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# Lutherie and Luthiers in Late-Renaissance and Baroque Rome: Archival Investigations

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## *Introduction*

As early as 1491, we uncover evidence of the first German lute-makers in Rome, establishments that proliferated in the following century, as immigrants fled the wars of religion. The new arrivals augmented the few native makers and the many others who originated from other regions in Italy and beyond. New facts have also emerged concerning the Bavarian Pietro Alberti (ca.1528/30–1598) and his family, whose school trained the leading lute-makers operating in the city up to the middle of the next century. Besides their own clan, they had dealings with the important world of Roman gut-string makers, as well as instrumentalists in contact with the court of Cardinal Montalto. These included Vincenzo Pinti (“il Cavalier del liuto”), Lorenzo Tagetti (the lutenist “Lorenzino”), and Orazio Michi (“dell’arpa”).

In contrast to the traditional picture of the solitary artisan, particularly in the late *cinquecento*, some of the leading workshops were run almost on industrial lines. Indeed, in the inventory of goods left by Pietro Alberti, for example, we find almost 800 finished instruments, plus tens of thousands of component parts, such as soundboards, ribs, necks, and tuning pegs. Of the materials, the soundboards came from Bavaria via the German luthiers operating in Venice (who included the famous Giorgio Sellas), whereas the remainder—except for ivory, whalebone, and some exotic woods—could be procured on the local market. This is particularly true for the gut strings; Roman strings—the best then existing, together with those from Naples—were exported to colleagues working in Venice and in central Europe.

Strict notarized contracts regulated the hiring of apprentices and, more rarely, of workmen (as early as 1491). We frequently find contracts setting up companies among luthiers (starting from 1582), as well as between luthiers and string-makers. Appendices to this article contain biographical

sketches of eighty-five Roman makers of the era and nineteen shop inventories, dating from 1571–1689.

In Rome and other Italian towns, makers of German origin limited themselves to plucked strings, whereas Italian makers also produced bowed-string instruments. The latter were fairly rare, however, as viol consorts were abandoned in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the second half of the *cinquecento*, cittern-makers (*citerari*) of Umbrian origin are evident. Citterns were strung with metal spring wire, which is mentioned in an interesting inventory (1572). Also mentioned, in 1649, is a device for twisting wires together, in order to obtain wound strings, the so-called *saltaleoni*. Like the lute, citterns declined drastically in popularity, owing to the success of the guitar.

Attention is given to the taxonomies and emergence of various plucked instruments; these include many types of guitars, like the “Italian” version (alias *bordelletto* or *chitarra aliutata*), the “Spanish,” and the “theorboed” one, to which must be added the various *colascioni*, as well as mandolas and mandolins. As early as 1590, Rome began to record the transformation of the lute into the *chitarrone*, which after 1595 is called—in all workshop inventories—*tiorda* (theorbo). Toward the end of the following century, this instrument was completely supplanted in Rome by the *arciliuto* (archlute), which is found (albeit rarely) in private Roman dwellings from 1608 but, in the workshop inventories so far known, only from 1638. In about 1640–45 Pier Francesco Valentini records a tuning of the archlute in A, scaled down by a whole tone as compared to the lute, apparently to adapt it to developments in the Roman pitch; the same had for some time been happening to organs. Starting from the middle of the century, the so-called French lute also made an appearance, albeit played mostly by people of north-European origin. In workshop inventories the harp is almost entirely absent, a sign that this instrument, quite in vogue at the time, was produced by harpsichord-makers; one of them, for example, was Girolamo Acciari.<sup>1</sup>

1. Chiara Granata, “‘Un’arpa grande tutta intagliata e dorata.’ New Documents on the Barberini Harp,” *Recercare* 17 (2015): 139–84, at 150–54; Patrizio Barbieri, “Harpsichord-makers in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Rome,” *Informazione organistica*, 29 (2017): 187–215, at 195–6, 206–08. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Naples must, however, have been the main Italian center for the improvement and production of such instruments. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, resident in Rome, in 1598 had three not-better-specified *arpe* brought from Naples: Frascati, Archivio Aldobrandini, *Giornale del Libro mastro C 1599–1602 del Cardinale P. Aldobrandini*, dated 31.8 and 4.11.1598 (kindly pointed out by Antonella Fabriani Rojas).

In comparison, the making of bowed-string instruments is less remarkable. Viol consorts—whose size and tuning, differing from the French ones in several respects, have been handed down to us by Johannes Hieronimus Kapsberger—were in the seventeenth century recorded almost solely at the court of the Barberini. The same obsolescence, as in other Italian cities, affected the lyra, whose tuning has also been handed down to us as used in Rome, thanks to Stefano Landi. Aside from the sought-after instruments produced by the Tyrolese Matteo Albani during his stay in Rome (1665–68), there was a very low production of violins; the workshop inventories of Cristoforo Del Forno (1649) and Sebastiano Haim (1688) record several imported from Pesaro and from Germany, which were more esteemed than locally produced instruments. The Haim inventory also records the appearance of the marine trumpet (played, for example, by a few students of the Collegio Clementino) and the viola d'amore. The addition of sympathetic strings to the viola d'amore occurred for the first time, explicitly documented in 1718, in a manuscript by Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli.

The topics outlined above are discussed in the following sections:

*Via dei Leutari*: a chronological overview of the makers

The Alberti heritage and their social environment

Apprentices, workmen, companies and commercial activities

Materials

Instruments: the lute family.

