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New discoveries about some professional and amateur lutenists in the Dutch Republic (c.1650-c.1700)

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New Discoveries about Some Professional and Amateur Lutenists in the Dutch Republic (c.1650–c.1700)

JAN W. J. BURGERS AND FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY

ABSTRACT: Recently discovered archival documents shed light on the lives of three lutenists active in the Dutch Republic in the second half of the seventeenth century. Jan Burgers expands on his earlier biographical discoveries about the French-born lutenist and composer Johannes Fresneau (1616–1669), while François-Pierre Goy conjures up two unexpected and previously unknown players connected with the Goëss tablature collection: Pierre, baron de Goessen (1619?–1705), first owner and main scribe of the five earlier manuscripts (formerly known as “Hand Q” and identified as Johan van Reede), and Philippe François Le Vray (1638–1704), main hand of the Goëss theorbo book, and a lesser contributor to other sources outside the Goëss collection.

KEYWORDS: Lute, Theorbo, Viol, Leiden, Utrecht, The Hague, Goëss tablature manuscripts, Johannes Fresneau; Pierre baron de Goessen; Philippe François Le Vray

The three main characters in this study share several common features: all three lived for decades and died in the United Provinces, but none of them was born there; all three were Roman Catholics in a Calvinist-ruled country; all three contributed to some or all of the five earliest volumes of the Goëss tablature manuscripts for viol, lute, theorbo, and guitar held at Ebenthal castle—one as a composer, the others as scribes, and for one of them, as first owner of the collection as well. In the first part of this article *a quatre mains*, Jan Burgers offers a complement to his previous publications about the French-born lutenist active in Leiden, Johannes Fresneau, while François-Pierre Goy introduces in the next two parts some results of the research undertaken for his *Goëss-Werkverzeichnis*, a detailed catalog of the works contained in the complete collection of tablatures.¹ Here he identifies two of the copyists of the Goëss manuscripts born in the Southern Netherlands, Pierre, baron de Goëssen—the scribe nicknamed “Q,” previously thought to be the Dutch diplomat Johan van Reede—and Philippe François Le Vray. To prevent the text becoming too cluttered by references to

¹ The volume, in German, will include an extensive biographical study about the men and women who took part in the compilation of those manuscripts or owned them, also focusing on the distinction and identification (when possible) of scribal hands. Begun in 2018, work on this project was brought to a temporary standstill late in 2020 by the much-lamented death of the publisher of Tree Edition, Albert Reyerman, who would have published the volume as a complement to the facsimile editions of the Ebenthal tablatures issued by him. At present the catalog and indices are complete, while some of the introductory study (including the section corresponding to the contents of this article) remains to be written.

source materials, the names of the five most frequently mentioned repositories are indicated by three-letter sigla: AVB (Archives de la ville de Bruxelles), HGA (Haags gemeentearchief), HUA (Het Utrechts archief), KLA (Kärntner Landesarchiv), and RAL (Regionaal archief Leiden), with their added shelfmarks, all of which are explained in the list of archives at the end of the article.

More about Johannes Fresneau

During the seventeenth century several French lutenists were active in the Republic, apparently because they saw opportunities here to earn a living with their art; well-known examples from the first half of the century are Nicolas Vallet and Victor de Montbuisson (see Burgers 2016b, 54). Not long ago it came to light that the Frenchman Johannes Fresneau (or Dufresneau) had also immigrated to Holland, where he can be identified from 1644 as living in Leiden, where he died in 1670. The new discovery was presented at a conference in 2013, the proceedings of which were published in 2016, as was an edition of his works (see Burgers 2016a and Fresneau 2016). Subsequently, François-Pierre Goy and Jack Scholten brought to light new data that significantly complement Fresneau's biography, partly incorporated in a recent study (Burgers 2020).² On March 30, 1644, when Fresneau was registered as being engaged to marry Anna (Anneken) Asseling, daughter of the prominent Leiden instrument maker Andries Asseling, he was described as coming from "Zel in Berri." Already in 1895 the Dutch archivist Bram Servaas van Rooijen reported that Fresneau was twenty-eight years old at the time, although that detail is not stated in the registration. Van Rooijen did not mention a source, but it seems that he got that information from a notarial deed of October 6, 1649, in which Fresneau is mentioned as "out ontrent 33^{tich} Jaren" (circa thirty-three years old) (RAL, 0506, 755, No. 172). This would imply that our lutenist was born between October 6, 1615, and October 5, 1616. From the wording of the marriage registration, it seemed most likely that he came from Selles-en-Berry, present-day Selles-sur-Cher. Despite an intensive search, Fresneau cannot be found in the baptismal registers of that place; however, François-Pierre Goy solved the problem in 2020, when he conducted a further search of the baptismal registers of Salbris in the Departement Loir-et-Cher, about 65 km. south of Orléans. From 1614 to 1621 several children of Charles Fresneau, seigneur des Houx, and Françoise Dousseron are mentioned in the Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher

² We are deeply indebted to Jack Scholten, who unearthed many new relevant data from the Leiden archives.

(E-DEPOT 232/1, unfoliated).³ These are presumably Johannes's parents, because the same register lists their children Catherine (born July 8, 1619 and baptized on December 7 of the same year, whose godmother was Catherine [Blanche] de Choiseul; *ibid.*, scan 110) and Jeanne (born October 8, 1621, and baptized on the following November, 15; *ibid.*, scan 126), both of whom are mentioned later in Johannes Fresneau's will of 1669. Not mentioned in that will, but found elsewhere in the Leiden archives, is a brother François, also in the baptismal registers (born on April 9, 1614, and baptized on the following November 30; *ibid.*, fol. [33v], scan 34).⁴ Another son was born on March 17, 1616, who was baptized on May 9 (*ibid.*, fol. [44v], scan 46). In the baptismal registration the child's name is not written out, but indicated with a special sign, which was at the time used as an abbreviation for Je(h)an (Tarragon 2009, 516). Moreover, the same abbreviation appears in the text as the godfather's first name: "[Jehan] de Raimaulde [*sic*], s[eigneu]r de Boredure [i. e., Bordebure] et Aulnay et La Court Saint Brison," who indeed has the initial J in his signature under the record: "J. de Rivauldes." There is no need to doubt that our Johannes Fresneau was born on March 17, 1616.

His father Charles Fresneau belonged to an ancient family, possibly from the region of Vendôme.⁵ He is always called either "noble homme" or "écuyer," and in a few French documents in the Leiden archives, the same terms are applied to Johannes himself. This does not mean, however, that they belonged to the lesser nobility. The fact that Johannes left France as a servant to a nobleman of the higher nobility (see below) and, once in Leiden, took up a profession as a lutenist would rather point to the contrary. This is a sure sign that his social status was not particularly elevated and that he was not able to "live nobly," that is, without working. It was even disputed at the time whether an "écuyer" or a "noble homme" indeed belonged to the nobility (see La Roque 1708, 272-3, for example). Both terms were used in notarial acts or parish registers for burghers (Bluche 1990, 522 and 1283-4, s.v. "Écuyer,"

³ Unusually, all the children were baptized long after their birth. Possibly the ceremony had to wait for the presence in Salbris of the intended godparents. Charles Fresneau's family is no longer mentioned in the parish register after Jeanne's baptism. Probably they lived in Salbris during a few years only.

⁴ "François du Fresneau" is mentioned in 1656 as brother of "Jean du Fresneau, noble homme, esquier," as well as their sister "Mademoiselle Catherine Blanche, jeusne fille" and a deceased aunt Mademoiselle de Thorigny: 1650 (RAL, 0506, 658, No. 66). An older sister known from Fresneau's will, but not found in the Salbris baptismal register, is Catherine, evidently another person than her almost-eponymous sister Catherine Blanche.

⁵ Viton de Saint-Allais 1872-8, vol. 13, p. 182, mentions the marriage of a Marie de Fresneau, daughter of Charles, écuyer, sieur des Houx, in 1613: they may have been an aunt and the grandfather of the lutenist. A place called Les Houx exists in the municipality of Trôo, about 20 km west of Vendôme.

and “Qualifications”).

Jack Scholten discovered that Johannes Fresneau had been living in Leiden for some time prior to his marriage. Around 1640 he must have been in close contact with his future in-laws Asseling, because in 1660 he and Hendrik Asseling make a notarial statement concerning the illegitimate child that Hendrik’s brother Hermanus had fathered with one Aeltje Ernestus twenty years earlier. That was the reason for their father, Andries Asseling, to evict Hermanus (RAL, 0506, 938, No. 64). Remarkably, another brother, Johannes Asseling, was present as a witness when the baby “Agnietgen Asselyn” was christened on March 4, 1640 (RAL, 1004, 234, fol. 151).

