ton avec ung autre du clerc ton" (1553); "deux cistres, l'une grande vernye et l'aultre petite; deux tailles, deux dessus et une basse taille de cornetz" (1557); "cinq poches de cane et deux aultres marquettées carrée" (1589); "un luth en fasson de Turebe [tuorbe] à deux rans" (1606).
["three German flutes, among them two 'cut down' (in two pieces?); four other fifes, one long, three others short; three musettes and seven small" (1544); "three flutes for tabor, among them two small and one large" (1551); "a shalme of medium tone and another one of clear tone" (1553); "two citterns, one large and varnished, the other one small; two tenor, two treble, and one bass tenor cornetto" (1557); "five kits in cane wood and two others with squared marquetry" (1589); "a lute fashioned like a theorbo with two ranges" (1606).][50]

A forged lute, "in the manner of Gaspart" ["un luth contrefaict fasson de Gaspart"] (1617)[51] recall for us the lawsuit between 1557 and 1559 brought by Gaspard Duiffoproucard and his contemporary and rival Le Jeune, who used or imitated Duiffoproucard's maker's mark (these documents were already published by Tricou in 1903[52]). It means that questions of paternity, authenticity and forgery were already part of commercial life during that period.

Some more examples, published by Madeleine Jurgens, selected during the three first decades of the seventeenth century, complete this panorama of models and fashions:

"une grande espinette organisée" (1607); "une grande violle de la façon d'Angleterre; dix violles, tant basses taille, basses, haulte conte que dessus, garnies de leurs archetz ; un luth painct à ramaige; un clavesin couvert de maroquin rouge" (1622); "un clavesin, fason de Venise, garny de son tréteau; un jeu de violle à huict partye, facon de Paris; une cornemuse couverte de velour vert, garny de son souflet (type musette de cour); une pendore d'Angleterre" (1626); "neuf luth tant de Padoue, de Gaspard [Duieffoprucard] et autres de diverses grandeurs et deux grands tuorbes" (1629).
["a large organised spinet" (1607); "a large viol made in the English fashion; ten viols, tenor, bass, alt and treble with their bows, a painted lute with floral design; a harpsichord covered with red leather" (1622); "A harpsichord, fashioned as in Venice, with its stand; a set of viols with eight parts, fashioned as in Paris; a bagpipe covered with green velvet with its bellows; an English pandora" (1626); "nine lutes from Padua, by Gaspard [Duiffoproucard], and others of different sizes and two large theorbos" (1629)].[53]

Duiffoproucart's portrait; Raffi's flutes and recorders

[49] It is signed by Jean Denis. See Alain and Marie-Christine Anselm, *Petit prélude à l'étude des clavecins français du XVII^e siècle*, in: *Musique-Images-Instruments* 2 (1997), p. 228.
[50] Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris* (see footnote 25), pp. 21-23, 25-26, 40, 47.
[51] Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris* (see footnote 25), p. 50.
[52] Georges Tricou, *Duiffoproucart & Lejeune luthiers*, in: *Revue musicale de Lyon* 1 (1903/04), pp. 89–91.
[53] Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central* (see footnote 31), vol. 1, pp. 867, 875-877, 879, 882.

Earlier than Nancy, and even more early than Mirecourt, with an incomparable development, Paris (with an intensive musical life), Lyon (with a large commercial and financial influence) were the two main centres of French instrument making. But apart from documents, we have no tangible evidence of this activity.
In the absence of authentic instruments, one can understand why Gaspard Duiffoproucard's fame passed down to posterity thought the famous, magnificent and so symbolic portrait, engraved by Woieriot in 1562 (figure). We have traced, in another context,[54] its rich iconography and its singularity among the rare images of instrument makers.

Fig. Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey, *Portrait de Gaspar Duiffoprucar*, Lyon 1562

In the same way, we remain fascinated by the reputation of the second prominent maker of Renaissance Lyon, Claude Rafi. Praised by three contemporary poet friends, one can understand that, as for Duiffoproucard, the eulogy is addressed to the elite of the makers. To the sole flute quoted by the "pioneers" at the end of the nineteenth century, six more have been progressively listed by different scholars and studied recently by Philippe Allain-Dupré,[55] while three recorders were extensively documented in their historical, sociological and technological context by Frank Bär in 1995.[56]

Conclusion

Since Madeleine Jurgens and, later, François Lesure passed away, no scholar, to my knowledge, has carried on this exceptional work of documentation to the extent they did. Even recently, in an important book on *Music at the Court of François Ier*, Christelle Cazaux confessed that even though François Lesure encouraged her to undertake a systematic work in the Minutier Central des notaires in Paris as Madeleine Jurgens did, she could not have committed herself to this huge task in the context of her study.[57]
As a homage to them both, Lesure's words may appropriately conclude this paper:

"Documents […] provide much more knowledge concerning the specialisation of makers and the instrumental practice of Parisian musicians. But we hope to convince scholars that publishing such inventories in Northern Italy, in Flanders, in Germany and in Great Britain may help to approach the historical role of each regional school during this dynamic period of instrument making".[58]

[54] Florence Gétreau, *L'image du faiseur d'instruments de musique à la Renaissance [Gaspard Duiffoprucart]* (Actes des journées d'étude *Les images de la musique à la Renaissance*, Tours, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, 25-26 October 1996), in: *Imago Musicae* 16/17 (1999/2000), pp. 117–136.
[55] Philippe Allain-Dupré, *Les flutes de Rafi* (translated into English, German, Japanese), Paris 2000.
[56] Frank P. Bär, *"… faict de la main de Raffy Lyonnois": Folgerungen aus einem Sigmaringer Instrumentenfund*, in: *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 2 (1995), pp. 75–108.
[57] Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^er^*, Paris 2002, pp. 24–25.
[58] Lesure, Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris* (see footnote 25), p. 18.