The guitar family and other plucked strings

Bowed-string instruments

Appendix 1. New biographic documents (B sigla)

Appendix 2. New workshop inventories, arranged by date (D sigla)

As the title implies, the main focus of this article is on unpublished archival documents, many of which are transcribed in their entirety in appendices 1 and 2.<sup>2</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the text, notes, and appendixes:

ASAC-679 (and similar)	ASR, Notai A.C., vol. 679
ASR	Rome, Archivio di Stato
ASRCA-478 (and similar)	ASR, Notai R.C.A., vol. 478
ASV	Roma, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, parish of
<i>b</i>	born
<i>bt</i>	baptized
<i>B,Jo</i> (and similar)	reference to the biographical entry published in Appendix 1
<i>d</i>	died
<i>D.1651</i> (and similar)	reference to the dated workshop inventory published in Appendix 2
inv. q <sup>m</sup>	inventory of the late
La	ASV, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Status animarum
Lb	ASV, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Liber baptizatorum
Ld	ASV, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Liber defunctorum
Lm	ASV, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Liber matrimoniorum
q <sup>m</sup>	quondam = son (or daughter) of the late
T-3-27 (and similar)	ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, uff. 3, vol. 27

### ***Via dei Leutari: A Chronological Overview of the Makers***

From the documents recovered so far, the first lute-makers to operate in Rome appear to be from the Germanic area. They are recorded well before the fateful 1517, when Luther launched his de facto schism from the Church of Rome and, with it, a period of social unrest that lasted at least till the mid-seventeenth century. In this connection, the first document dates back to 1491, when *magister leutorum* Johannes de Tingel hired for one year a compatriot “for working at the lutes”; the related agreement shows that his workshop was located in *regione Parionis*, i.e., in the district where almost all the luthiers are found over the next two centuries (see *B,Jo*, Appendix 1). In the following decades, we find the presence of

other Germans, such as Martin Rethausen and, after his death (1542), his son Pietro Paolo (*B.ReP*) and Andrea (*B.ReA*), another family member.<sup>3</sup> In 1553, the *Theutonicus leutarius* Andrea Martini (*B.Ma*) also appears, followed four years later by his compatriots *Maestri* Cristoforo de Grima (*B.Gri*) and Giovanni Helmier (*B.Hel*).

The immigration of all kinds of German artisans, all Catholics, also marks a net increase after the Peace of Augsburg (1556). Most of the lute-makers came from the area in and around Füssen, in the Lech valley, and, generally speaking, from the district now politically astride the Bavarian-Austrian border (Augsburg, Allgäu, Innsbruck, Ried im Innkreis, Salzburg, Schwangau, Waltenhofen), which produced the best fir-wood employed in constructing soundboards.<sup>4</sup> To this wave of migrants in the second half of the sixteenth century belong Stefano Chelz (*B.Ch*), Pietro Pfanzelt (*B.PfP*), and most particularly Pietro Albert. The last-mentioned, like so many of his compatriots, is always registered with the Italianized name of “Alberti” (*B.AIP*). They joined other colleagues operating in Rome in that period, among them some Spaniards, a few Romans, and the many Italians from other regions of the peninsula, mostly unknown till now. Another more consistent wave of German makers is recorded in the first half of the following century, as a result of the bloody Thirty Years’ War (1618–48). For the names of all these luthiers, see Appendix 1.

With the exception of a few makers who, during the late cinquecento, operated in other districts of Rome (especially close to Via della Scrofa: see Croce, Pasetti, and Sturm), until the following century nearly all of them lived and worked in the narrow Via dei Leutari. This street still exists in the part of the Parione District between the very central Piazza di Pasquino and the parish church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and once, before the opening of present-day Corso Vittorio Emanuele, extended as far as the secondary *porticina* of this church (figs. 1–2). The whole length of the street was marked by rods, projecting from the walls, bearing the various shop signs, some of which clearly showed their owner’s nationality, as for example, the gilded imperial eagle of Pietro Alberti.<sup>5</sup> Also to be seen were

3. On Martin—whose portrait we have, engraved on his tombstone—see Patrizio Barbieri, “Cembalario, organaro, chitarraro e fabbricatore di corde armoniche nella *Polyanthea technica* di Pinaroli (1718–32). Con notizie sui liutai e cembalari operanti a Roma,” *Ricerche* 1 (1989): 123–209, at 173, 199.

4. On this subject, see the recent study by Renato Meucci, *Strumentaio. Il costruttore di strumenti musicali nella tradizione occidentale* (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 85–7.

5. T-32-8, f. 490v, 14.3.1602, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Pietro Alberti: “La mostra indorata con l’aquila

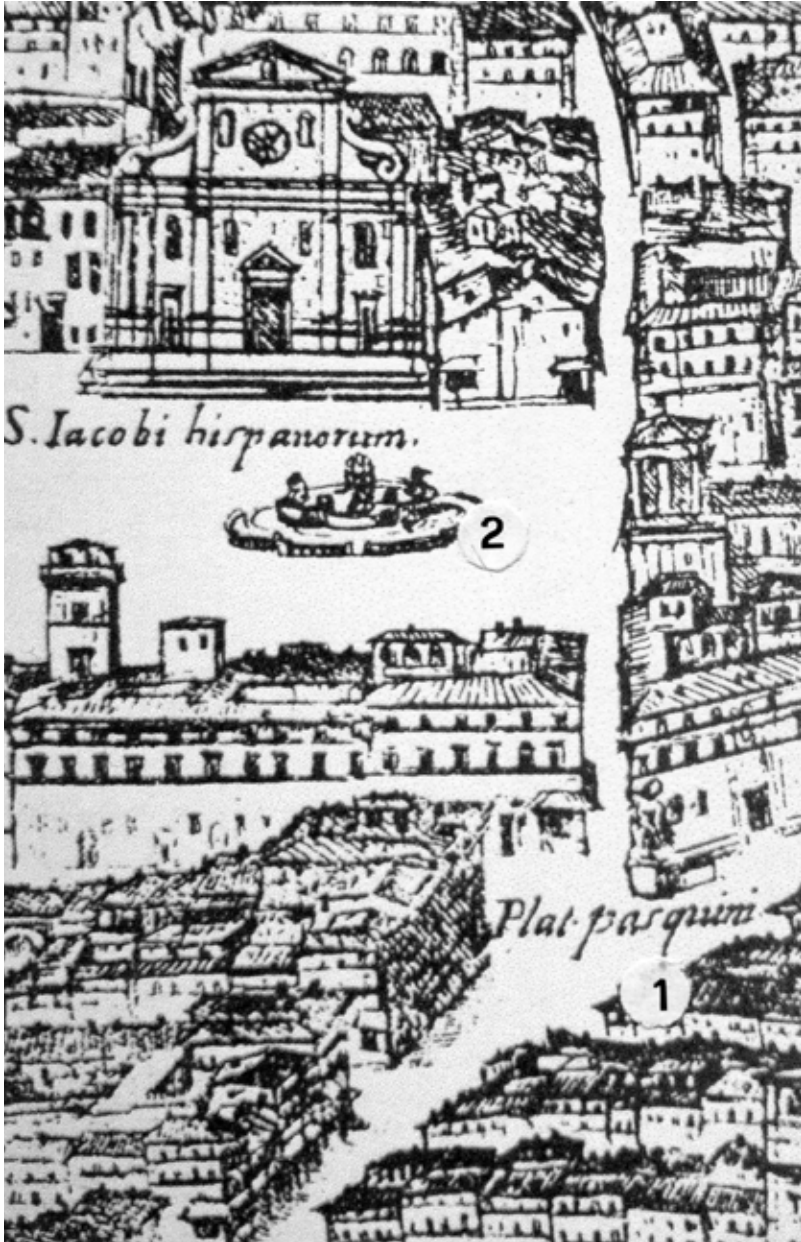


FIGURE 1. Map of Rome by Antonio Tempesta, 1593, detail: (1) Via dei Leutari, a street starting from Piazza di Pasquino, near (2) Piazza Navona. Stefano Borsi, *Roma di Sisto V. La pianta di Antonio Tempesta, 1593* (Rome, 1986), I.1.