Exact details of Fresneau’s arrival in Leiden are now known. On January 26, 1637, two Swedish nobles, Claes Stiernsköld (1617–1676) and Axel Åkesson Natt och Dag (1617–1642), matriculated at Leiden University in the company of their Swedish tutor Erik Bröms and four servants: the Frenchmen Johannes “Frenau,” age twenty-two, and Nicolaus Frenau (twenty), the Englishman Johannus Gummari (twenty), and German Conradus Weimmer (twenty-two) (Du Rieu 1875, col. 283).⁶ Claes Stiernsköld, the third son of the Swedish admiral Nils Stiernsköld, was still in Paris on November 27, 1636, and about to leave for the Netherlands; Hugo Grotius gave him a new book to deliver to Ludovicus Camerarius, the Swedish envoy to the Republic (Grotius 2009, letter 2855 <<http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/letters/2855/>>). After some time, the Swedes left Leiden, but apparently Fresneau stayed behind, making a living there as a lutenist, the profession with which he is always identified in documents from the Leiden years. The fact that Fresneau was registered together with his masters does not mean that he himself was also inscribed as a university student. However, he indeed matriculated later, on February 27, 1664, when he was inscribed *honoris ergo* (because of his merits), meaning he was admitted without charge (Du Rieu 1875, col. 512: “Johannes Frenau. Hon. ergo”). Fresneau probably did not actually embark on a course of study; like many others, he had himself registered at the university in order to enjoy certain privileges, such as exemption from the beer and wine tax.

Fresneau integrated successfully into Leiden society. His wife was the daughter of the well-to-do Andries Asseling, who for almost half a century was the town’s most prominent maker of lutes, citterns, viols, and violins.

⁶ “Claudius Sterrenschult nob(ilis) Suecus, 20 (years); Exilius Achasii nob(ilis) Suecus, 21; M. Ericus Braens Suecus, nob(ilium) eorundem ephorus; Joannes Frenau Gallus, famulus, 22; Johannes Gummari Anglus, famulus, 21; Nicolaus Frenau Gallus, famulus, 20; Conradus Weimmer Germanus, famulus, 22.” See also Wrangel 1901, p. 168. Incidentally, Fresneau’s age does not seem quite correct here: in January 1637 he would have been twenty years old if he indeed had been born on 17 March 1616.

Andries died in 1655 and was succeeded by his sons Melchior and Hendrik. Fresneau would remain in close contact with his family-in-law and other relatives and mutual friends, as is attested by several notarial deeds in which he played a part in financial matters, as a witness, and as a guardian of orphaned children.

To the young couple a daughter, Maria, was born in November 1645, who seems to have remained their only child. She had a Catholic baptism, so Fresneau had stayed true to his faith; Anna had a reformed background. Family life was disrupted in the summer of 1661 with the death of Fresneau's wife.⁷ Because the daughter Maria was still a minor, guardians had to be appointed for her; these were Floris Remeesz van Sanen, captain of the burgher militia, and Jan de Mondel, cloth maker, a cousin of Fresneau's in-laws, someone who often appears in the deeds about these families (RAL, 0518, 246, fol. 229).⁸ Maria died in July 1664, a victim of the last outbreak of the plague in Leiden, and was buried between July 27 and August 2 (see n. 8). Another victim was Fresneau's mother-in-law Maria Dirckx van Cronenburg, who succumbed on July 28.⁹ Anna and Maria were buried in the Protestant Pieterskerk, as was later Fresneau himself. Contrary to previous suggestions, this is not an indication that Fresneau or his daughter had converted to the reformed religion.¹⁰

Johannes Fresneau lived until the beginning of 1670. In the fall of 1669 he became ill, possibly the victim of an epidemic that took hundreds of lives in Leiden.¹¹ On November 25, 1669, he summoned a notary, who found the ailing lutenist sitting in a chair near the fire, ready to dictate his last will and testament. In it, sums were bequeathed to various friends and to his brother-in-law Hendrik Asseling, but most of his worldly possessions were left to

⁷ She was buried in the Pieterskerk between July 31 and August 6 (RAL, 0501A, 1323, fol. 123v).

⁸ Also a close friend of the family (or perhaps a relative) was Floris van Sanen, who was also appointed warden of the orphaned children of Melchior Asseling (RAL, 0518, 246, fol. 306v). Maria was buried between July 27 and August 2 (RAL, 0501A, 1323, fol. 216v). In the burial register she is listed directly after her grandmother, Maria van Cronenburg. Incidentally, now that it is certain that De Mondel and Fresneau were friends, it has become more likely that the "Jean de Frenoy" who on November 8, 1660, acted as a witness at the baptism of a child of Pierre Delmondel and Josine Paul van den Bos (du Bois) is indeed the same as our lutenist, although it was previously considered unlikely (Fresneau 2016, vi).

⁹ This is apparent from the inventory of her estate, which is signed by her son Hendrik Asseling and by Johannes Fresneau (RAL, 0506, 775, No. 440).

¹⁰ In the towns in Holland, people of all denominations were buried in the reformed churches (Deursen 1976, 531-7).

¹¹ On that mysterious epidemic, raging from June 1669 to June 1670 and causing people to die covered with blue pimples, see Overvoorde 1911. Thank you to Jack Scholten, who drew my attention to this publication.

his remaining family in France: his eldest sister Catharina, his middle sister Catharina Blanche (married to Mr. Consion), and his youngest sister Johanna were appointed as his universal heirs. On January 18, 1670, Fresneau, even more ill and now receiving the notary while lying in bed, revised some clauses in his testament. He died a few days later. The burial of “Johannes Frenauw” in the Leiden Pieterskerk, with burial rights amounting to four guilders, was recorded on February 10 (RAL, 0511A, 103, unfoliated).

The inventory of Fresneau’s goods and chattels drawn up after his death indicates that his economic position was rather modest. Apart from the usual furniture and utensils, he owned five paintings, two suits, and several pairs of trousers. In addition, the inventory mentions fifty books (unfortunately, no titles are given), a box with some music books and papers, and several musical instruments including twelve lutes, “good and bad ones,” two theorbos, two basses, a guitar, two citterns, and “two old instruments” (RAL, 0506, 1050, No. 113). The large number of lutes may indicate that Fresneau was also active as an instrument maker and, indeed, in a Haarlem newspaper of October 7, 1670, there is an announcement of a sale to be held at the house of Loth de Haes in Leiden, featuring “a batch of exquisite music books and many rare instruments, such as lutes, theorbos, viols and guitars, all very beautiful, some of them without equal, made and left behind by Iohannes Frenaut, in his life an artful lutenist in Leiden” (*Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, No. 40 (October 7, 1670), p. [2]).¹²

As a lutenist, Fresneau probably taught the children of the Leyden burghers and also the young men who came from all over Europe to study at the university. This guaranteed a stream of—often wealthy—pupils eager to have lute lessons. Some of Fresneau’s foreign pupils are known. On May 1, 1648, a Polish nobleman named Paulus Olteroski is recorded as owing Fresneau the considerable sum of 150 florins for lute lessons (RAL, 0506, 650, No. 130).¹³ Another student from the east presumably taking lessons from Fresneau was one “Monsieur Pollcenis,” to whom he dedicated an *Adieu* piece. This is most likely the same person as “Georgius a Polsniz,” a Polish knight from Silesia who registered as a student at the university on September 27, 1659 (that is, Georg Dachs from Polsnitz), from an elevated Schweidnitz family who traveled extensively all over Europe for over twenty years and died in 1671 (Fresneau 2016, viii-ix).

¹²“Op den 24 October sal tot Leyden, ten Huuse van Loth de Haes, verkocht werden een party treffelijcke Musijck-Boecken, en veel rare Instrumenten, soo Luyten, Theorbes, Viool de Gamba en Guiterre, alle seer schoon, daer onder eenige sonder weerga, ghemaect en naegelaten by Monsr. Iohannes Frenout, in sijn leven konstigh Luytanist tot Leyden.”

¹³ He is probably the same “Paulus Otarzewski, Polish nobleman,” who matriculated at the university on January 3, 1642 (Du Rieu 1875, col. 328).

Fresneau composed quite a few pieces for lute and guitar; thirty-eight of them are transmitted in a small number of manuscripts and have been published in Fresneau 2016. Most are recorded in just two lute books: the so-called A-ETgoëss I manuscript, kept in Schloss Ebenthal in Austria, and PL-Kj Mus Ms. 40626, formerly in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, now in the Bibliotheka Jagiellónska in Kraków, Poland. In both lute books we find, apart from the Fresneau works, a wealth of French pieces. These manuscripts, which both have a Dutch connection, are evidently two important sources concerning the reception of French lute music in the Republic. Earlier it was discovered, by comparing several instances of Fresneau's name inscribed in the Kraków lute book with his signatures in Leiden archival documents, that this manuscript was for the most part written by Fresneau himself, possibly from 1658 to 1660. The other lute book, Goëss I, tentatively dated c.1650 to 1670, was already known to have originated in Utrecht in the Netherlands. We shall now see that much more can be said about the origin of this manuscript.

Pierre, Baron de Goëssen as “Hand Q”

The Goëss tablatures fall into two main groups. The earlier one consists of five books compiled in the Netherlands during the second half of the seventeenth century. It includes MSS A and B for viol—both with flyleaves dated in Utrecht on December 19, 1664, and May 6, 1668, respectively—MS I for lute, MS II for lute and viol, and the unnumbered theorbo book, which also contains lute pieces. In contrast, the manuscripts of the latter group are linked with various women belonging to the family either through marriage or by birth, and were copied in Austria (except for a few pieces) in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth.