Appendix 1

Instrument makers quoted in the main references of our selected bibliography 1500–1630

Paris

Author	Wind instruments	Stringed instruments	Keyboards	Unspecified instruments
1893 Pierre	0	0	0	0
1954 Lesure	4	32	10	1
1966 Samoyault			36	
1970 Boalch			40	
1951–59 Vannes		34		
1990 Drescher		79		
1993 Waterhouse	2			
1995 Mould			38	

Lyon

Author	Wind instruments	Stringed instruments	Keyboards and organs	Stringmakers and dealers	Unspecified instruments
1893 Coutagne	2	11	2		5
1899 Tricou	3	5	2		6
1970 Boalch			3		
1951–59 Vannes		22			
1978 Faurie	5	6	4		
1992 Dobbins	10	19 or 20	7 or 8	6	13
1993 Waterhouse	8				
1995 Mould			3		
2004 Martin	11	19	2		8

Appendix 2

Instrument makers in Paris and Lyon, 1500–1630 from our selected bibliography

1. Paris – Wind instruments (4)

FRELLE, Pierre (fl. 1542). Documented as a [wind] maker in Paris, sending his son Jacques to serve as apprentice to LA NOUE in Lyon. Lesure 1954, p. 21. Langwill/Waterhouse, p.123.
LA CANESSIERE, Philippe de (fl. 1542–1551). 1551 Inventory after his death. Produced "flûtes, hautbois, sacqueboutes, tabourins". Lesure 1954, p. 22.
LA NOUE, Mathurin de (fl. 1518–1544). 30 September 1542, contract to turn a "jeu de flûtes"; 1544, inventory after his death. Lesure 1954, pp. 20–21; Langwill/Waterhouse, p. 224.
THOMASSIN, Jean (1542). Apprenticed to Mathurin de La Noue, wind instrument maker in Lyon. Lesure 1954, 19.

2. Paris – Stringed instruments (80)

ALLIAMET, François (fl. 1587–1619). Samoyault, p.13; Jurgens 1967, pp. 718–719; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp.7, 748.
ALLIAMET, Noël (fl. 1626–1646). Samoyault, p. 13; Jurgens 1967, p. 719; Jurgens 1974, p. 733; Benoit, pp. 54–55, 90; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 7, 748.
AUBRY, Etienne (fl. 1603). Jurgens 1974, p. 734; Benoit, pp. 50, 90; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 17, 748.
AUBRY, Pierre I (fl. 1583– † 1596). Inventory after his death, 6 May 1596. Lesure 1954, pp. 14, 42–44; Vannes, p. 2; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 18, 748.
AUBRY, Pierre II (fl. 1598–1631). Lesure 1954, pp. 14, 42; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 18, 748.
AUBRY, Nicolas (fl. 1557). Lesure 1954, p. 32; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 18, 748.
BAUDIN, Robert (1618– † after 1634). Jurgens 1967, p. 734; Benoit, pp. 57, 90; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 31, 748.
BELAMY, Alexandre (1599/1600– † after 1643). Jurgens 1974, pp. 735–736; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 39, 749.
BELAMY, Paul (1572/1573– † 1612). Baron 1727, p. 94; Samoyault pp. 14–15, 8486; Jurgens 1967, pp. 720–725; Benoit, pp. 42, 90; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 39, 749.
BERTELOT, Etienne (fl. 1627–1636). Jurgens 1967, pp. 725–726; Jurgens 1974, p. 736; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 47, 749.
BESCHARD, Jacques (c. 1604–† after 1644). Jurgens 1967, pp. 716, 727; Benoit, pp. 51, 90; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 48, 749.
BESSE, Antoine (fl. 1575–1585). Erasme Clerc, from London, is apprenticed to him. Lesure 1954, p. 33; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 48, 749.
BONGARD (BONGARS), Simon (c. 1620– † c. 1671). Brossard, p. 38; Massip, p. 131; Lütgendorff-Drescher pp. 62, 749.
BORDIER, Guillaume (fl. 1555). Brossard, p. 39; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 63, 749.
BOREL, Nicolas (fl. 1627). Jurgens 1967, pp. 729–730; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 63, 749.
BOSSU, Pierre (le) (fl. 1611–1622). Jurgens 1967, p. 763; Jurgens 1974, p. 737; Benoit, pp. 43, 46, 91; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 65, 749.
CHOLIERE, Toussaint (c. 1588– † after 1638). Jurgens 1967, pp. 731–732; Benoit, pp. 42, 92; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 96, 749.
COLLICHON, Nicolas (1611– † after 1661). Brossard, p. 66; Jurgens 1967, p. 732; Jurgens 1974, p. 740; Massip, p. 130; Benoit, pp. 55, 93; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 103, 749; Vaast, pp. 53–57.
COMPAGNON, Guillaume (fl. 1622–1637). Jurgens 1967, p. 733; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 104, 749.
DAMY, Claude († before 1607). Jurgens 1974, p. 741; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 115, 749.
DARGILLIERES, Jehan (fl. 1563–1579). Vannes 1951, p. 74; Brossard, p. 81; Samoyault, p. 26; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 117–118, 749.
DAULPHIN, Jean (fl. 1548– † before 1571). Brossard, p. 84; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 118, 749.
DELAMOTTE, Jacques (fl. 1570– † before 1628). Vannes 1951, p. 78; Lesure 1954, p. 29; Vannes 1959, p. 13; Brossard, p. 165; Jurgens 1967, p. 762; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 120, 749.
DELISLE, Jacques (1596/97– † after 1648). Brossard, pp. 91, 99–100; Jurgens 1967, pp. 733–734, 775–776; Jurgens 1974, p. 742; Benoit, pp. 48, 52–54, 56, 93; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 122, 749.