FIGURE 2. Via dei Leutari as it is today, with no more lute-makers. Author's photo.



the German standard-bearer of Chelz (*B.Ch*), and the eagle of Stefano Indelang (whose shop entrance bore the sign “where all sorts of lute strings are sold”; see *D.1651*), in addition to a display of old lutes. The rampant lion was the sign of Cristoforo Del Forno (*D.1649a*). On this street, in 1636, is also recorded the *Hostaria del leuto*, where most probably many of the workers would meet to spend the evening, before returning to their respective shops to pass the night in their spartan beds.<sup>6</sup>

Of all these makers, the most distinguished were certainly the Germans, mostly pupils or kin of the Alberti family, as we shall see in the next section. The most prestigious names are recorded between the late cinquecento and the mid-seventeenth century: Pietro Alberti, Matteo Buchenberg, and Magno Grail. A non-marginal role must have been covered—at least in view of the quality of the assets they accumulated—by the Italians Giovanni Antonio Lauro and his son Bartolomeo, Bartolomeo Frezza, Cristoforo Del Forno, and Giorgio Giauna. The last-mentioned, a kinsman of the Alberti family, beside his activity as a luthier and major exporter of gut strings, sublet to various barbers a shop located on *Via dei Leutari*, provided with all the equipment required by that profession (*B.GiG*).

In 1656–57, Rome too was struck by the notorious plague epidemic. Thanks to preventive measures adopted by the papal government, deaths were limited to about 9,500 (a little less than 8 percent of the inhabitants), against the 150,000 at Naples and 50–60,000 at Genoa (amounting to 50 and 60 percent of their respective populations).<sup>7</sup> Particularly smitten was *Via dei Leutari*. There were however a few lucky ones, such as Giorgio Giauna; a statement drafted by the bursar of his parish church, San Lorenzo in Damaso, declares that, together with his family, he got away with just being quarantined:<sup>8</sup>

imperiale, un'altra mostra vecchia pur con l'aquila, quattro leuti vecchi da tener in mostra.” See also *D.1602*.

6. T-25-169, f. 545, 22.12.1636: inventory and estimate of the *Hosteria del Leuto alli Leutari*, by Pietro Mazzucchelli. Beds for workers are recorded in the leading workshops, such as that of Pietro Alberti (*D.1602*) and Pietro Grail (*D.1649*).

7. Eugenio Sonnino, “Cronache della peste a Roma. Notizie del ghetto e lettere di Girolamo Gastaldi (1656–1657),” *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 14 (2006) (whole volume: *La peste a Roma 1656–1657*, ed. Irene Fosi): 35–74, at 35.

8. T-32-171, f. 136, 17.12.1656. His family consisted of his wife, Caterina, and four still very young children (La).

Io infrascritto economo della Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Damaso fo fede che nella casa di Giorgio [Giauna] leutaro alli Leutari dal primo di novembre in quà non vi è stato nè infermo nè morto alcuno nel qual tempo per causa di sospetto fu serrato, essendoli andato un garzone al lazzaretto, et dopo fenita la quarantina furono aperti essendo sempre stati con buona salute quale al presente gode il medesimo Giorgio con tutta la sua famiglia et in [questo] dì 15 dicembre 1656. Giuseppe Pace.

The undersigned bursar of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso swears that, in the house of Giorgio [Giauna], luthier *alli Leutari*, from the first of November onwards there was no sick person nor any death during the time it was locked up under suspicion [of plague], because one of his workers had been hospitalized, and after the quarantine it was opened and all [persons] found to have been always in good health which the said Giorgio still enjoys with all his family, as at 15 December 1656. Giuseppe Pace.

To which a postscript reveals the precariousness that must have reigned at that time:

Concediamo licenza a Giorgio leutaro alli Leutari che possi serrare una sua stanza con alcune sue robbe per sicurezza nel presente pericolo, per mano di notaro serrata e sigillata questo dì 16 dicembre 1656.

A permit is granted to Giorgio, luthier *alli Leutari*, to lock up one of his rooms with some of his assets for security during this present danger; locked and sealed by the hand of the notary this day 16 December 1656.

Other makers were not so lucky. Lorenzo Filzer—who, a few years earlier, had finally managed to start up on his own, taking over the workshop of Cristoforo Del Forno—perished together with his family, just like Michele Cucchumos and Stefano Muhlich, two makers who had witnessed his will. The death of Muhlich, with his whole family, led to further negative impacts on the entire category, since it was linked to that of a woman from another district who had bought a guitar from his shop a short time before.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Sebastiano Haim—who then worked for Cucchumos and Muhlich, with whom he had witnessed Filzer's will—came out of it unscathed and in 1689 left a considerable workshop, perhaps the most flourishing, together with that of Alberto Platner (*D.1689*).

9. Saverio Franchi, "La musica a Roma al tempo della peste," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 14 (2006) (*La peste a Roma 1656-1657*, ed. Irene Fosi): 227–42, at 232. On Filzer, Cucchumos, and Muhlich, see also Barbieri, "Cembalaro," 171–2, and *B.Fil, B.Gra*.

Besides the plague, toward the middle of the century the fortunes of the Roman luthiers saw a decline: at Haim's shop, for example, small musical toys and instruments imported from Pesaro and Germany were also sold.