The tablature books of the first group are linked by their main scribe, who copied in his distinctive hand no less than 317 pieces—thus 61 percent of the 519 contained in the five earliest Goëss manuscripts—without ever leaving a clue about his name. In his pioneering study of the collection, Douglas Alton Smith described him as “an indefatigable musician who played at least three instruments—lute, theorbo and viol—and avidly collected music for them,” nicknaming him “Hand Q” (Smith 1982, 463). Tim Crawford suggested he might have been the diplomat Johann von Goëss (1610?–1696), whose appointment as prince-bishop of Gurk (later becoming a cardinal) caused the family to move from the Southern Netherlands to Carinthia (Crawford 2014). More recently, Rudolf Rasch noticed that the Dutch statesman Johan van Reede (1593–1682) shaped in his letter writing the “Z” in a similar way as “Hand Q” and proposed to identify him as the prolific scribe, a role for

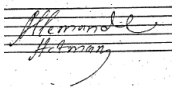
which this Utrecht-based friend of Constantijn Huygens (of whom the only extant instrumental work is found in MS Goëss A) seemed to tick all the boxes, as he played at least the viol and the theorbo (Rasch 2016). Nevertheless, Jan Burgers considered this hypothesis as insufficiently substantiated (Burgers 2016a, 248, fn. 3).

Indeed, a new and unquestionable candidate has surfaced unexpectedly, thanks to the fact that the first count Goëss, Johann Peter (1652–1716), a nephew of Cardinal Johann, during his time as an imperial envoy to the United Provinces in The Hague (1698–1707), worshipped at the Carmelite chapel in the Assendelftstraat, known as the “French church,” together with his wife, the lute-playing Countess Marianna von Sinzendorff (1670–1709), whom he had married in Rome in 1693. The French missionary priests who served the chapel and from whom it took its nickname had the godparents and witnesses sign their names in the parish registers if they could write (as was done in France, but not in most other European countries), and this allowed me to identify “Q.” Indeed, I was routinely searching for the baptism records of Count Johann Peter’s children in the register, when the signature of the godfather of “Pierre François Othon,” Johann Peter and Marianna’s fifth child, baptized on July 2, 1700, struck me by its familiar look (HGA, 0377-01, 355, p. 232).

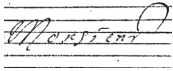
It read “Pierre baron de Goessen,” a name as-yet unknown to me, which then proved to belong to a younger brother of Cardinal Johann (Jacksch-Wartenhorst 1932, family tree, plate following 54). Fortunately, the Goëss family archive, on deposit at the Kärntner Landesarchiv, preserves some documents that enabled me to confirm the hypothesis and to reconstruct the baron’s biography. The autograph letters to his cardinal brother—no less than 101 of them, and one more to his nephew, the first count Goëss—covering the period from October 1689 to December 1695 (KLA, 439, D 1), though they never address musical matters, proved helpful in identifying his handwriting as that of scribe “Q” of the tablature manuscripts.¹⁴ A few examples from both groups of sources will show it very clearly. More will be given in the *Goëss-Verzeichnis*.

¹⁴ I warmly thank Dr. Ing. Peter, Graf Goëss, for having granted me permission to reproduce some documents from the family archive and for authorizing the publication of some snippets of the letters. I also thank Dr. Bianca Kos for the information she provided about the Goëss archive and for her comments about some of my hypotheses.

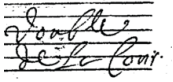
A-ETgoëss, Ms...



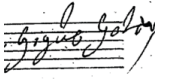
II, fol. 40r



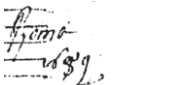
A, fol. 30r



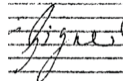
II, fol. 34r



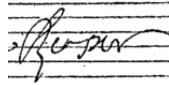
II, fol. 19r



A, fol. 43r

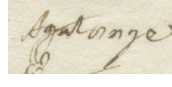


Théorbe, fol. 48r

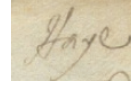


Théorbe, fol. 45r

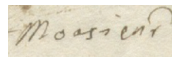
KLA, 439, D 1



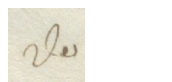
fol. 192r



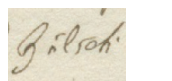
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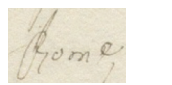
fol. 26r



fol. 26r



fol. 26r ("Gulich")



fol. 29r

Fig. 1. Comparison of handwriting between the Goëss tablature and the Kärtner Landesarchiv (KLA)

A Biographical Sketch of Pierre, Baron de Goessen

A signature in the French language had thus put me on the trail of Baron Pierre, whose family hailed from the Spanish Netherlands and bore the Flemish-sounding surname De Troch.¹⁵ On the other hand, Jacksch-Wartenhorst, throughout his inventory and in the aforementioned family tree, adopts the German forms of the Christian names for all members of the family, even those who remained in the Southern Netherlands. But the cardinal, his brother, and their nephew, the first count, corresponded with each other in French and signed their letters as "Jean" or "Pierre," though on some deeds drawn up in German-speaking regions they signed in German as well. Their mother tongue, however, might have been Dutch (in its Brabant dialect) as well, and Baron Pierre signed several notarial deeds in Dutch and dictated his testament

¹⁵ As far as I know, they seem to have signed their name with the double o (long vowel), though it is also spelt De Troch or De Trogh, with short vowel, in archival documents.

to the notary in this language (see below). The parish and university records concerning them preserved in today's Belgium are in Latin—a language the brothers must have mastered thanks to their university education—and do not help to decide in this matter. Thus, I have chosen to name the members of the De Trooch family in French, as they appear to have done in their private correspondence. The names not attested in this language are prefixed with an asterisk and their Latin form mentioned at their first occurrence.

Baron Pierre's father, also named *Pierre (Petrus) De Trooch, bailiff of Liedekerke (Flemish Brabant), had married *Françoise (Francisca) Goossens, whose brother *Jean (Joannes), an *Oberstwachtmeister* and captain in the Liechtenstein regiment in 1622, died twelve years later as chamberlain to Emperor Ferdinand II and infantry colonel. On June 1, 1632, the emperor bestowed on him and his sister's son the title of baron "à Goossen." Baron Pierre made his will in Leutkirch on March 17, 1633, bequeathing his possessions in the Spanish Netherlands to his nephew *Antoine (Antonius) De Trooch and then to the latter's brothers Pierre (our "hero"), David, Jean, and *Philippe (Philippus). Their younger siblings (two brothers and two sisters, only one of whom will play a role in our account) were not mentioned.

No baptism record survives for any of the brothers, so their dates and places of birth cannot be ascertained. Jacksch-Wartenhorst's genealogical tree gives only for Jean the (unsourced) birth year of 1610. As regards Pierre, he must have been born around 1619 if his age, as mentioned much later in a contemporary obituary, is correct (see below). The five De Trooch brothers, all styled "Bruxellensis," matriculated at Leuven University: David, then a minor, as a law student, and *Antoine (Antonius) at Lily College on November 26, 1631; Pierre (Petrus) and *Philippe (Philippus) at the College of the Augustinian Canon Regulars, both as "divites minores" (wealthy minors), on January 20, 1633; and Jean (Joannes) at the Collegium Trilingue on December 11, 1633 (Rijksarchief te Leuven, 682/1, 25, fols. 116v, 127v and 131r).

When *Jean de Goossen died in Regensburg on June 9, 1634, *Antoine De Trooch succeeded as baron de Goossen, according to his uncle's will, which he followed once more in his own testament, drawn up in Rome on October 18, 1636, wherein he named his brother Pierre as his sole heir, with the exception of 1000 thalers bequeathed to Jean (Jacksch-Wartenhorst, 10, summaries of KLA, 439, B 1, B 2, C 5, C 6). *Antoine died on October 24 of the same year (*ibid.*, 10, summaries of KLA, 439, C 6 and C 8, and genealogical tree facing 54).

On September 4, 1645, Jean, then in Vienna, renounced his uncle's inheritance in favor of Pierre, who handed it again to his brother in exchange for a yearly allowance of 2400 fl. in a deed they both signed in Passau on March 18, 1652. Though the handover included the barony, they hoped that

the emperor, in consideration of the services faithfully provided (“*treu ge-leisten Dienste*”) and the blood abundantly shed (“*vielvergossenen Blutes*”), would understand the title as extending to both of them (KLA, 439, C 13 and C 10; Jacksch-Wartenhorst, 10-11). The services probably refer to Jean’s lifelong activity as a diplomat, begun in 1646, but it is unclear if the blood was shed by both of them, probably on the battlefields of the Thirty Years War. Jean’s barony was confirmed on April 20, 1654, by Emperor Ferdinand III, who extended it also to his children and heirs (Jacksch-Wartenhorst 1932, 16: summary of KLA, 439, B 7).