DENIS, Claude (1544–1587). Contract for lutes made in Padua with Simon de Lus in Lyon (1580); Inventory after his death 1 October 1587. Vannes 1951, p. 80; Lesure 1954, pp. 34; 36–38; Vannes 1959, p. 13; Brossard pp. 93, 264; Samoyault, pp. 29–31; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 124, 749.
DENIS, Jean I (1549– † after 1647). Brossard, p. 92; Samoyault, p. 31; Jurgens 1967, pp. 734–736; Benoit, pp. 53, 56, 93; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 124, 749.
DENIS, Jean II (c. 1600–1672). Brossard, p. 92; Samoyault, pp. 32–33; Jurgens 1967, pp. 734–736; Benoit, pp. 56, 93; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 124, 749.
DENIS, Robert I (1520–1588/1589). Inventory after death, 11 Oct. 1589. Vannes 1951, p. 80; Lesure 1954, pp. 39–42; Brossard, p. 93; Samoyault, p. 29; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 124, 749.
DENIS, Robert II (fl. 1576–1589). Vannes 1951, p. 81; Brossard, p. 93; Samoyault, p. 29; Lütgendorff-Drescher, p. 124.
DENIS, Thomas (1585– † before 1620). Samoyault p. 32; Jurgens 1967, pp. 734–739; Benoit, pp. 47, 93; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 125, 749.
DESPONT, Antoine (1573– † after 1636). Brossard, pp. 95–96; Benoit, p. 94; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 126–127, 749.
DESPONT, Pierre (1583– † after 1621). Brossard, p. 96; Samoyault, p. 37; Benoit, pp. 43–44, 94; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 127, 749.
DESPONT, Robert (fl. 1573– after 1624). Brossard, p. 96; Samoyault, pp. 37, 87–91; Jurgens 1967, p. 740; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 27, 749.
DURRANT, Pierre (fl. 1605–1621). Jurgens 1974, p. 746; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 143, 749.
FLAMENT, Pierre (1614– † after 1645). Jurgens 1967, p. 741; Benoit, pp. 54, 94; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 173, 749.
FREMIN, Philippe (1614/1615– † after 1636). Brossard, p. 122; Jurgens 1967, p. 741; Benoit, pp. 56, 94; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 180; 749.
GARY, Claude (1593– † after 1610). Jurgens 1967, p. 742; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 192, 749.
GILLET, Charles (1587–1616). Benoit, p. 95; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 200, 749.
GILLIET, François (1601/02– † after 1635). Jurgens 1974, pp. 728–730; Benoit, pp. 51, 95; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 201, 749.
GODART, Antoine (fl. 1616–1626). Jurgens 1967, pp. 742–743; Jurgens 1974, p. 747; Benoit, pp. 51, 95; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 206, 749.
GUIGNARD, Guillaume (1617– ? 1630). Apprenticed to Jacques Delisle. Jurgens 1967, p. 743; Benoit, pp. 56, 96; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 225, 749.
HANNEPEAU, Noël (fl. 1616). Jurgens 1974, p. 748; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 235, 749.
HARDEL, Gilles (fl.1611–1656). Jurgens 1967, pp. 743–747; Jurgens 1974, pp. 748–753; Massip, p. 130; Benoit, pp. 55, 96; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 235–236, 749.
HOTMAN, Edmond I († before 1609). Jurgens 1967, p. 748; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 276, 749.
HOTMAN, Edmond II (fl. 1610–1634). Jurgens 1967, pp. 748–758; Jurgens 1974, pp. 754–755; Benoit, pp. 47–48, 51–55, 97; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 276, 749.
HOUDOT, Nicolas (fl. 1615–1639). Jurgens 1967, p. 758; Jurgens 1974, p. 767; Benoit, pp. 50, 52–53, 97, 100; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 276, 749.
HUREL, Charles (fl. 1610– † 1660). Jurgens 1967, pp. 759–760; Jurgens 1974, pp. 755–767; Massip, pp. 130, 132–133; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 282, 749.
HUREL, Jacques (fl. 1610– † 1634). Jurgens 1967, p. 759; Jurgens 1974, pp. 755–765; Benoit, pp. 49, 53, 56, 97; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 282, 749.
HUREL, Nicolas (1615). Apprenticeship. Benoit, pp. 49, 97.

KLEINHANS, Georg (fl. 1615). Ott, 1951 (lute dated 1615, exhibition catalogue *Alte Musik*, Munich). Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 315, 749.
LA CANESSIERE, Philippe de (fl. 1542– † 1551). Lesure 1954, pp. 22–23; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 349, 749.
LA ROCHE, Antoine de (fl. 1607). Jurgens 1967, p. 762; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 355, 749.
LE BLANC, Pierre († 1606). Inventory after death, 29 December 1606. Lesure 1954, pp. 47–49; Jurgens 1967, p. 763; Benoit, pp. 43, 98; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 358, 749.
LE BRETON, Jacques (c. 1589– † after 1656). 17 April 1603 apprenticed to Médéric Lorillart. Lesure 1954, pp. 46–47; Samoyault p. 54; Jurgens 1967, pp. 763–764; Jurgens 1974, p. 738; Benoit, pp. 41, 54, 98; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 358, 749.
LEDUC, Pierre (fl. 1602–1647). Albert Jacquot, *La lutherie Lorraine*, 1912; Vannes 1951, p. 205; Brosssard, p. 54; Jurgens 1967, p. 764; Jurgens 1974, pp. 771–772; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 359, 749.
LE JEUNE, Benoît (fl. 1551–1559). Coutagne, pp. 24, 47; Vannes 1951, p. 207; Brossard, p. 185; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 363, 749.
LE VACHER, Thomas I (c. 1550–1624). Brossard, p. 19; Jurgens 1967, pp. 771–775; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 366, 749.
LE VACHER, Thomas II (before 1589– † after 1650). Brossard pp. 19, 196; Jurgens 1967, pp. 771–775; Jurgens 1974, p. 774; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 367, 749.
LORILLART, Médéric (c. 1540–1622). Lesure 1954, pp. 46–47; Samoyault pp. 56–57; Jurgens 1967, pp. 776–777; Jurgens 1974, p. 775; Benoit, pp. 41, 48, 99; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 374, 749.
LORILLART, Pierre (c. 1560–1622). Vannes 1959, p. 34; Samoyault, p. 57; Jurgens 1967, pp. 776–777; Jurgens 1974, p. 775; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 374–749.
MARCIRE, Alexandre (c. 1560–1612). Jurgens 1967, p. 777; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 388, 749.
MARCIRE, Jean (fl. 1571– † 1632). Lesure 1954, p. 49; Jurgens 1967, pp. 777–780; Jurgens 1974, p. 776; Benoit, pp. 42, 46, 99; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 388–389, 749.
MARCIRE, Pierre (fl. 1589– † after 1634). Jurgens 1967, pp. 765, 767, 778; Jurgens 1974, pp. 775–777; Benoit, pp. 50, 99; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 389, 749.
MIAUX, Nicolas de (1597– ?). Apprenticed to Edmond Hotman in March 1611. Jurgens 1967, p. 780; Benoit, pp. 48, 99; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 408, 749.
MORIEU, Jean (fl.1602–1616). Jurgens 1967, pp. 780–781; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 420, 749.
MOUTON, Pierre (fl.1623– † before 3 May 1646). Vannes 1959, p. 39; Brossard, p. 223; Jurgens 1967, pp. 781–782; Jurgens 1974, pp. 777–778; Benoit, pp. 51, 100; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 421, 749.
MUID'ORGE, Germain (fl.1611). Jurgens 1974, p. 778; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 425, 749.
OUDET (HOUDET), Christophe (fl.1588– † 1627–1632). Brossard, p. 228; Jurgens 1967, p. 782; Jurgens 1974, pp. 778–779; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 453, 749.
PISCOT, Renault (Renauld, René) (c. 1584– † after 1634). Brossard, p. 140; Jurgens 1967, pp. 782–783; Jurgens 1974, p. 779; Benoit, pp. 56, 100; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 476, 749.
PORTELOT, Denis (1583/1584– after 1604). Jurgens 1967, p. 783; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 484, 749.
PREPONNIER, Fiacre (c. 1596– after 1660). Jurgens 1967, 783–784, Jurgens 1974, p. 780; Massip, pp. 131–132; Benoit, pp. 47, 100; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 487, 749.
PREVOST, Pierre (fl. 1607–1638). Brossard, p. 246; Jurgens 1967, p. 784; Benoit, pp. 45, 101; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 488, 749.
PRIN, Pierre (fl. before 1600). Jurgens 1974, p. 780; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 489, 749.
REBANS, Barthélemy (fl. 1607–1609). Jurgens 1967, p. 784; Benoit, pp. 45, 101; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 501, 749.