### ***The Alberti Heritage and their Social Environment***

The biographical documents in Appendix 1, to which this section makes tacit reference, finally shed more light on the fortunes of the Alberti family and its impact on developments in lute-making in Rome.<sup>10</sup>

**Pietro Alberti.** The head of the family was born around 1528–30 somewhere in the diocese of Augsburg. In Rome, he is recorded at least as early as 1563, when his daughter Clementia was baptized, with Bartolomeo della Croce, a Spanish lute-maker from Cordoba, as her godfather.

In 1581 Pietro's fame already extended outside Rome. In that year, through the *Cavaliere del liuto* Vincenzo Pinto, he received a commission for three "excellent" lutes for the Duke of Ferrara.<sup>11</sup> (Pinto moved to Rome around 1589, in the nearby Palazzo della Cancelleria, as *gentilhuomo* of the Vice-Chancellor Alessandro Peretti Damasceni, known as Cardinal of Montalto (*d* 1623), a passionate patron of music.) Pietro also enjoyed good relations with the Roman lute-player Lorenzo Tagetti ("Lorenzino"), who in 1584 is recorded as the godfather at the baptism of his daughter Elisabetta.<sup>12</sup> Together with the *cavaliere del liuto*, from at least as early as 1579 Pietro covered an authoritative role with the Roman string-makers, even

10. The documentary references for this section may be found, unless otherwise indicated, in: *B.Acc* (Adamo Accialini), *B.ALA* (Andrea Alberti), *B.AIG* (Giorgio Alberti), *B.AIP* (Pietro Alberti), *B.AIH* (male heirs of Pietro Alberti), *B.Bu* (Matteo Buchenberg), *B.En* (Magno Endras), *B.Frez* (Bartolomeo Frezza), *B.Fu* (Giovanni Cristoforo Fuchs), *B.Gra* (Pietro Grail), *B.InS* (Stefano Indelang), *B.Per* (Pietro Perchimiglier), *B.Tu* (Leonardo Tucci).

11. Luigi Francesco Valdrighi, *Nomocheliurgografia antica e moderna* (Modena: Società tipografica, 1884), 269. With regard to the *Cavaliere del liuto*, we find that—four months prior to his death, and contrary to what has been assumed up to now—he continued to exercise his musical activities. Indeed, on 31 July 1608, "al Signor Cavalier Vincenzo Pinto" was given the post in charge of music for the monastery of Santa Caterina della Rosa (or Rota): ASR, *Confraternita di S. Caterina della Rosa*, vol. 8, f. 20r. At that monastery, he must also have been in contact with "the Roman-born *Maestro* Carlo Morone, a leading master in lute playing" ("Ms. Carlo Morone romano, gran maestro di sonar di leuto"). Indeed, on 14 August of the same year, he went there to ask permission to marry Giulia, "figlia di Benedetto bolognese e di Margherita Graziani," which permission was granted (*ibid.*, f. 24r).

12. *B.AIP*. On Tracetti, see: Marco Pesci, "Lorenzo Tracetti, alias Lorenzino, suonatore di liuto," *Recercare* 9 (1997): 233-42; Pesci, "Lorenzini fra Parma e Roma. Nuova luce su Lorenzino 'bolognese', Lorenzo 'fiammingo', Lorenzino 'romano' e il Cavaliere del liuto," *Recercare* 17 (2005): 349–60.

extending his professional activities to this sector.<sup>13</sup> In 1585 he is recorded as having sold to two of them, Giacomo Bucci and Matteo De Matteis, one of his workshops, although he retained the right to a percentage on sales.

It appears that Cardinal Peretti's family owned a building on Via dei Leutari, which explains the authoritative presence of Marquis Michele Peretti, brother of Cardinal Montalto, as godfather at the baptism of Felice, Pietro's daughter (1594) and, in 1596, of Maria Anna, the daughter of the lute-maker Leonardo Tucci.<sup>14</sup> In 1613, the building also contained the workshop rented by the lute-maker Bartolomeo Frezza, together with the harpsichord-maker Camillo Sacchi.

Beside those mentioned, Pietro Alberti was in contact with various other important persons, such as the architect Giacinto Barozzi, alias "il Vignola," the son of the more famous Iacopo, and the harpsichord-maker "Giovanni Battista," who can probably be identified with Giovanni Battista Orsi. He was also in contact with some of his Italian colleagues, as witnessed by his presence at the inventory operations for the workshop of Giacomo Fredi (*D. 1595a*).

At his death (1598), he had accumulated a fortune comparable to the one left in 1552 by his compatriot Luca Maler, a lute-maker operating at Bologna.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the inventory of Pietro Alberti's goods amounts to circa 2,500 *scudi*, comprising property and the already-mentioned enormous number of musical instruments (*D. 1598, 1602*). He left three sons: Vendelio, Giovanni Giorgio, and Pietro (*B. AlH*). In 1602, the twenty-year-old Vendelio attempted to set up a company with his two younger brothers, but it cannot have met with success, since in 1611 he died at Casale Monferrato, in Piedmont, where he had moved as lute-maker and *curiale* of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, "Serenissimo principe di Mantova e Monferrato."

Pietro's three successors thus proved they were not up to his standard. His spiritual heir, however, was the well-remembered Matteo Buchenberg, husband of Pietro's daughter Virginia and formerly one of his work-

13. Patrizio Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers 1550–2005," *Studi Musicali* 25 (2006): 3–128, at 21–2.

14. On the musical interests of Michele Peretti (1577–1631) see James Chater, "Musical Patronage in Rome at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Cardinal Montalto," *Studi Musicali* 16 (1987): 179–224, at 183.

15. On the inventory of goods of this person, see Sandro Pasqual, "Luca Maler (c. 1485–1552), Prima parte," *Società Italiana del Liuto* VI, no. 4, vol. 22 (April 1997): 3–11, at 6–8.

men. Besides his close connexions with the *cordari*, in 1616 Matteo was in contact with Orazio Michi, alias “dell’Arpa,” who had just arrived at the court of Cardinal Montalto.<sup>16</sup> Matteo had numerous children, but none appears to have survived him, or at least to have continued with his workshop. Even his end is uncertain, since he appears for the last time in December 1627, in prison for a debt of 40 scudi. Here too, Matteo’s spiritual heir was one of his workmen, Magno Grail, who at his death left the workshop to his brother and collaborator Pietro (*d* 1649). Workmen of Magno who rose to lesser fame were in turn Cucchumos, Hieber, Fux, Keller, and the Italian Adamo Accialini, one of whose employees was Stefano Indelang, who then became his partner and heir to the workshop.