And indeed, Pierre was still styled baron of Goessen on December 12, 1652, when his nephew Pierre (Petrus) De Gheetere, son of his younger sister Elisabeth De Trooch and David De Gheetere, was baptized in Denderhoutem (East Flanders). Baron Pierre is named as the godfather, but probably was still in Germany, as it was his brother David who held the infant at the font (Rijksarchief te Beveren, BS7, 266 /3, p. 119: “*Susc. David de Trogh n. R^{mi} D. Petri Baronis de Goossens*”).¹⁶ This Pierre De Gheetere was later to become the first count Goëss and the sole heir of his uncles Jean and Pierre. He is usually known as Johann Peter and thought to have been born in Wambeek or Brussels on March 23, 1667, where all searches for his name in the corresponding baptism registers have been in vain.¹⁷ Jean was appointed as an Aulic councilor (*Reichshofrat*) on September 23, 1652. He took holy orders in 1675 and was consecrated prince-bishop of Gurk in Carinthia in the following year, which caused the emperor to extend the barony to two of Jean’s cousins, at his own choice: he appears to have selected his nephews Pierre and David De Gheetere. On September 9, 1686, Pope Innocent XI named him cardinal (Jacksch-Wartenhorst 1932, 16: summaries of KLA, 439, C 56 and C 58). He continued to fulfill diplomatic missions and died in Rome on October 19, 1696.¹⁸

Jean’s letters to his brother, whom he addresses as “*Mon très cher frère*” (My most dear brother), show him solicitous about the welfare of his kin, and particularly of Pierre, of whom he took care in his testamental dispositions to relieve him of business matters not appropriate for his age and health.

¹⁶ David De Trooch stood himself as godfather for his nephew David De Gheetere on March 11, 1654, and in place of his father, “*Petrus De Trogh*” the elder at the baptism of Jacoba De Gheetere on April 28, 1649. His mother, “*Francisca Goossens*,” stood as godmother for two other De Gheetere children: Maria Anna on February 2, 1651 and Judocus Franciscus on November 25, 1655 (Rijksarchief te Beveren, BS7, 266 /3, pp. 124, 107, 112, 131).

¹⁷ The year 1667 has been checked in the baptism registers of the seven parishes of Brussels, as well as of Wambeek and Ternat, without revealing any matching name.

¹⁸ For an overview of his career, see for instance Jacksch-Wartenhorst 1932, 12-16 and Gschliesser 1942, 263-4.

The latter, who respectfully addresses the prince-bishop and then cardinal as “Monseigneur,” seems to have been a devout man leading a quieter and more discreet life, at least from the 1660s. He lived several years in Utrecht, where the front flyleaves of the viol manuscripts A-ETgoëss MSS A and B were inscribed, respectively, on December 19, 1664, and May 6, 1668, though in the former the last piece but two is dated from May 17, 1668 (fol. 76v), implying some overlap in the compilation of both volumes. In each manuscript, a few pieces bear earlier dates ranging from February 19 and 23, 1655 (MS B, fols. 15v and 16r), to “Roma 1659” (MS A, fol. 43r). The latter suggests that he still traveled, perhaps accompanying his brother on his missions, and collecting music in the places where he found himself.¹⁹ I have not been able, however, to find out when he settled in Utrecht and how long he stayed there. The siege and occupation of the city by the French (1672 to 1673) could provide a possible cause for his moving to The Hague, but this remains purely hypothetical.

In any case, he must have spent at least the last thirty years of his long life in The Hague, as he already appears as a witness in notarial deeds of April 1, 1674, and June 13, 1678, respectively, involving the Austrian resident Daniel Johannes de Crampricht and his chaplain Henricus (Heinrich) Geistler (HGA, 0372-01, 485, fols. 159r-159v, signed in Dutch “Pieter B vaen [*sic*] Goessen,” and 487, p. 727, signed in Latin “Petrus Baro de Goessen”).²⁰ On August 20, 1679, he was reported as accompanying the same Crampricht to Nijmegen, in order to take leave of his brother Jean, who was about to set out for Vienna (*La Gazette d'Amsterdam*, August 22, 1679, p. [4]). This may not have been the first time the brothers met there. Indeed, Jean, who attended the peace negotiations in Nijmegen from 1676 to 1679, alludes in letters of April 1, 1686, and December 23, 1688, to the testament that he drew up there in agreement with Pierre (KLA, 439, D 1, fol. 3r: “selon le concert, que nous fismes ensemble à Nimegue, dans le testament que j’y fis”). The latter’s name is mentioned several times afterward together with Crampricht’s, which suggests that he was a well-known personality and perhaps took part in diplomatic activity.²¹

¹⁹ The diary of Bullen Reymes shows that embassies were suitable places for exchanging pieces (Goy 1999, 189-91 and 193-5).

²⁰ I heartily thank Jan Burgers for his help in reading and understanding the notarial acts in Dutch mentioned in this article.

²¹ *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, October 10, 1684, December 19, 1686, December 21, 1686, October 2, 1687, May 13, 1688, May 15, 1688, each time on p. [2]. According to the same gazette (September 26, 1686, p. [2]), all the greats paid him daily their compliments after his brother became a cardinal. Pierre’s letter of May 4, 1690, mentions that he learnt from a letter sent to Crampricht by the cardinal that the latter had not received their previous letters (KLA,

In the letter just mentioned and in a previous one of March 1, 1684, the prince-bishop, after referring to his great age and the increasing infirmities and illnesses of his brother and himself, explained the content of his new will to the latter. With the exception of a total amount of 25,000 fl. bequeathed to various members of their family in the Southern Netherlands, Baron Pierre would have the usufruct of his goods during his life, but in order to spare him the trouble of financial management, the testator had contrived for him a yearly allowance of 10,640 fl., corresponding to the interest produced by sums placed in several Viennese banks (KLA, 439, D 1, fols. 10r-12r and 3r-4v; for the will itself, see KLA, 439, C 14), which would suffice to enable him, in his own words, to “vivre fort honorablement et faire du bien à qui vous voudrez” (live very honorably and do good to whomsoever you want: KLA, 439, D 1, fol. 4r).

On April 1, 1697, “Petrus, baron de Goessen” rented a house situated on the north side of the Prinsengracht, near the Varkenmarkt, from Jacomo Burggraaf, of Rotterdam, through the latter’s proxy Willem van den Broeck, lord of Vrijhoeven, for 300 carolus guldens a year, beginning from May 1, 1697.²² The tenant, who was suffering from the gout (“flerecijn”) and lay in his bed, had to sign with a cross, being unable to write.²³ His servant Pieter Schrijnemeckers witnessed the deed (HGA, 0372-01, 778, pp. 495-7).²⁴ The house was thus situated not far from the Assendelftstraat, where the chapel of the French Carmelites mentioned above was located: Count Goëss and his family may have stayed at his uncle’s house or close to it as long as they remained in The Hague. I have not located the baron’s previous address, but he must have already lived nearby for some years, as on November 11, 1694, he wrote to his brother that “Le R.P. Agatange est retourné en France, je crois qu’à présent il est à son couvent à Rouen, c’étoit un bonn [*sic*] pere qui avoit

439, D 1, fol. 44r).

²² Burggraaf had previously rented the same house on May 20, 1695, to Hendrick Schollekens, usher (“exploictier”) of the courts of justice in Holland and then, on May 30, 1696, to Bertha Braemberg, widow of Hendrick Rijhoven, in both cases with the advocates Hendrick Doedijns and Johan Verstraeten as guarantors and main co-tenants (“mede principale huijerders”) (HGA, 0372-01, 778, pp. 407-11 and 461-3).

²³ In a letter of January 18, 1692, he already states that he was unable to answer his brother’s previous letter because of the gout (KLA, 439, D 1, fol. 50r).

²⁴ A Roman Catholic from Gelderland, Pieter Schrijnemeckers became engaged to Johanna van Engelen at the town hall on September 9, 1703. They were married on the following September 23 at the Roman Catholic church in the Oude Molstraat (HGA, 0351-01, 755, fol. 65r, and 0377-01, 325, p. 198). The bride hailed likewise from Gelderland. She had been previously engaged at the town hall on October 31, 1700, and married there on the following November 14 with the widower Pieter Everaarts, who was buried on September 12, 1702 (HGA, 0351-01, 755, fol. 16r and 0321-01, 1, fol. 52r).

beaucoup [*sic*] d'affection pour moy" (Reverend Father Agatange has gone back to France, I believe he is now in his convent in Rouen, he was a good father who was very fond of me). Agatange's signature appears in the baptism register of the "French church" from November 11, 1692 to September 26, 1694 (KLA 439, D 1, fol. 192r; HGA, 0377-01, 355, pp. 132-53).

"Peter baron van Goessen" was again "sickelijck aens podega te bedde leggende, anders sijn volcome verstant ende uijtsprake wel hebbende en gebrijckende" (lying in bed sick with gout, otherwise wholly enjoying and using his understanding and speech) when he dictated his last will and testament to the notary Henrick Terbeeck van Coesfelt on December 18, 1700 (KLA, 439, C 11). As the testator was this time wholly unable to use the quill and even to draw a cross as he had done three years earlier, the document was only signed by the three witnesses: two Holstein-Gottorpians—the diplomat Gerhard Graf von Dernath (1666–1740), here incorrectly called a "camerheer van sijn Keiserl. Maj." (chamberlain of His Imperial Majesty; see Kellenbenz 1957) and Julius Heyder, a captain in Dutch service²⁵— and Christoffe Siebenburger, Count Johann Peter's secretary (as will be seen below) as witnesses.