REBANS, Gervais (fl. 1575– † 1609–1611). Lesure 1954, pp. 31, 33; Brossard p. 253; Jurgens 1967, pp. 784–785; Jurgens 1974, p. 780; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 501, 749.
ROBINEAU, Claude (fl. 1577). Brossard, p. 260; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 513, 749.
SELLIER, Jean (c. 1597– after 1676). Samoyault, pp. 66–67; Jurgens 1974, pp. 780–781; Massip, pp. 131–132; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 558, 749.
TIEFFENBRUCKER, Kaspar II (c. 1545– fl. 1582). Coutagne, pp. 30–31; Vannes 1959, p. 57; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 620, 749; Martin.
VENIZ, Robert (fl. 1581). Brossard, p. 249; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 648, 749.
VERDIER, Jehan (fl. 1574–1603). Brossard, p. 281; Jurgens 1967, p. 785; Lütgendorff-Drescher, pp. 649, 749.

3. Paris – Keyboards (36)

ALLIAMET, François (end of 16th c). "Faiseur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 13 (private communication: Lesure).
ALLIAMET, Noël (beginning of 17th c.). "Faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 13 (private communication: Lesure).
BELAMY, Paul I (1559– after 1587). "Faiseur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 13 (after Lesure 1954, pp. 35–36).
BELAMY, Paul II (c. 1573– August 1612). Bowed instrument maker and "faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, pp. 14-15.
BRISSART, Jehan (c. 1550– after 1607). "Espinetier". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 23.
DARGILLIERES, Antoine (? –1572). "Organiste et faiseur d'orgues du Roi, faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 26 (after Lesure 1954, pp. 79–81).
DARGILLIERES, Jean (second half of 16th c.). "Faiseur d'orgues et maître épinetier". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 26 (private communication: Lesure).
DAULPHIN, Jean 1er (mid 16th c. ?). "Organiste faiseur d'épinettes et autres instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 26 (private communication: Lesure).
DAULPHIN, Jean II (second half of 16th c.). "Faiseur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 26 (private communication: Lesure).
DAULPHIN, Marin (second half of 16th c.). "Faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 26 (private communication: Lesure).
DENIS, Claude (1544–1587). "Epinetier, faiseur et vendeur d'instuments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 29 (after Lesure 1954, pp. 34, 36).
DENIS, Jean I (1549– † after 1634). "Epinetier" and "faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 31.
DENIS, Robert I (1520–1588/1589). "Facteur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 29.
DENIS, Robert II (after 1550–1589). "Epinetier, faiseur" and "vendeur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 31 (after Lesure 1954, p. 39).
DENIS, Thomas (1585– before 1634). "Faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 32.
DESPONT, Robert (c. 1550–1624). Organist and organ maker, "épinetier" and bowed instruments. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 37 (after Lesure 1954, pp. 36, 42).
DUGUÉ, Pierre (second half of 16th c.). "Organiste" and "faiseur d'instruments". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 38.
HÉART, Jean (c. 1550– after 1617). "Organiste" and "Faiseur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 46.
JACQUET, Claude (28 January 1605– January 1661). Samoyault-Verlet, pp. 51–52.
JACQUET, Marcel (c. 1592– ?). Samoyault-Verlet, p. 52.
LEBRETON, Jacques (c. 1589– c. 1660). "Faiseur d'épinettes du Roi". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 54 (after Lesure 1954, p. 46).
LEMAIRE, Claude (c. 1540– ?). "Faiseur d'épinettes". Samoyault-Verlet, p. 55.

LEMAIRE, Jean (end of 16th c). “Faiseur d’épinettes”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 55.
LEMAIRE, Marin (c. 1520–1587). “Organiste” and “Faiseur d’épinettes”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 55.
LESCUIER, Gervais (? – 6 December 1594). “M[aitr]e faiseur d’orgues et d’espinettes”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 56 (private communication: Lesure).
LEVIEL, Adrian (end of 16th c.). “Organiste” and “Faiseur d’épinettes”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 56. Lesure 1954, p. 15.
LORILLART, Médéric (c. 1540– before 1622). Organist and “faiseur d’instruments de musique du Roi”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 56 (after Lesure 1954, p. 46).
LORILLART, Pierre (c. 1560– October 1622). “Organiste” and “faiseur d’épinettes”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 56.
MESNAGER, Yves (? – May 1556). Organist, organ, spinet, regal, manicordion maker. Lesure 1954, p. 24; Samoyault-Verlet, p. 59 (after Lesure 1954, p. 24).
PATRY, Pierre (mid 16th c.). “Epinetier”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 60 (private communication: Lesure).
POTIN, Antoine (end of 16th c. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 61. Praised by Marin Mersenne (V, III, p. 159).
POTIN, Jean end of 16th c.). “Faiseur d’épinettes du Roy”. Samoyalt-Verlet, p. 61 (after Lesure 1954, p. 14).
POTIN, Pierre (second half of the 16th c.). “Maître épinetier” and “faiseur d’instruments”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 61 (after Lesure).
SECRET, Jean de (end of XVIth c.). “Organiste, maître épinetier” and “faiseur d’instruments”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 66 (private communication: Lesure).
SELLIER, Jean. (c. 1597– after 1676). “Faiseur d’instruments”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 66.
SELLIER, Louis (c. 1625– ?). “Faiseur d’instruments”. Samoyault-Verlet, p. 67.