**Giorgio and Andrea Alberti.** These were both sons of a not-better-identified Giovanni, probably Pietro’s brother, as it seems we can deduce from *B.ALPH*. The more active of the two appears to have been Giorgio (*d* 1624), none of whose sons was capable of running the workshop. Three of his daughters, however, married lute-makers, albeit not of the highest class: Anna with Martino Nol, Maddalena with Magno Nol (formerly a workman of Giorgio), and Apollonia with another of his workmen, Pietro Perchimiglier. As far as the latter is concerned, in his will Giorgio left him the workshop and a considerable sum of money, on condition that he marry Apollonia. The betrothal agreement, signed immediately after his death, prudently specifies however that Perchimiglier would receive the bequests according to the said will, only after having consummated the marriage “by carnal coupling” (“per coppulam carnalem consummabit”). This must duly have happened, since the couple had numerous children.

Passing now to Andrea, died in 1649, we know that he had two workmen, who subsequently set up on their own account: Magno Endras and Giorgio Felle; the latter then moved to Füssen, as we shall see in the next section. Andrea had one daughter, Caterina, who married the extremely active Giorgio Giauna, mentioned above. The Alberti family ceased active in 1656, when Giovanni, one of Andrea’s sons, died of the plague.<sup>17</sup>

16. *B.Bu*. “Orazio Michi napolitano” also had relations with the *cordari*. Indeed, on 7 March 1623, in the *Liber baptizatorum* of the parish of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (Lb) he appears as godfather at the baptism of Carla, the daughter of the string-maker Lorenzo Valenti. Michi died in Rome in 1641, very rich, with servants and coachmen. He left three harps, of which we unfortunately do not know the maker’s name; see: Alberto Cametti, *Orazio Michi dell’arpa* (Torino: Bocca, 1914), 57.

17. *B.ALGio*. Franchi, “La musica a Roma,” 239.

With these luthiers, the generation of the German makers whose activity was limited to plucked-string instruments came to an end. Toward the end of the century, with the decline in such instruments, the new generation of German makers—such as A. Platner, Tännigar, and Techler—successfully turned instead to the bowed-string sector.

### *Apprentices, Workmen, and Companies of Various Kinds*

**Apprentices and workmen.** Unlike the rules at Füssen, lute-makers operating in Rome, including those coming from that area, were not subject to the elaborate regulations of any guild. As far as apprentices are concerned, so far no certificate has emerged of having passed the final test, even if there were such a test in Rome. Perhaps because they were minors, however, we find that apprenticeships were governed by strict notarized agreements, economically much less expensive for the apprentice than they were in Bavaria.<sup>18</sup>

The first one known is a *Positio ad discendum artem leutarij* dated 1561, in which Bartolomeo della Croce receives for five years at his workshop a youth presented by his mother, a widow, and by his guardian (*B.De.Cr.*). Such agreements, also known as *Accommodatio pueri ad artem* (“starting off the child at a trade”), obliged the *maestro* not only to teach his apprentice the lute-making art as if to a son (“omni charitate paterna docere”), but also to give him board and lodging in his own home (“bene tractare et alere”)—all this in exchange for services, at home and at the workshop, which the latter was capable of performing. It was sometimes the parent’s or guardian’s responsibility to contribute to initial maintenance costs, and above all to guarantee that the *maestro* would be reimbursed for expenses sustained should the apprentice leave without just cause prior to the expiry of the agreement.<sup>19</sup> After the first two years, in some cases a small wage was contemplated, either annually or at the end of the agreement.<sup>20</sup> Some

18. On the rules in force at Füssen, see Meucci, *Strumentaio*, 90–91. Unlike what has emerged so far about the situation in Rome, at Naples the end of the apprenticeship coincided with the issue of proper certification of the professional skills attained, allowing the apprentice to become a qualified workman, the next step to achieving the status of *magister*. See Luigi Sisto, *I liutai tedeschi a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento. Storia di una migrazione in senso contrario* (Rome: Istituto per la Storia della Musica, 2010), 48.

19. Also similar to the situation at Naples; see Sisto, *I liutai tedeschi*, 45–6.

20. Such contracts followed no precise formula and were adjusted according to the

of the youths with a certain experience might then be given a proper contract as an “assistant luthier” (*Obligatio inserviendi*) which, apart from what was established for apprentices, also fixed a precise wage: see for example *B.Frez*, for the years 1617 and 1628.

With regard to proper hiring contracts for workmen (*Pacta inserviendi*), the notarial documents examined show that they were rarer than apprenticeship agreements. One example is that in which Giovanni Battista Indelang, in 1653, hires for three years Giorgio Herel, a native of Füssen, with a salary of 30 scudi per annum, plus complete board and lodging (*B.InGB*). Sometimes, however, workmen clearly had to work without any contract and were paid when the work was completed. For example, in 1619, when he started working independently, Giovanni Battista Del Forno states that he served his brother Cristoforo “as shop-boy” (*pro famulo*), that he received his entire “bonus and wages” and that he had “no further claims” (*B.GB*). In 1650 the said Cristoforo calculated what was owing to Lorenzo Filzer, who later became his successor, “for the whole time” he had spent working with him: the period must have been quite long, since the final amount of his calculations came to as much as 300 scudi (*B.C*).

**Lute-maker companies.** At the turn of the sixteenth into the seventeenth century, when lute-making in Rome reached its apex, a fair number of notarized deeds show that the various contracting parties formed *compagnie* to produce the said instruments. In some cases they were even financed by private parties from outside the trade, purely as an investment. In 1596, for example, a certain Giovanni di Giovanni, a professional soldier (*miles levis armaturae*) and native of Milan, opened and financed a workshop which he entrusted to the German Cristoforo Echmen with the task of producing—for a pay of 4 scudi per month, plus board and lodging—“lutes, guitars, *thiorbe* that *Maestro* Cristoforo is wont to make.” The latter is only allowed to “put, as he wishes, his name and mark on all the works he produces, but all the work shall be understood as by the said *ms. Giovanni*, albeit with the name of the said Cristoforo.”<sup>21</sup> A similar con-

situation. Related examples, providing greater detail, can be found in *B.Frez*, *B.Pas*.