Baron Pierre wished to be buried in the church of the Franciscans at Lier. His connection with the Friars Minors dated back to 1669 at the latest, as on September 12 of that year he had obtained from the vicar general of the order permission to be buried in the church of the local Franciscan convent wherever he should die. A similar permission was granted to him on April 5, 1701, this time specifically concerning the church of the convent at Lier (both in KLA, 439, C 12; see Hildebrand 1932 for the history of the convent). Two days before, his sister Elisabeth De Gheetere had been buried in the Sint-Gummarus church of the same city (Stadsarchief Lier, 442, fol. 203r). Moreover, her youngest son, Henry (Henricus Franciscus), was a canon and then dean of the same Sint-Gummarus church.²⁶

The baron otherwise confirmed his brother's will by naming his nephew "Sijn Ex^{tie} den Heere Graeff Peter van Goessen" as his sole heir, with the exception of his possessions in the Spanish Netherlands, which would be passed down to his relatives there, who already were usufructuaries thereof. He be-

²⁵ On May 4, 1681, Heyder was engaged to Regina Catharina van Steijnen at the town hall as a reformed *ritmeester* and was styled a "capiteyn" on the baptism of his eldest son on April 22, 1682, and later a lieutenant in the foot guards of the prince of Orange, and then of the king of Great Britain (October 25, 1685 to November 23, 1691; March 2, 1693) (HGA, 0351-01, 752, fol. 29v, and 0377-01, 318, pp. 58, 84, 97, 115, 134, 151, 174, 187). Unlike most of Baron Pierre's acquaintances, both he and Count Dernath did not belong to the Roman Catholic church but were Lutherans.

²⁶ He was born in Denderhoutem on November 26, 1660, and died in Lier on November 2, 1727 (Rijksarchief te Beveren, BS7, 266 /3, 163; De Ram 1856, 169).

queathed 1000 ducats to his niece Marianna, born countess of Sinzendorf, and 1000 reichsthalers (“rijcxdaelders Duijtsche munt”) to her daughters Josepha and Eleonora and to any daughter who would be born to the countess during the testator’s lifetime, as well as sums to his domestics—100 pattacons to Mr. Huet, his priest (“sijne priester”: a private priest or his usual confessor?), 1200 carolus guldens to the aforementioned Pieter Schrijnemeckers, his manservant, 1000 carolus guldens to his coachman Jan, 100 ducats to his servant Pieter, and 200 carolus guldens to his anonymous cook. In addition, only two persons not belonging to his family or his household received bequests. He ordered his heir to have a keepsake made for Cornelis François van der Hooch from a piece of silver of about 300 guldens,²⁷ and left to “Mons^r François Levraij den ouden woonende tot Leyden” (Mr. François Levray the elder, living in Leyden) the sum of 1000 carolus guldens. The latter, as will be seen below, also contributed to the Goëss tablatures, as well as to another manuscript.

On March 20, 1704, “le seigneur baron de Goessen” stood as godfather to Pierre Joseph, son of Count Johann Peter and Countess Marianna, but was obviously once more plagued by gout, as the baptism record had to be signed in his place by “Christoffe Siebenburger secretaire de Son Excellence Mons^r le Comte de Goessen” (HGA, 0377-01, 355, pp. 291-2).

According to a contemporary obituary, “Le baron Goes oncle du comte Goes envoyé de l’Empereur, mourut ici la nuit du 8 au 9 du courant, âgé de 85 ans” (Baron Goes, uncle of Count Goes, the emperor’s envoy, died here [in The Hague] in the night of the 8th to the 9th of this month [January 1705], aged 85): *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*, January 13, 1705, p. 2; see also *Opregte Leydse courant*, January 12, 1705, p. [2]). He was buried on January 15, not at Lier as he had wished, but in the church of the Capucin convent at Kleve (Clevés): this change probably occurred because of the ongoing war, as Lier was situated in the Southern Netherlands, then still a possession of Spain, with which the United Provinces were at war.²⁸ In a manuscript account preserved among other documents in KLA, 439, C 12, Dietrich Meckenheim, “guardian” of the Kleve convent, states that he was

²⁷ Cornelis François van der Hooch was a member (*heemraad*) of the Groot-Waterschap van Woerden (Woerden water board) in 1694-6, 1698-1700, 1702-4 and 1706 (Venema 2016, XXIII). He married Eleonora van Duijveland van Rhooon at the town hall of The Hague on November 14, 1694 (HGA, 0351-01, 754, fol. 40r). He made his will in ’s Hertogenbosch on July 16, 1701 (Stadsarchief ’s Hertogenbosch, 0072, 2740, fols. 170r-172r) and a new one, together with his wife, in The Hague on October 27, 1708 (HGA, 0372-01, 1324, No. 78). He was buried in the Sint-Jacobskerk in The Hague on January 6, 1712 (HGA, 0321-01, 23, fol. 177r, and 0282-01, 76, fol. 104r).

²⁸ About this convent, see Gronen et al., 2012, 674-9. The convent lay at the Stechbahn.

entombed around 6.30 p.m., before the side altar of the Virgin Mary, situated on the left of the high altar, immediately outside the chancel, and that the office and Mass of the Dead were celebrated for him on the morning of the following day. A news report from The Hague dated January 22, 1705, mentions that his house was taken over by Charles Parisot, envoy of the duke of Lorraine (*Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, January 24, 1705, p. [2]). It is worth noting, however, that on February 2, Parisot rented a house situated on the North side of the Nieuwe Molstraat: the later date of the deed could mean that he soon changed his abode (HGA).

Philippe François Le Vray

Baron Pierre's bequest to "Mons^r François Levraij den ouden" induced me to identify the latter in the hope that he could be a musician. And indeed, "Philips Franchois Le Vray Bruxellensis, Musicus" matriculated at Leiden University on November 14, 1674, allegedly aged thirty, and like Fresneau was inscribed *honoris ergo* (Du Rieu 1875, col. 593; see also Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 51). Samples of his signature were easily found on various notarial documents through the excellent website of the Regionaal archief Leiden. Though they provide but few opportunities of comparison with the music manuscripts, a few characteristic letters, in particular the capitals L, P, and V, allow us to identify his hand beyond any doubt in three tablature sources: A-ETgoëss Théorbe (forty-one pieces for theorbo and thirteen for lute), A-ETgoëss V (five lute pieces), and D-BFb C–ha pract. anh. (two lute accompaniments for French songs).

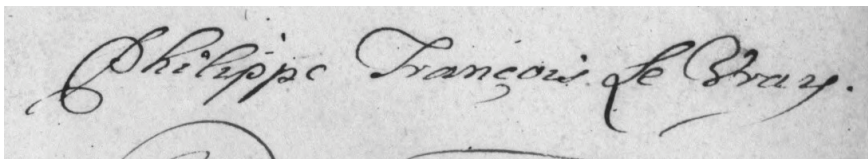


Fig. 2. Signature of Philippe François Le Vray from RAL, 506, 1083, No. 69 (June 22, 1683).

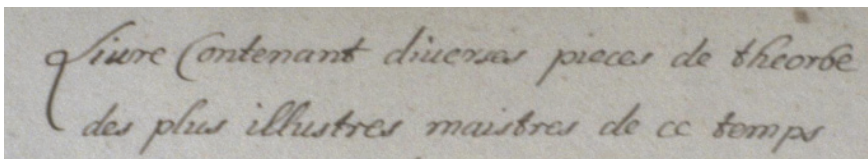


Fig. 3. A-ETgoëss Théorbe, unnumbered title page (1683).

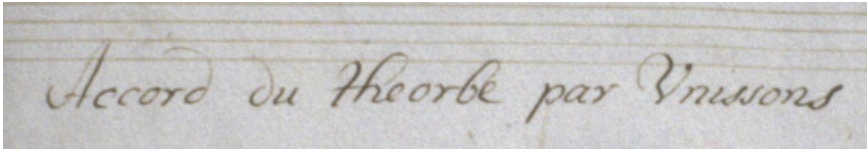


Fig. 4. A-ETgoëss Théorbe, fol. 1r

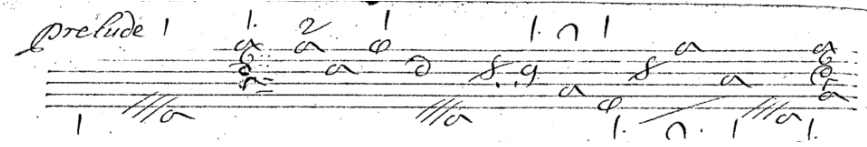


Fig. 5. A-ETgoëss Théorbe, fol. 9v

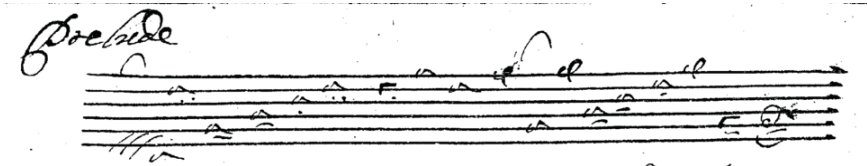


Fig. 6. A-ETgoëss, V, fol. 43v

According to the age given in the university register, Philippe François would have been born around 1644. No corresponding entry can be found in the Brussels baptism registers. However, a Franciscus, son of *Philippe (Philippus) Levray and Susanna Lubbel or Le Bel, was baptized at Notre-Dame de la Chapelle on December 16, 1638 (AVB, R.P. 338, fol. 217r).²⁹ No records for the baptism or marriage of his parents are found in the parishes of Brussels, but his parents were both buried in Notre-Dame de la Chapelle: “Susanna Le Bel” on December 12, 1662, and “Philippus Le Vray” on June 13, 1669 (AVB, RP 428, fols. 117 r and 173v). Besides, “Susanna Le Belle” stood god-mother to Arnoldus, son of Jean-Baptiste Le Vray and Maria Van der Borch, on October 30, 1652, though the degree of kinship between Jean-Baptiste and Philippe Levray remains unknown (AVB, RP 303, fol. 382r).