4. Lyon – Wind instruments (10 or 11)[59]

BALLIF, Claude (fl. 1557). “Trompetier, faiseur de trompettes”. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 304; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 17, 467; Martin, p. 51.
CLAUDE, [Claude Rafi?] (c. 1528–1529). “Fleustier”, AC Lyon[60] CC[61] 38. 1529, noted as deceased, CC 137. Rolle, pp. 57, 140; Dobbins, p. 304; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 65, 467; Bär, pp. 75–108; Allain-Dupré, pp. 7–27; Martin, p. 50.
FLACHIERES, Pierre (1556–1558). “Faiseur de cornets”. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 305; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 118, 467; Martin, p. 51.
GENTIL, Luc (1545–1552). “Faiseur d’instruments, joueur de cornet”, 1551 “marchand & faiseur d’instruments”; 1545 lived in rue du Garillan; 1551, rue St Sébastien, AC Lyon CC 44, 40, CC bis 326, AC Lyon EE.[62] Rolle, p. 237; Coutagne, p. 50; Baudrier, p. 65 (deceased in 1561); Faurie, p. 193; Dobbins, p. 305; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 132, 467; Martin, p. 51.
LA NOUE, ou LA NOG, ou LAMAULT, Mathurin ou Mathelin ou Martin de (1523–1555: 1523–38). “faiseur d’instruments, fleustier, flustier, flosteur, mesnestrier, faiseur de flutes”; March 1542, “Maistre faiseur d’instruments”, took on an apprentice in Paris; he appears to have already died by September 1542 when a contract with the Parisian wood-turner DUCHESNE to supply a set of German flutes to a Parisian dealer was signed; his estate inventory of 1544 listed sets of flutes, “grosses fleustes”, recorders, fifes, “chalumeaux servans a musette”, bagpipes, shawms. Address: Quartier St Paul. Deceased in 1555

[59] All references for Lyon are based on Frank Dobbins’s publication, but are amended and supplemented with earlier and later references, especially in the field of organology.
[60] AC = Archives communales.
[61] CC = Finances et contributions.
[62] EE = Affaires militaires.

(Coutagne). Contradiction between documents from Archives nationales and Archives de Lyon. Coutagne, pp. 50 (462); Lesure 1954, p. 11; Faurie, pp. 193–194; Dobbins, p. 304; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 224, 467; Martin, p. 50.
LA VANELLE, Simon de (1529–1545). 1529 "Graveur"; 1530 "Faiseur de trompettes", 1545 "Trompetier". AC Lyon FF[63], fol. 2, CC 796, CC 41, CC 281; Faurie, p. 194; Dobbins, p. 305; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 227, 467; Martin, p. 51.
PIERRE. 1528–1529 "Fleustier", residing with CLAUDE, AC Lyon CC 38. Rolle, p. 213; Dobbins, p. 304; Martin, p. 50.
PILLON, Jacques (fl. 1503). 1499 Documented as "joueur de fluste"; 1503 "Faiseur de flustes" (AC Lyon CC 107, 229, 237). Rolle, p. 213; Faurie, p. 195; Dobbins, p. 304; Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 303, 467; Martin, p. 50.
RAFI (early 16th – early 17th c.), Michaud (fl. 1512–1524); Pierre (fl. 1523); Claude (fl. 1515–1529). Quoted by Marot 1531, Antoine de Baïf, La Salla 1537; Rolle p. 57; G. Tricou, pp. 42–45 (AC Lyon CC 271, CC 250, 711, CC 38, 40, CC 137); Faurie, pp. 195–198; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 304 (quotes only a flute in Brussels and one quoted by Byrne); Langwill/Waterhouse, pp. 317, 467; Bär; Allain-Dupré; Martin, pp. 50–51.

5. Lyon – Stringed instruments (lutes, guitars, viols and violins; makers and dealers; 19 or 20)

AUGUSTINI, Simon du LU[T]Z (1567–1587). "Au lutz, venetien, Marchand de luths et instruments de musique". AC Lyon CC 147, 150. Coutagne, p. 49; Lesure 1954, p. 34; J. Tricou, I, p. 153; Dobbins, p. 302; Martin, p. 47.
BOULANGER, Jean ("rebecquet" taxed in 1545, AC Lyon CC 40). Faurie, p. 183. May be only a musician.
BURGNESY, Julio-Cursio (1571–1597). 20 July 1583, "Marchand d'instruments de musique.. cede vingt […] lutz mis en banque publique à son fils, Antoine, marchand à Lyon"; 1587, "[…] vend une caisse de cordes de lutz". Tricou 1903, p. 91; Dobbins, p. 302; Martin, p. 47.
[DUIFFOPRUCART, Gaspard 1553–1571]. See: Tieffenbrucker. Dobbins, p. 302.
[DUIFFOPRUCART, Jehan 1585]. See: Tieffenbrucker. Dobbins, p. 302.
FLAC, or FLACH, Philippe ("protestant"; census in 1567 when he is about 35 years old and is married). "facteur de luths allemand" taxed between 1571 and 1574 (AC Lyon CC 146–147, 149–150, 153–154, 275). Also quoted twice as "faiseur de guiternes". Coutagne, pp. 48–49, 54 (460); Lütgendorff, p. 141; Rolle, pp. 149, 152, 157–158, 234; Faurie, p. 188; Dobbins, p. 302; Martin, p. 47.
GRAIFF (GREIFF), Mango. 1584, 12 October "M[aître]e feuseur de luths, allemand". Graiff and Duyffoproghard claimed that a public sale of their lutes organised by Burgnesy failed because his prices were too high. Tricou 1903, p. 90; Dobbins, p. 302. Bletschacher, p. 195 quotes 13 "facteurs" with this name (Greiff) in Füssen. Magnus I (Mang) was a lute maker in Füssen in 1550; and Magnus II (1606–1620) was active in Füssen; Martin, p. 47.
HELMER (HELLMER), Jean, Johann ou Jehan (fl. 1568–1591). "Maistre Jean Helmer faiseur de lutz allemand; faiseur de guiternes". Coutagne, pp. 48 (460); Bletschacher, p. 196 (born *c.* 1525 in Schwangau. 1547–1552 in Venice; *c.* 1560 in Paris, 1568–1572 in Lyon); Lütgendorff, p. 210; Faurie, p. 188; Dobbins, p. 302. Listed together with Flac; Martin, p. 47.
HOUMOLLET, Jean (fl. 1589). Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 302; Martin, pp. 47–48.
HUTMEYER (fl.1596), Notaire Foillet. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, pp. 302–303; Martin, p. 48.
JULI (JOLY, JOLLY), Nicolas (1572–1597). 1572 "Faiseur de luths" AC Lyon CC 275–277; Rolle, p. 234; 1575, "Marchand d'instruments", CC 277; Rolle, p. 236; "vendeur et joueur d'instruments"; Coutagne, pp. 51, 61 (463); Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 48.