21. *B.Ech*. Although the maker’s mark on the instrument was then customary, the workshop inventories now found rarely mention the iron stamps with which the marks were made. They may perhaps have been kept by the heirs to avoid their being improperly used by the successor to the shop. We find, however, two exceptions: (1) the inventory dated 1602 made by the heirs of Pietro Alberti, in which “two iron stamps” (“doi marchi di ferro”) appear, T-32-8, f. 490v, 14.3.1602; and (2) the one relating to Leonardo Tucci,

tract, again for the making of “lutes, guitars, *tyorbe*,” was signed in 1597, also by this soldier, with Orazio Fattorini, a native of Pesaro (*B.Fa*). Agreements of this kind were also signed by makers whose turnover was sufficiently large for them to possess more than one workshop. An example of this is the Roman-born Bartolomeo Lauro, who in 1582 rented out a workshop to Orazio Di Stefano (*B.Dist*, *B.LaB*) and two years later opened another, entrusting the management, again as a sublet, to Giacomo (Giacomino) Fredi and Leonardo Tucci, both then at the beginning of their career (*B.LaB*); see the inventory of the shop (*D.1584*). Equal partnership contracts were also signed by professional makers, such as the one already noted between Cristoforo Del Forno and Magno Haitert, dated 1602;<sup>22</sup> to this we may add another, dated 1620, between the same Del Forno and Giovanni Battista Conelli, both natives of Asti, in Piedmont (*B.C*).

**Luthiers and string-makers.** We have already mentioned the great reputation, throughout Europe, of Roman gut strings (*corde armoniche*). They were produced by the *cordari* of Abruzzese origin, who every year—from Easter to June 24, during which period most lamb meat was consumed—invited seasonal workers from their native villages to produce the strings, whose manufacturing secrets were jealously guarded.<sup>23</sup> Until now, their presence in the city was dated back to 1566, although documents that have recently emerged turn the clock back at least to 1545.<sup>24</sup> We have already mentioned Pietro Alberti’s considerable trade in the gut string sector. In the following century, a similar double activity was carried out by Cristoforo Del Forno, who in 1630 set up a company with the *cordaro* Lorenzo Valente for the sale of lute and violin strings in the lands then dated 1605, which records “four marking irons” (*D.1605*).

22. Published in their entirety in Maurizio Tarrini, “L’inventario di una bottega liutaria romana redatto nel 1602,” *Liuteria* 4, no. 12 (December 1984): 43–9.

23. On their organization and names, see Barbieri, “The Roman Gut String Makers 1550–2005.” They were mainly from three villages near Sulmona: Bolognano, Musellaro, and Salle.

24. *B.Bo*. Indeed, in 1545 several purchases of gut strings are recorded—not however for musical instruments, but for *battere bambace*—by one “Bonaiuto of the lutes,” also called “Bonaiuto the Jewish lute-maker” (*B.Bo*). *Bambace* is a vegetal fiber once used especially to manufacture various types of canvas; the manufacturer (*bambagiario*) “prepares it, beats it, stretches it out to be used for lining clothes,” as we are informed by Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli, “*Polyanthea technica*,” vol. 1 (Rome, ca.1718–32), f. 186v; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 3004, entry “Bambagiario.” The reference to the year 1566 has been taken from Barbieri, “The Roman gut string makers,” 13.



said to belong to “the Empire,” i.e. in *partibus Alemaniae*. For this purpose the two partners utilized as a middleman the already-mentioned Bavarian lute-maker Giorgio Felle—who was then still working in Rome, and only later moved to Füssen—through whose offices the strings even reached Leipzig. This collaboration was still active in 1644, when a disagreement over finances is recorded, owing to the non-transfer of monies by Felle. In 1633 a second company belonging to the tireless Del Forno is also recorded, this time with the participation of two merchants from Montpellier (Antonio Blavet and Gabriele Sologne), for the sale of gut strings in France.<sup>25</sup>

In the same years, a similar intense trade was also carried out by the luthier Giorgio Giauna, and his death certificate (1665) even records him as a “string-maker” (*fidium artifex*).<sup>26</sup> Such encroachment between the two sectors in question must however have been carried out by both sides, and indeed it has emerged that the *cordaro* Giustino Pantalone in 1659 also owned a workshop as a *chitarraro*, whose equipment he sold that year to the *chitarraro* Giovanni Ankeler accepting as payment thirty Spanish guitars (*chitarre alla Spagnola*).<sup>27</sup>

Examining the various notarial documents of the period, it seems that generally speaking many of these makers, including the best-known, did not neglect any trade opportunity (even alien to their own profession) that could lead to some economic benefit. Up to now this has not been possible to verify with regard to organ- and harpsichord-makers. Indeed, Giorgio Giauna—besides renting out to various barbers his perfectly equipped workshop, as mentioned above—traded in fabric, wool, yarn, scented leather and whalebone, while Bartolomeo Lauro was very active in real estate (*B.GiG*, *B.LaB*).

**Progressive decline in luthier fortunes.** The documents indicated in Appendix 2 show that, in the decade at the turn of the sixteenth into the

25. *B.C.* On the sale of these strings in France, see also Barbieri, “The Roman,” 15–17.

26. Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 191.

27. T-25-298, f. 409, 4.6.1659: “Iustinus Pantalonus qm̄ Ambrosij de Salle . . . vendidit D. Ioanni filius qm̄ alterius Ioannis Anclé theutonico . . . tutti li stigli legnami et ferramenti esistenti nella botteggha di chitarraro di esso Giustino posta in con[tr]o] la chiesa di S. Paulino della Regola nel cantone att. la botteggha di cordaro del medesimo Giustino per tal qual sono, quali detto Giovanni confessa haver havuti, et ricevuti, et esserli stati consegnati avanti la stipulatione del presente instromento . . .” Price 37 scudi, “quali scudi trentasette moneta detto Giovanni promette pagare in trenta chitarre alla spagnola,” at a rate of two guitars per week. On Ankeler, see: *B.An*; Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 183.

seventeenth century, the inventories of Roman workshops record a total of several thousand finished instruments and as many still incomplete (and these inventories refer only to part of the luthiers then active in the city). Such quantities are decidedly not negligible, in view of the lack of capital in the city and its population of little more than 100,000. Toward the middle of the century, however, we see a considerable reduction in the economic fortunes of Rome's luthiers. A government survey in 1708 reveals that the annual incomes of makers operating there in the musical instrument sector were as follows, in decreasing order: *cordari*, organ-makers, harpsichord-makers, luthiers, with the last-mentioned, on average, well below the penultimate category.<sup>28</sup>

**Materials.** Two of the essential components for lutes and guitars are the soundboard (then called *fondo*) and the ribs (*stecche*), the latter utilized in constructing the body.