The date and place of Philippe François Levray’s marriage with Pétronelle Istas, as she herself signs her name (RAL, 506, 1346, No. 51, February

²⁹ The name of his mother seems to read Lubbell in his baptism record but is spelt respectively Lubbel and Le Belle in those of François Le Vray’s elder siblings *Isabelle Judith (Isabella Judith) and *Louis (Ludvicus), who were baptized at the same church on May 1, 1634, and August 14, 1636 (AVB, R.P. 338, fols. 72v and 145v).

12, 1705), as well as the bride's parentage, remain unknown, as no marriage record survives in any of the places where the musician is known to have lived—Brussels, Utrecht, and Leiden.³⁰ Three Levray children at least were baptized in Utrecht at the Roman Catholic mission served by the Hermits of Saint Augustine and at the time probably situated in the Hieronymus-steeg. Their baptism records have survived thanks to a copy made in the eighteenth century by Fr. Lucas van Crombrughe, OESA (1713?–1777; see Keelhoff 1864, p. 266) after a small register (“libellus”) of Pater Hieronymus van Hove, including the years 1663 to 1671 (HUA, 711, 63, fols. 83v–86v). Crombrughe feared with reason that the names could become lost because of the great age of the booklet, which is indeed no longer extant, and states that he did not find any older baptism register (*ibid.*, fol. 2r). He probably copied his model as accurately as possible but seems not always to have understood what he read, as some entries are hardly intelligible. Such is the case with the first entry concerning Levray (August 25, 1666; *ibid.*, fol. 84v), which reads “fili^{us} fili^{us} Leveraj pation^{us} e baron de Goes etc^{ra}.” It could mean “Filippus filius Leveraj. Patrinus est baron de Goes etc.,” but on one hand the names of the godparents, when they are recorded, are always introduced by “susceptor,” “suscepatrix,” or “suscepit,” and on the other hand it remains doubtful if the child's name has not been replaced by the first “filius.” In any case, we have a proof that Levray and the baron de Goessen were acquainted as early as 1666 and probably still earlier. If the latter actually stood as godfather, it would be as far as I know the only instance where he would have done so to a child not belonging to his own family. Besides, it must be noted that, whereas other parents are designated not by their names but only by a generic term such as their trade or origin (which also occurs in other Roman Catholic registers of Utrecht in the same years), the father's surname (but not the mother's) is here explicitly mentioned, which may indicate some renown. Two more children were baptized in the following years: a daughter, Antonia, on June 7, 1668, and Joannes Baptista Franciscus on December 26, 1670 (*ibid.*, fols. 85r and 86r). The latter matriculated at Leiden University on February 13, 1697, as “Jan Baptista François Le Vray Lugduno-Batavus,” aged twenty-five, in fact twenty-six (Du Rieu 1875, col. 744; Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 51).

Already on February 3, 1676, a “Petrus Philippus Le Vray Ultratrajectinus” had done the same at the faculty of letters of Leiden University (Du Rieu 1875, col. 601; Pelinck and Vlam 1963, p. 51). Allegedly aged fourteen, he was thus probably born in Utrecht in 1661, which would situate the marriage

³⁰ In some Leiden documents her surname appears in its Dutch version: Staes. Whether Le Vray's wife must be identified with the Petronella Staes who was baptized at Saint-Géry church in Brussels on April 18, 1638, remains doubtful (AVB, R.P. 252, fol. 62v).

of his parents around 1660. He may be the man who married *Marie Philippine (Maria Philippina) Anteunis at Saint-Michel-et-sainte-Gudule in Brussels on June 24, 1701. In the baptism records of two of his children—*Madeleine Françoise (Magdalena Francisca, March 8, 1705) and *Emmanuel Pierre Joseph (Emmanuel Petrus Josephus, February 24, 1706)—he is styled a chamberlain of Elector Maximilian-Emanuel of Bavaria. *Anne Philippine Urbaine (Anna Philippina Urbana, January 2, 1707) and *Pierre Urbain (Petrus Urbanus, May 30, 1708) respectively had for godmothers Anna Maria Le Vray and Maria Antonia Le Vray: the latter could possibly be identified with the child baptized in Utrecht on June 7, 1668 (AVB, R.P. 140, fol. 193r; R.P. 104, fol. 38v, 71v, and 108r; R.P. 191, fol. 5r).

Only nonmusical activities are recorded before Le Vray's arrival in Leiden. On April 4, 1672, Duke Albrecht of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (1648–1699), later reigning duke of Saxe-Coburg, then colonel of an infantry regiment in the service of the United Provinces, appointed François Le Vray as his representative to collect the pay of his companies and as his proxy in all his affairs in case of absence (HUA, 34-4, 635, No. 6, fols. 6r-7r). Several procurations were issued before Utrecht notaries to empower various persons to recover unpaid debts made by Le Vray in 1673 and 1674, sometimes after several years (HUA, 34-4, 648, No. 24 [June 18, 1678], 34-4, 466, No. 47 [April 27, 1675], and 34-4, 618, No. 82 [October 10, 1680]), corresponding to promises to pay respectively dated August 16, 1673, October 24, 1674, and October 26, 1674; the earliest of them shows that he stayed in Utrecht during the French occupation (June 13, 1672 to November 13, 1673). In another record, Rudolf van Arckel, lord of Broeckhuijsen, stands guarantor for Le Vray regarding a debt toward Louis La Borde, merchant of French articles (“coopman van France waren”) made on October 27, 1674 (HUA, 34-4, 636, No. 216, September 1, 1675)—likewise, much later, a wine merchant of Leiden would complain not to have been paid by Le Vray (RAL, 0506, 923, No. 4, September 3, 1694). The latter appears thus to have left Utrecht for Leiden only toward the time of his inscription at the university on November 14 of the same year. He resided in the house of the commandery of Sint-Pieter in the Kloksteeg, near the Pieterskerk (Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 51). He seems to have begun to add his father's first name before the one received at his baptism only when he entered the university.

His son Charles, or Carel, must still have been born before the family settled in Leiden, as he matriculated on March 3, 1695, as “Carolus Le Vray Ultratrajectinus, musicus Academiae.” If the age of twenty given by the university register may be trusted, he would have been born between March 3 and the beginning of November 1674. As regards his styling as “musician of the Academy,” he had been appointed as “ordinary musician of this univer-

sity” in 1693, and remained in office until his death in April 1747, though from 1742 on, illness hindered him from performing his duties (Du Rieu 1875, col. 735; Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 51-4). His predecessor in the office had been Johan Hendrik Weysenbergh, later known as Henricus Albicastro (Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 50).

Two more children were born in Leiden to Philippe François Levray and his wife and were baptized at the Roman Catholic church at the Kuipersteeg (RAL, 1004, 298A, fols. 19r and 23r). On November 14, 1677, Joannes Baptista had for godfather a certain Joannes Levray, possibly his seven-year-old brother. Philippus Franciscus, baptized on March 28, 1681, matriculated at the university on November 9, 1701, as “informer in musicis” (Du Rieu 1875, col. 767; Pelinck and Vlam 1963, 51). The baron de Goessen must have been aware of the young man’s activity as a musician when he made his testament four months earlier, and thus had to make sure that his bequest was intended to the elder Philippe François by speaking of “François Levraij den ouden.”

On March 20, 1680, Le Vray made a blank procuration in order to take the oath of loyalty to the prince of Vaudémont, who had approached him as bailiff, lieutenant of the fiefdom, and mayor in Wavre and the seignury of La Pierre, an office soon to be vacant because of the illness of the present holder. How Prince Charles-Henri de Vaudémont (1649–1723), an illegitimate son of the late Duke Charles IV of Lorraine by his mistress Béatrix de Cusance, who was both a general in Spanish service and a lover of the arts, had been acquainted with Le Vray remains a mystery (see Collin 2005 for a biographical sketch). In any case, the latter’s way of (not) fulfilling his duties did not satisfy the prince: on December 4, 1685, Mathieu La Gorge, the prince’s head treasurer in Brussels, wrote a letter to be delivered to Le Vray through a notary of Leiden (where it was received on December 15), stating that the baillif had stayed no more than two or three months in Wavre since his appointment, and giving him formal notice of taking himself there within the next two weeks and really abiding there, under threat of dismissal (RAL, 506, 1329, No. 10, and 1402, No. 74).