[63] FF = Justice et police.

LE CAMUS, Pierre (fl. 1573–1575). 1573 "Faiseur de luths, étranger, rue Pomme Rouge", since 1575 known as "marchands des nations estrangières, demeurans et habitans ordinairement dans la ville" (AC Lyon CC 276–277). Rolle, pp. 235, 236; Coutagne, pp. 49, (461); Lütgendorff, p. 286; Faurie, p. 189; Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 48.
LE JEUNE, Benoit (fl. 1557). "Faiseur de luths". Conflict with Duiffoproucart. Coutagne, pp. 24, 47; Tricou 1903, pp. 89–91; Lütgendorff, p. 291 (lawsuit is not quoted); Lesure 1950b, pp. 187–195; Faurie, pp. 189-190; Lütgendorff/Drescher, as Parisian maker *fl.* 1551–1559; Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 48.
RENEDY, Georges (1535). "Faiseur de luths" (AC Lyon EE 21). Pogue, p. 25; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 48.
[SAINT-LANNE or SAINT-LASNE, Jean, known as "petit Jehan" (1515–1545)]. "rebecquet" (CC 139, 25, 259, 711). Tricou 1903, p. 149. More a player than a maker.
SIMON (SYMON) *fl.*1568–1573 (AC Lyon CC 149, 1197). "Joueur et faiseur de luths" (CC 147, 150, 153-155, 275, 277). Coutagne, p. 49; Martin, p. 48.
TIEFFENBRUCKER, Jehann I (fl. 1583–1585). AC Lyon CC 150, EE 84, BB[64]1146, 3736. Coutagne, pp. 31, 42–43; Bletschacher, p. 210; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 302; Lütgendorff/Drescher, p. 619; Martin, p. 49.
TIEFFENBRUCKER (DUIFFOPROUCART), Kaspar (or Gaspard) I (Füssen – Lyon). Documented between 1553–1558 by Coutagne (AC Lyon CC bis 141, 158, 167, 177, 180). Coutagne, pp. 8–43; Tricou 1903, pp. 89–90; Lesure 1954, pp. 17, 41, 43; Layer, pp. 184–203; Bletschacher, pp. 209–210; Faurie, pp. 185–188; Lütgendorff/Drescher, pp. 619–620; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 302; Martin, pp.6 (Duiffoproucart documents already in Lyon in 1548), 48.
TIEFFENBRUCKER, Kaspar (or Gaspard) II (c. 1545–1582). Coutagne, pp. 30–31; Vannes 1959, p. 57; Lütgendorff/Drescher, p. 620.
TURQUET, Jacques (1594). "M[aistr]e faiseur de viollons". Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 49.
VEIGLE, Jean (1576). "Faiseur de lutz, natif d'Epostolein [en] Allemagne". Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 50.
VINATTE, André (1568–1572). "poictevin, industrieux ouvrier et faiseur de violes", victim of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in Lyon (AC Lyon EE 25). Jean Richaud, *Discours sur les massacres […] an 1572*, p. 226; Coutagne, pp. 47–48 (459–460); Dobbins, p. 303; Martin, p. 50.

6. Lyon – String manufacturers and dealers (6)

BELLET (BILLET), Philibert (1580–1584). Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303.
[BURGNESY, Julio-Cursio (1571–1597)]. See Stringed Instrument Makers.
DESCLEFS (DES CLEFS), Gaspart (1580–1586). After inheriting Bellet's business, he died in 1586; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303.
MASSER, Pierre (fl. 1599). Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303.
ORLANDIN (ORLANDINI; (fl. 1569). "Marchand de cordes de luth" (imported from Mantua and Milan). AC Lyon CC 169; Rolle, p. 170; Dobbins, p. 303.
ROLE, Jean (1580–1588). Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 303.
TERRASSON (1569). "Marchand de cordes de luth". AC Lyon CC 169; Rolle, p. 170; Dobbins, p. 303.

7. Lyon – Keyboards (2 or 3) – Organs (5)

[64] BB = Administration communale

BONTEMPS, Nicolas. "Faiseur de manichordions" 1516–1517 (Nommées, AC Lyon, CC 31). Coutagne, p. 47; 1523 quoted as organist by Tricou 1899, pp. 52, 72; Faurie, p. 181; Dobbins, p. 304; Martin, p. 51.
FRANCOIS ou FRANCISQUE DES OLIVIERS, ou DES OLIVIERS, Francisques (born in Lyon, 3 March 1570). "Compositeur d'orgues". Dufourcq, pp. 140–141; Baffert, pp. 18–19; Inv. sommaire AC Lyon, CC 157; Faurie, pp. 181-182; Dobbins, p. 305.
KORN (CORNE), Gaspard (1523–1535). "Faiseur d'orgues, allemand". AC Lyon EE 21. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 305.
LEFEBVRE, Jehan and Antoine (1593). "Père et fils maîtres organistes", built a new organ for the Eglise des Franciscains destroyed in 1562. BB 129, fol. 155. Tricou, p. 261; Dobbins, p. 305.
LŒUVRE, Honoré de (1523–1545). "Faiseur d'espinettes". AC Lyon CC 39, 41, 44, 136, 138–143, 144, 260, 281; Rolle pp. 60, 137, 147, 237; Coutagne, pp. 47 (459); Faurie, p. 182; Dobbins, p. 304; Martin, p. 52.
[LŒUVRE, Pierre de] (? –1551). "Hoirs feu Pierre" (error for "Honoré"?), "Faiseur d'espinettes". AC Lyon CC 44; Rolle, p. 66; Dobbins, p. 304.
MOLLARD. Organ maker. J.-B. Martin, "Histoire des églises et chapelles de Lyon", p. 26; Faurie, 183.
SEURAT, Nicolas (1576). Restored the organ of the Hospital général. Archives hospitalières, E 608; Dobbins p. 305.