For the former, the best fir-wood came from the Bavarian Alps. In this connection, in the mid-sixteenth century, Thomas Hoby already stated that at Füssen could be found "the best harmonic tables for lutes, which from here are sent to Venice and to various other places."<sup>29</sup> Documentary evidence confirms that the ones used in Rome came from this very location, via Venice. Indeed, in his will (1646), the *maestro cordaro* Tiburzio Tuzi declares that he had trade relations with the Bavarian lute-maker Giorgio Sellas, who operated in Venice, to whom he desired the return of a "case full of *fondi* (soundboards) for Spanish guitars," and that *fondi* of this kind had in turn been sold by him in Rome to Bartolomeo Frezza (as much as a whole "barrel full") and Magno Nolle;<sup>30</sup> barrels containing soundboards for Spanish guitars are also met with in the inventory of the workshop of Stefano Indelang (*D.1651*). It should be noted that the intermediaries for the lute-makers operating in Venice and Rome were the *cordari* in the latter city, who sent their highly sought-after products throughout Europe and thus had great experience in such risky international transactions. The *fondi* were then shaped properly on appropriate

28. Patrizio Barbieri, "An Assessment of Musicians and Instrument-makers in Rome during Handel's Stay: The 1708 Grand Taxation," *Early Music* 37 (2009): 597–619, at 610–13.

29. Meucci, *Strumentaio*, 102, taken from Thomas Hoby, *The Travels of Sir Thomas Hoby . . . Written by Himself (1547–1564)*, ed. Edgar Powell (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1902), 7.

30. Barbieri, "The Roman Gut-String Makers," 23, 95.

*forme* corresponding to the desired shape and size of the instrument.<sup>31</sup>

Unlike the soundboards, the ribs could be provided wholesale by local sawmills. In 1581, for example, the *segatore* Ottaviano Cola received 15 scudi from the lute-makers Fermo Pasetti and Pietro Pfanzelt, undertaking to provide them with 2,000 lute ribs and 1,000 guitar ribs (*B.PfM*). The document does not state whether the ribs had to be of cypress-wood (the most sought-after were di *Candia*, i.e. from the isle of Crete, then in Venetian hands), of yew, walnut, beech, or maple, all woods documented for the purpose in Rome (*D.1595a, 1598, 1602, 1605, 1649*). The ribs also had to be unfinished: indeed, at Giacomo Fredi's workshop (*D.1595a*) we find records of planed ribs (*spianate*) and unfinished ones (*rustiche*); the latter were then finished by the maker himself using a "table for planing ribs" (*tavola da spianar stecche*).<sup>32</sup>

As well as the other woods traditionally employed for making lutes (pearwood; poplar; *altano*, i.e., *ontano* or alder: *D.1595a, 1653; legno di fiume*, probably willow, box-wood for making pegs: *D.1595a*). The documents also mention non-local exotic woods, such as Indian fig-tree (*fico d'India*), various types of ebony (also in the form of sawdust: *D.1649*) and others of South American origin, such as snake-wood (*serpentario*) and granadilla (*granatiglia*); the last-mentioned, which in lute-making has so far been recorded only in the nineteenth century, is shown to have been used as early as 1651 in the workshop of Stefano Indelang.<sup>33</sup>

With regard to *serpentario*, about ten kilos of it are recorded in the inventory of Sebastiano Haim's workshop (*D.1689*), its use not being stated. This wood, thanks to its high elastic qualities, was then much used in making bows, as an alternative to other exotic woods, such as the particular kind of ebony known as *ebano leonato*.<sup>34</sup> For this kind of use, however,

31. See, for example, *D.1595, 1602, 1605, 1610, 1618, 1638, 1651, 1653*. They are illustrated in the tables of Pinaroli's "Polyanthea," relating to the workshops of Roman makers, reproduced in Barbieri, "Cembaloro," 166.

32. This tool is indicated for example in the inventory of the workshop of Angelo Lisi (*D.1618*). For its structure, see the tables of the "Polyanthea," mentioned in the previous note.

33. *D.1649, 1649a, 1651, 1653, 1689*. On these woods, see Guglielmo Giordano, *I legnami del mondo*, second ed. (Rome: Il Cerilo, 1980), under the entry.

34. The use of *ebano leonato* is, for example, documented for the bow of a violoncello made by Michele Straub (active in northern Italy from 1651 to ca.1686), recorded on 18 November 1709 in the inventory of the late Prince Giovanni Battista Pamphilj: "Un violoncello di legno di Michele Straub con sua tastatura d'ebano longo con il manico sei palmi incirca e largo il corpo da capo un palmo, et once nove incirca con suo arco di ebbano leonato con sua cassa d'abbeto" (ASAC-2661, unnumbered folios, "Nella stanza

the said workshop inventory records “100 sticks of *licino* to make bows.” This kind of wood, in an inventory dated 1709 is also called *elcino*, i.e. *leccio* (holm oak = *Quercus ilex*), a variety of oak fairly widespread in Italy and elsewhere in Europe.<sup>35</sup> Again in Haim’s inventory, *serpentario* was employed for the body of particularly valuable instruments, since it records “a lute of snake-wood inlaid with ivory” (valued at as much as nine scudi) and “a guitar of snake-wood inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl”; also mentioned are “ten mandolas of ebony, snake-wood and cypress from Candy.”

Beside the materials last mentioned, for the decoration of instruments the inventories discovered also mention the more economical whalebones and buffalo ribs; the latter is an animal found, even nowadays, widespread throughout the cheese-making areas of the Roman Campagna. Furthermore, compared to ivory, bone has the added advantage of not turning yellow with time, as can also be seen in antique keyboard instruments on which it is used.<sup>36</sup> Such materials were employed for more elaborate instruments than the ordinary, such as those known as *profilati* (i.e., with ribs and trimming), *miniati* (with miniatures), *travisati*, and *con trofei* (i.e., enriched with engravings on plates of ivory, bone, mother-of-pearl, and precious woods).<sup>37</sup> The price could then rise from 0.30–0.60 scudi for *ordinari* models to a maximum of 12 scudi, the latter being the estimate for “an ivory lute” by Pietro Alberti (*D.1602*). Besides the Haim instrument mentioned above, see also the three lutes made by Pietro Alberti for the Duke of Ferrara, mentioned above (8 scudi each) and the “chitarra a pezzetti lavorata di madreperla” by the workshop of Lorenzo Filzer, estimated at 9 scudi.<sup>38</sup> Such prices however were much lower than that of an ordinary spinet similarly decorated.

delli preti, e camerieri ultimo appartamento”).