On January 10, 1690, Le Vray stood godfather “*loco alterius*” (in place of another) to the daughter of the master tailor Jan van Iemen and Joanna van Swedenrijck (RAL, 1004, 298A, fol. 36v; the father’s trade is mentioned in his marriage contract, RAL, 506, 1014, No. 82).

During the 1690s, Le Vray wrote down pieces in two of the manuscripts mentioned above. In A-ETgoëss MS V, his hand appears after those of Julien Blouin, who began the volume in Rome in 1693 for Marianna von Sinzendorf and/or her husband Count Peter von Goëss, and of a Viennese lute teacher who might well be the imperial court lutenist Andreas Bohr (1663–

1728): thus his contribution postdates Count Peter's arrival in The Hague as imperial envoy in 1698 (Crawford 1990, 10-11; see also Goy, forthcoming). The other manuscript, D-BFb C-ha pract. Anh., belonged to another inhabitant of The Hague, Amélie Louise, countess of Hornes. She was baptized at the Walloon church of The Hague on August 19, 1665, married count Louis of Nassau-Saarbrück at the Grote Kerk on April 11, 1694, and died in 1728 (HGA, 0377-01, 307, p. 231; HGA, 0377-01, 44, fol. 31r; Goethals 1849-52, vol. 3). This little-studied collection of vocal and lute music is probably contemporary with another similar source with the same owner, D-BFb C-ha 60, dated 1699, but which includes an excerpt from André Campra's *Hésione*, first staged on December 21, 1700.

The *Livre contenant diverses pieces de theorbe des plus illustres maistres de ce temps* (A-ETgoëss Théorbe), the main source in Le Vray's hand, which alternates therein with that of Pierre de Goëssen, probably dates from the 1670s or early 1680s, in any case not before 1673. It contains indeed an arrangement of the "Marche des sacrificateurs" from Lully's *Cadmus et Hermione*, first presented on April 27, 1673. The first Dutch edition of the libretto appeared in The Hague in 1680 and was followed by several more, and instrumental selections in partbooks were published in Amsterdam by Jean-Philippe Heus in 1682 and after 1687 by Antoine Pointel (Schneider 1981, 209-10 and 220). Both editions include the piece that was also copied by Le Vray who, however, may have received it already arranged for theorbo. As regards the latest possible date, the cardinal mentions in a letter of April 1, 1686, that the baron was incommoded by various unspecified diseases (KLA, 439, D 1, fol. 8v); later, gout hindered him sometimes from holding a quill, as seen above, but he was able to write until the end of 1695, at least. One should note, too, that when compared with the earlier tablature manuscripts on one hand, and with the baron's letters from the 1690s on the other hand, some capitals in the titles of the theorbo book—B, P, and R with the stem sticking out of the stroke, and also G—more closely match the latter than the former. Perhaps the baron's declining health did not impact too much upon his musical practice.

A-ETgoëss Théorbe consists of two sections, the larger one (up to fol. 71) for theorbo, the other (fols. 72-91) for the lute. In the theorbo section Le Vray filled in fols. 1v-37v, 57v-59r and 70v-71r, while the hand of the baron, apart from a piece added on the blank staves of fol. 19r, appears on fols. 38r-56v. In the lute section Le Vray likewise copied on fols. 74v-89r pieces in G major and E minor, all of which were published in Denis Gaultier's *Pièces de luth sur différents modes nouveaux*, while the baron added more pieces where he could (fols. 72r-73r, remaining staves of fol. 86r, and fols. 89v-91v). Fols. 59v-70r, as well as a few other pages here and there, were not used at all. It is unclear

if Le Vray's contribution was written down in one go, leaving blank pages for further additions, or if he worked in turns with the baron, who would have sent back the volume to him after having filled in fols. 38-56. After the last theorbo piece Le Vray added a note: "Je verray de vous envoyer dans quelque temps d'icy une suite a cette gigue Monsieur, afin qu'elle soit accompagnée" (I'll take care to send you in some time hence a suite for this gigue Sir, in order that it be accompanied), suggesting his sending of single pieces in a letter or through a messenger, a practice previously recorded, for instance, in Bullen Reymes's diary (Goy 1999, 188). Perhaps the pieces in the baron's hand were obtained in this way.

Le Vray did not receive the 1000 carolus guldens bequeathed to him by the baron de Goessen, as he died a few weeks before the latter. He was buried on December 3, 1704, in the churchyard of Oegstgeest, near Leiden. His widow Pétronelle Istas and his son Carel (Charles) were also to be buried there on July 20, 1706, and April 18, 1747, respectively (RAL, 501A, 2064, fol. [75r] and [81v], and 2066, fol. [29r]).

After this biographical survey of Le Vray, let us now revert to the tablature sources in his hand to discuss an aspect that might have bearings on his biography. He notes right-hand fingerings in a singular way, with a horizontal instead of a vertical dash for the thumb, placed either under a single letter or to the right of the relevant letters of a chord. For the index and middle fingers, he uses the customary dots (one or two), but places them also on the right of the letters of a chord. Besides, on the last bar of the strains of some courantes, the stem of the half note is crossed halfway by a convex arc, meaning that it is tied with an eighth note. Finally, the frequent notation of the eleventh course of the lute with *////a* and not 4 (though Le Vray uses the latter, as well as 5 and 6, in the theorbo pieces) may seem unusual in sources from the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

All or some of these features are found together in a few other sources, but in none more consistently and systematically than in D-Rp AN 62. This manuscript may be dated from 1670 after the excerpts from Lully's ballets found therein. It contains, in particular, almost the whole known output of Henry de Launay (or Henry Hangoulvan de Launay, as he himself sometimes signs his full name), who also proves to be the main scribe, thanks to the comparison of the titles in the manuscript with his signature in various parish records.³¹ Launay was born in Paris in 1621 from a dynasty of locksmiths.

³¹ The following biographical sketch of Launay is summarized after my still unpublished research conducted for an edition of the Regensburg manuscript, which should have been published by Tree Edition, but was never completed for various reasons. I hope to publish the results of this research later.

Around 1640 he married Marguerite Levray (d. 1662), who bore him several children, first in Paris and then in Orléans, where he settled with his family in or before 1656. There he taught not only the lute, but also mathematics and French, undoubtedly to foreign students of the local university. His name appears in the registers of various parishes of Orléans until 1680, but no burial record could be found.

Rereading my unfinished text about the Regensburg manuscript while writing the present article, I was struck by a fact I had never noticed before: on April 23, 1658, Marie, daughter of “honorabile homme Henry d’Angoulvent dict de Launay bourgeois de Paris et de dame Marguerite Le Vray sa femme,” had for her godfather a mysterious “noble homme François Le Vray,” whose signature, consisting of the surname only, if not perfectly identical to the known samples of that of Philippe François Le Vray, the earliest of which dates from 1679, neither is totally unlike them:



Fig. 7. From left to right: Archives municipales d’Orléans, GG 716, fol. 265v (April 23, 1658); RAL, 506, 1083, No. 69 (June 22, 1683).

Marie de Launay’s godfather may of course have been a relative of Launay’s wife (whose parentage remains unknown), and a mere namesake of the lute-playing François Le Vray. Should they prove to be one and the same person, however, that would explain how Launay’s notational idiosyncrasies spread farther north. In this case Le Vray, then aged twenty, might have studied law at the university—foreign students occasionally appear as godfathers in the same parish register where this entry is found—and he would not necessarily have been related to Marie Levray. Styling him as “noble homme François Le Vray” does not seem inconceivable. Indeed, we have seen that, just like the aforementioned Weissenburg/Albicastro, he was not just a musician, but he also moved in the higher spheres of society: in addition to him being acquainted with the baron de Goessen for at least thirty-eight years, both the duke of Saxe-Coburg and the prince of Vaudémont had selected him for important charges (that, in the second case, he did not perform his duty as he should have done is another matter). Moreover, André Bertho, canon of the collegiate church Saint-Pierre at Liège (see Poncelet 1906, p. L), chose him as proxy on February 3, 1683 (RAL, 0506, 1083, No. 69, June 22, 1683). Besides, he was baptized as François, and as we saw he appears to have added his father’s Christian name to his own from 1674 on.

One or another feature of Launay's notation are found with a few other scribes. In E-Szayas MS A-XII-3, the third hand-notated thirteen pieces, including ten by Launay, notated by a third hand, are all concordant with, and perhaps even copied from, D-Rp AN 62. This scribe dispenses with fingerings but uses Launay's typical shorthand for the half notes tied with an eighth note. Moreover, the notation *a* for the right thumb occurs in seven pieces in F sharp minor by Denis Gaultier inscribed in A-ETgoëss MS I by Pierre, baron de Goëssen, and thus possibly obtained through Le Vray. Last, an unidentified guitar master active in England in the late 1680s and 1690s also uses Launay's manner of notating right-hand fingerings, although very seldom (Hall 2010, see ill. 5-7, pp. 23-4; the same hand also appears, with the same notational idiosyncrasies, in GB-Ob MS Mus. e. 43³²). Let us say at once that his handwriting does not resemble Launay's at all, and that there is nothing to substantiate the hypothesis of a connection between the lutenist of Orléans and the guitarists named Delawny, Deloney, and Delloney mentioned by Hall (2010, 20).