8. Lyon – Unspecified manufacturers and dealers (11)
("faiseurs d'instruments de musique")

[AUGUSTINI, Simon de LUS] (1567–1587). See Stringed instruments.
BAONO (BANO) (1572). ADR[65], notaire Grange, 19 Nov. 1555. J. Tricou, I, p. 54; Dobbins, p. 305; Martin, p. 47.
BONTEMPS, Nicolas (March1507). Coutagne, pp. 47 (459); Dobbins, p. 305; Martin p. 51. See Keyboard instruments.
[BURGNESY, Julio-Cursio] (1571–1597). See Stringed instruments.
DARDON, François (1582–1598). ADR, notaire Copprer. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 305; Martin, p. 52.
FAURE (FAVRE), Toussaint (1555). ADR B[66] FF, Donations 9, fol. 2, Coutagne, pp. 50 (461); Dobbins, p. 305; Martin, p. 52.
FURET, François. "Faiseur d'instruments", 1583 marriage to Jacqueline Lasable (ADR E[67] 188). Coutagne, pp. 51 (463); Dobbins, p. 305; Martin, p. 52.
GENTIL, Luc (1551). "Marchand & faiseur d'instruments", rue St. Sebastien, CC 44. Coutagne, pp. 50, 52 (461); Dobbins, p. 306.
GONELLE, Jehan (1583, 27 March). ADR, notaire Foillet, p. 31; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 306; Martin, p. 52.
JULI, Nicolas. "Marchand d'instruments de musique", 1575, "marchands de nations estrangères", AC CC 277. Coutagne, pp. 51, 61.
[LA NOUE, Mathurin (Mathelin)]. 1523. March 1542 apprenticeship contract for a young Parisian. 1544, Inventory after his death. Coutagne, pp. 50 (462); Lesure 1954, pp. 19–22; Dobbins, pp. 304, 306. See Wind instruments
LE VACHER, Claude (1572). Son of Rogier Le Vachet. Brossard, p. 195; Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 306; Martin, p. 52.
LE VACHER, Rogier (1572). Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 306; Martin, p. 52.

[65] ADR = Archives départementales du Rhône.
[66] B = Cours et juridictions.
[67] E = Seigneuries, commission, familles.

VINGLE, Jehan (1583). ADR, notaire Foillet. Tricou/Lesure: Dobbins, p. 306; Martin, p. 52.

Appendix 3

1. Selected bibliography

Boalch: Donald Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord. 1440–1840*, Oxford [1]1956; [2]1974; rev. ed. Charles Mould, Oxford [3]1995.

Dufourcq 1935: Norbert Dufourcq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'orgue en France*, Paris 1935.

Dufourcq 1971: Norbert Dufourcq, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'orgue français*, Paris 1971.

Langwill: Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers*, [1]1960; William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index*, London 1993.

Lütgendorff-Drescher: Willibald Leo Freiherr von Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main 1922; rev. ed. by Thomas Drescher, Tutzing 1990.

Pierre: Constant Pierre, *Les facteurs d'instruments de musique – Les luthiers et la facture instrumentale*, Paris 1893, reprint Genève 1976.

Vannes: René Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*, Bruxelles [1]1951; [2]1959, reprint Bruxelles 1975.

2. Paris

Benoit: Marcelle Benoit, *L'apprentissage chez les facteurs d'instruments de musique à Paris. 1600–1661. 1715–1774*, in: *Recherches sur la Musique française classique* 24 (1986), pp. 5–106.

Brossard: Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris. 1532–1792. Actes d'Etat civil d'après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1965.

Ecorcheville: Jules Ecorcheville, *Actes d'Etat civil de musiciens insinués au Châtelet de Paris (1539–1650)*, Paris 1907.

Jurgens: Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600–1650)*, vol. 1, Paris 1967; vol. 2, Paris 1974.

Lesure 1948: François Lesure, *Introduction à l'étude de la musique instrumentale en France au XVI^e^ siècle. Les facteurs d'instruments de musique et la facture instrumentale à Paris de 1544 à 1610*, Paris 1948.

Lesure 1950a: François Lesure, *Les joueurs d'instruments et la musique instrumentale à Paris au XVI^e^ siècle*, Paris 1950 (Thesis).

Lesure 1950b: François Lesure, *La guitare en France au XVI^e siècle*, in: *Musica disciplina* 4 (1950), pp. 187–195, reprint in: *Musique et musiciens français du XVI^e siècle*, Genève 1976, pp. 161–171.

Lesure 1954: François Lesure, *La facture instrumentale à Paris au XVI^e siècle*, first published in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 7 (1954), pp. 11–34; *Notes sur la facture du violon au XVI^e siècle*, first published in: *Revue musicale* 38 (1956), reprint in: *Musique et musiciens français du XVI^e siècle*, Genève 1976, pp. 63–109.

Samoyault-Verlet: Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, *Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens: notices biographiques et documents (1550–1793)*, Paris 1966.

Sceaury: Paul Loubet de Sceaury, *Musiciens et facteurs d'instruments de musique sous l'ancien régime*, Paris 1949.

Vaast: Corinne Vaast, *Michel Collichon: repères biographiques*, in: *Musique-Images-Instruments* 2 (1996), pp. 53–57.

3. Lyon

Allain-Dupré: Philippe Allain-Dupré, *Les flutes de Rafi* (translated into English, German, Japanese), Paris 2000.

Audin: Marius Audin and Eugène Vial, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du lyonnais*, Paris 1918–1919, 2 vol., reprint Lyon 1992.

Baffert: Jean-Marc Baffert, *Les orgues de Lyon du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, in: *Cahiers et mémoires de l'orgue*, special issue of *L'orgue* 11 (1974), pp. 1–85.