In comparison with the lives of the other lute players and teachers active in the United Provinces in the second half of the seventeenth century, those of the three men to which the present study is devoted are very well documented. Another article, to be published in a later issue of this journal, will deal with occasional archival finds about several other lutenists and dancing masters who worked in the Dutch Republic at the same time, but whose lives cannot be reconstructed with much detail, as well as with some contemporary sources of Dutch origin, all of which are now preserved abroad.

Archival Sources³³

Most of the archival documents below are identified by an abbreviation of the repository, followed usually by two alphanumeric elements: the *fonds* to which each belongs, and the precise file or item within the *fonds*. For the sake of brevity, the introductory terms found in the finding aids (e. g., *bestandnummer*, *inventaris nr*, etc.) have been omitted. In the bibliography a simplified hierarchical presentation has been chosen for archival sources, and

³² I thank Caroline Lesemann-Elliott for having introduced this manuscript to me, which she was studying for her Ph. D. (email to the author, October 20, 2021).

³³ Direct links to the relevant finding aids (enabling access to the digital copy of the source when there is one) have been in the reference of each archival source listed here. For the Belgian parish registers (here from Archives de Bruxelles, Rijksarchief te Beveren and Stadsarchief Lier), the links are directly to the digitized registers on the website *Sources généalogiques – Généalogische bronnen* (<https://genealogie.arch.be/>), which requires to create a free account in order to display the images.

links to the finding aids are provided, enabling the reader both to place the documents in their archival context and, for most of those referred to, to access the digital copies.

Archives de la ville de Bruxelles

- RP Collection of parish registers
- 104 Parish of Saint-Michel et sainte-Gudule, baptisms, January 1st, 1704-September 5, 1710
- 140 Parish of Saint-Michel et sainte-Gudule, banns and marriages, February 27, 1695-January 1705
- 191 Parish of Sainte-Catherine, baptisms, April 22, 1708-October 23, 1711
- 252 Parish of Saint-Géry, baptisms, June 19, 1633-December 31, 1639
- 303 Parish of Saint-Jacques sur Coudenberg, baptisms, July 4, 1636-December 27, 1652
- 338 Parish of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, baptisms, March 26, 1632-January 2, 1642
- 428 Parish of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, burials, December 1st, 1647-February 27, 1692

Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher (Blois)

- E-DEPOT Archives deposited by some municipalities
- 232/1 Salbris, baptisms, May 1610–1628 and 1632–July 1644

Archives municipales et métropolitaines d'Orléans

- GG Cults
- 716 Parish of Saint-Liphard, baptisms and marriages, 1573–1685

AVB see Archives de la ville de Bruxelles

HGA — Haags gemeentearchief (The Hague)

- 0282-01 Consistory of the Dutch Reformed congregation of The Hague
- 76 Register of the tombs in the Grote of Sint Jacobskerk, 1626–1728
- 0321-01 Town secretary as collector of the taxes on marriages and burials
- 1 Register of taxes collected on marriages of the 1st to the 4th class, November 17, 1695–September 1708
- 23 Register of taxes collected on burials of the 1st to the 4th class, April 1699–November 19, 1722
- 0351-01 Judicial archives of The Hague
- 752 Register of betrothals, March 1680–July 1686

- 754 Register of betrothals, January 1693–1699
- 755 Register of betrothals, 1700–7
- 0372-01 Notarial archive of The Hague, 1597–1842
- 485 Minutes of notary Willem van Millert, 1673–4
- 487 Minutes of notary Willem van Millert, 1677–February 1679
- 778 Minutes of notary Harman Borsman, 1689–June 1710
- 1324 Minutes of notary Henrick Wegewaert, 1708–9
- 377-01 Registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials of The Hague, Scheveningen, and Loosduinen
- 44 Dutch Reformed congregation. Grote of Sint-Jacobskerk. Betrothals, January 11, 1693–1699
- 307 Walloon Reformed congregation. Baptisms, October 15, 1618–November, 1685
- 318 Lutheran congregation. Baptisms, 1677–January 20, 1707
- 325 Roman Catholic church. Church in the Oude Molstraat. Baptisms and marriages, 1680–1706
- 355 Roman Catholic church. Chapel in the Assendelftstraat. Baptisms, March 7, 1685–April, 1710

HUA — Het Utrechts archief (Utrecht)

- 34-4 Notaries of the city of Utrecht, 1560–1905
- 466 Protocol of notary Simon van den Aelpoel, 1655–97
- 618 Protocol of notary Frederick van Merkerck, 1679–81
- 635 Protocol of notary Wolfard Zwaerdecroon the younger, 1672–3
- 636 Protocol of notary Wolfard Zwaerdecroon the younger, 1674–5
- 648 Protocol of notary Adriaen Houtman, 1678
- 711 Registers of baptisms, marriage, and burials of the city of Utrecht, 1543–1811
- 63 Roman Catholic mission of the Jeruzalemsteeg, later Sint Martinuskerk in the Herenstraat (first Augustinian mission). Baptisms, 1663–71 and 1689–1811, marriages, 1690–1738, burials, 1690–1736

KLA — Kärntner Landesarchiv (Klagenfurt)

- 439
- B 1 Promise to pay 8000 fl. by the city of Iglau to Johann de Gossens, *Obristwachtmeister* and captain of the Liechtenstein regiment, August 4, 1622
- B 2 Emperor Ferdinand II grants Joannes à Goossen and his sister's son the barony, June 1st, 1632
- C 5 Testament of Joannes de Goosen, Leutkirch, March 17, 1633
- C 6 Burial and foundations of Joannes, baron of Gooss, at the church of the Carmelites

- in Straubing, June 9, 1634
- C 8 Testament of Antoine de Trooch baron de Goosen, Rome, October 18, 1636
- C 10 Transfer by Peter von Goossen to his brother Johann of the inheritance of their uncle Johann, Passau, March 18, 1652
- C 11 Testament of Peter, baron van Goessen, The Hague, December 18, 1700
- C 12 Documents concerning the death and burial of Pierre, baron de Goessen, 1669-1705
- C 13 Renunciation by Johann De Trooch to the inheritance of his uncle Johann in favor of his brother Peter, Vienna, September 4, 1645
- C 14 Testamentary dispositions of cardinal Johann von Goëss, 1683-9 (10 items)
- C 56 Extension of bishop Johann von Goëss' barony to two cousins to be chosen by himself, Laxenburg, June 2, 1677
- C 58 Cardinalship granted to Johann von Goëss, Rome, 1686-7
- D 1 Correspondance in French between Jean, prince-bishop of Gurk, and his brother Pierre, baron de Goessen, 1683-95

RAL — Regionaal archief Leiden

- 0501A Archives of the city of Leiden, 1601–1805, 1811–1814
- 1323 Register of persons buried in Leiden, January 28, 1657–April 1, 1667
- 2064 Register of revenue arising from burials outside of the city, 1684–1707
- 2066 Register of revenue arising from burials outside of the city, 1733–1769
- 0506 Old notarial archives of Leiden, 1564–1811
- 650 Minutes of the notary Frans Doude, 1648
- 658 Minutes of the notary Frans Doude, 1656
- 755 Minutes of the notary Arendt Joachimsz. Raven, 1649
- 775 Minutes of the notary Arendt Joacimsz. Raven, 1664 (II)
- 923 Minutes of the notary Pieter Geeraers van Tiel, June 1694–1698
- 938 Minutes of the notary Nicolaes van der Bouchorst, February 1657–1660
- 1014 Minutes of the notary Lambertus van Swieten, 1687
- 1083 Minutes of the notary Adriaen Pietersz. den Oosterlingh, 1683
- 1329 Minutes of the notary Casparus van Sonderen, 1680–March 1681
- 1346 Minutes of the notary Johan De Blauwen, 1704–7
- 1402 Minutes of the notary Jacobus Boeckweyt, 1685
- 0511A Consistory of the Dutch Reformed congregation of Leiden, 1347–2004
- 103 Diary of the churchwardens, 1669–72
- 0518 Archive of the Chamber of Orphans of Leiden, (1343) 1397–1860 (1866)
- 246 Book of tutors, August 13, 1655– June 29, 1665
- 1004 Registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials of Leiden

- 234 Dutch Reformed congregation. Hooglandsche Kerk, baptisms, 1636–December 6, 1644
- 298A Roman Catholic congregation. Church at the Kuipersteeg, baptisms and marriages, 1660–1711

Rijksarchief te Beveren

- BS7 Parish registers of the arrondissement of Dendermonde
- 266 /3 Denderhoutem, parish of Sint-Amandus, baptisms, 1617–92

Rijksarchief te Leuven

- 682/1 Registers of inscription of the students at the Old University of Leuven, 1426–1797
- 25 *Liber sextus continens catalogum matriculae Universitatis Lovaniensis inscriptorum*, February 19, 1616–February 3, 1651

Stadsarchief Lier

- 442 Parish of Sint-Margareta, index of burials, 1422–1797

Stadsarchief 's Hertogenbosch

- 0072 Notaries active at 's Hertogenbosch
- 2740 Minutes of the notary Jacob De Bye, 1698–1701

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