Bär 1995: Frank P. Bär, *"... faict de la main de Raffy Lyonnois": Folgerungen aus einem Sigmaringer Instrumentenfund*, in: *Musik in Baden-Wurttenberg* 2 (1995), pp. 75–108.

Bär 1997: Frank P. Bär, *Le Museo Settala à Milan au XVII^e siècle: une collection d'instruments de musique à l'esprit français*, in: *Musique-Images-Instruments* 2 (1997), pp. 58–87.

Bletschacher: Richard Bletschacher, *Die Lauten- und Geigenmacher des Füssener Landes*, Hofheim am Taunus 1978.

Boucher: Jacqueline Boucher, *Lyon et la vie lyonnaise au XVI^e siècle, Textes et documents*, Lyon 1992.

Byrne: Maurice Byrne, *Instruments by Claude Rafi in the collection of Manfredo Settala*, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965), pp. 126–127.

Coutagne: Henri Coutagne, *Gaspard Duiffoproucart et les luthiers lyonnais du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1893, reprint of an article published in: *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-lettres et Arts de Lyon* 3 (1893), pp. 418–481, reprint in: *La vie musicale dans les provinces françaises*, vol. 3, Genève 1974.

Dobbins: Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons*, Oxford 1992.

Faurie: Bernard Faurie, *La musique à Lyon au XVI^e siècle. 1528–1574*, 3 vol., Paris 1978 (Thèse de 3ème cycle, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne).

Gétreau: Florence Gétreau, *L'image du faiseur d'instruments de musique à la Renaissance [Gaspard Duiffoprucard]* (Actes des journées d'étude, *Les images de la musique à la Renaissance*, Tours, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, 25–26 October 1996), in: *Imago Musicae* 16/17 (1999/2000), pp. 117–136.

Guéraud: Jean Guéraud, *La Chronique Lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud, 1536–1562*, published with an introduction and a table by Jean Tricou, Lyon 1929.

Guillo: Laurent Guillo, *Les éditions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise*, Paris 1991.

Jacquot: Albert Jacquot, *Pierre Woeiriot: les Wiriot-Woeiriot, orfèvres-graveurs lorrains*, Paris 1892.

Jambe de Fer: Philibert Jambe de Fer, *Epitome musical des tons, sons et accordz, es voix humaines, fleustes d'Alleman, fleustes à neuf trous, violes et violons*, in: François Lesure, *L'épitome musical de Philibert Jambe de Fer (1556)*, in: *Annales musicologiques, Moyen-Âge et Renaissance* 6 (1958, 1963).

Latreille: André Latreille (ed.), *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais*, Toulouse 1975.

Layer: Adolf Layer, *Kaspar Tieffenbrugger*, in: *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, vol. 4, Munich 1955, pp. 184–203.

Lesure: François Lesure (see section 2 on Paris)

Martin 2003: Edouard Martin, *Gaspard Tieffenbrucker et la lutherie lyonnaise du XVI^e siècle dans les courants d'échanges européens*, Paris 2003 (Mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire économique et sociale, Université de Paris I).

Martin 1909: J.-B. Martin, *Histoire des églises et chapelles de Lyon*, Lyon 1909.

Nicolay: Nicolas de Nicolay, *Description générale de la Ville de Lyon et des anciennes provinces du Lyonnais et du Beaujolais*, Lyon 1573, reprint with a note by Victor Advielle, Lyon 1881.

Paquette: Daniel Paquette, *La musique à Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, in: *Revue musicale de Suisse romande* 35/1 (1982), pp. 2–9, reprint in: Daniel Paquette (ed.), *Aspects de la musique baroque et classique à Lyon et en France*, Lyon 1989, pp. 9–17.

Pogue: Samuel Franklin Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons music printer of the sixteenth century*, Genève 1969.

Puglisi: Filadelfio Puglisi, *A Survey of Renaissance Flutes*, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988), pp. 67–82.

Pussiau: Vincent Pussiau, *Lyon, foyer historique de lutherie et de facture instrumentale*, in: Jérôme Dorival (ed.), *Les concerts à Lyon au 17ème siècle*, Lyon 2004, pp. 50–92.

Rolle 1865: Fortuné Rolle, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790*, I, Paris 1865; II, Paris 1875.

Rolle 1887: Fortuné Rolle, Marie-Claude Guigue, Georges Guigue and Joseph Vaesen, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790*, III, Paris 1887.

Rubys 1573: Claude de Rubys, *Mémoire de l'histoire de Lyon par Guillaume Paradin* ["Privilèges, franchises et immunisez octroyées par les rois très-chestriens aux consuls, échevins, manans et habitans de la ville de Lyon et à la postérité"], Lyon 1573.

Rubys 1604: Claude de Rubys, *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon*, Lyon 1604.

Steyer 1860: André Steyer, *Armorial général du Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais*, Lyon 1860, facsimile Paris 1974.

Steyer 1874: André Steyer et Fortuné Rolle, *Inventaire sommaire des archives hospitalières antérieures à 1790*, Ville de Lyon, La Charité ou Aumône générale, Lyon 1874-1880, 5 vol. Alphabetical Index (vol. 5).

Tricou 1899: Georges Tricou, *Documents sur la musique à Lyon au XVI^e^ siècle d'après des notes de M. le Dr. Coutagne* ["Les deux Layolle et les organistes lyonnais du XVI^e^ siècle"; Claude Rafi, "fleustier "], Lyon 1899, reprint in: *La vie musicale dans les provinces françaises*, vol. 3, Genève 1974.

Tricou 1903a: Georges Tricou, *Duiffoproucart & Lejeune luthiers* and *Claude Rafi, fleustier lyonnais*, in: *Revue musicale de Lyon* 1 (1903/04), pp. 89–91; pp. 13–14, 25–27.

Tricou 1903b: Georges Tricou, *Les musiciens lyonnais et le Roy des Violons*, in: *Revue musicale de Lyon* 1 (1903/04), pp. 148–150.

Tricou/Lesure: Georges Tricou and François Lesure, manuscript notes in the possession of F. Lesure, communicated to Frank Dobbins for his monograph.

Tricou 1955: Jean Tricou, *Armorial et répertoire lyonnais*, 7 vol., Paris 1955–1976.

Tricou 1963: Jean Tricou and Robert Louis, *Armorial des Communes du département du Rhône*, Troyes ^{2}1963.