35. In the Pamphilj inventory mentioned in the previous note, immediately after the Straub violoncello is recorded “un’istromento di contrabasso longo palmi nove incirca col suo arco d’elcino.” As regards the horsehair used for the said bows, recorded at the workshop of Stefano Indelang are “two horsetails,” clearly utilized for that purpose (*D.1651*).

36. This fact is mentioned in Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* (1753); see Meucci, *Strumentaio*, 229.

37. See *D. 1593, 1595, 1598, 1618*. A tool for making these *filetti* (*taglia profili*) is illustrated for example by Pinaroli in the tables mentioned in fn 31 above. On this subject, see also Giovanni Antonioni, *Dizionario dei costruttori di strumenti a pizzico in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Cremona: Turris, 1996), 44.

38. Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 170: “Una chitarra a pezzetti lavorata di madre perla, scudi 9.0.”

TABLE 1. List of plucked-string instruments found in Roman workshop inventories (counting only finished instruments). All can be found in Appendix 2; for those of Haitert and Filzer see footnotes 22 and 98, respectively).

	Lutes	Theorboed lutes	French lutes	Theorboes	Archlutes	Guitars	Theorboed guitars	Mandolas	Mandolini	Citterns	Colascioni	Theorboed colascioni	Harps
D. Coluzzi 1571	c.9	-	-	-	-	c30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bartolomeo 1575	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	101	-	-	-
B. Lauro 1593	99	-	-	3	-	223	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. Lauro 1595	84	-	-	5	-	73	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
G. Fredi 1595	93	-	-	-	-	81	-	-	-	4	-	-	1
P. Alberti 1598	447	-	-	24	-	266	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M. Haitert 1602	8	-	-	1	-	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Del For- no 1602	26	-	-	6	-	109	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Tucci 1605	26	-	-	1	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M. Spix 1610	89	-	-	32	-	242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G. Carbon- cini 1614	16	-	-	-	-	186	-	-	-	11	1	-	-
A. Lisi 1618	-	-	-	-	-	83	4	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 1. *continued*

	Lutes	Theorboed lutes	French lutes	Theorboes	Archlutes	Guitars	Theorboed guitars	Mandolas	Mandolini	Citterns	Colascioni	Theorboed colascioni	Harps
S. Indelang & A. Accialini 1638	4	-	-	7	4	119	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P. Grail 1649	25	-	11	21	15	137	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
C. Del For- no 1649	-	-	-	-	-	636	-	-	-	19	26	2	-
S. Indelang 1651	14	1	1	20	4	79	1	2	-	-	-	1	1
G.B. Indelang 1653	5	-	9	55		261	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Filzer 1657	-	-	-	-	-	155	-	-	22	43	55	7	-
S. Haim 1689	1	-	10	-	26	259	-	22	-	10	-	-	2

TABLE 2. List of bowed-string instruments found in Roman workshops (counting only finished instruments)

	Violins	Violini piccoli	Bassi di violino	Virole	Virole da braccio	Virole d'amore	Virole da gamba	Violoni da gamba	Lire da braccio	Lire da gamba	English lyras	Marine trumpets
D. Coluzzi 1571	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bartolomeo 1575	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. Lauro 1593	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6	2	-	-
B. Lauro 1595	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	7	4	-	-
G. Fredi 1595	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	a few	-	-	-
P. Alberti 1598	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M. Haitert 1602	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Del Forno 1602	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Tucci 1605	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
M. Spix 1610	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G. Carboncini 1614	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A. Lisi 1618	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S. Indelang & A. Accialini 1638	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P. Grail 1649	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C. Del Forno 1649	38	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 2. *continued*

	Violins	Violini piccoli	Bassi di violino	Viola	Viole da braccio	Viole d'amore	Viole da gamba	Violoni da gamba	Lire da braccio	Lire da gamba	English liras	Marine trumpets
S. Indelang 1651	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G.B. Indelang 1653	17	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Filzer 1657	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S. Haim 1689	78	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	3

### *Instruments: the Lute Family*

Having concluded the general comments, we shall now examine the specifications of each class of instrument found in the various inventories (tables 1 and 2). This discussion, like the one on instruments in the following two sections, aims principally at assessing the technical and historical contribution of the new documentary data that have emerged. The tables provide confirmation of the great disproportion between the two main classes of instrument—the plucked- and bowed-string—for reasons already mentioned in the introduction to this article.

**Lute.** The description given in these inventories is almost always limited to the materials with which the instrument is made, plus any decoration. No reference, for example, mentions the transition from the old pear-shaped silhouette to the more rounded one, introduced towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>39</sup> As far as pitch level is concerned, the scarce information provided is wholly generic, of the sort: “68 new lutes both small and large” (*D.1595a*), “11 ordinary short lutes” (*D.1649*), or “6 lutes

39. On this subject, see Mariagrazia Carlone, “Lutes, Archlutes, Theorboes in Iconography,” *Music in Art* 30 (2005): 75–87, at 76.



with a short neck, Italian-style, without *tratta*,” i.e., not of the theorboed type (*D.1651*). Period treatises that have come down to us however all concern nominal G-tuning, which Michael Praetorius defines as the “ordinary chorist or alto lute.”<sup>40</sup> They comprise the following two:

1. In his *Il leuto anatomizzato* (c1640–45), Pier Francesco Valentini mentions the tuning of an eight-course lute: *C-D-G-c-f-a-d'-g'*.<sup>41</sup> This thus coincides with the earlier information provided by the Neapolitan Scipione Cerreto in 1601, consisting of basic six-course tuning (*G-c-f-a-d'-g'*), to which two lower courses are added: *C* and *D*.<sup>42</sup>

2. In 1636–37 Mersenne had however already mentioned the tuning of a ten-course lute, in accordance with a piece of information provided by Kapsberger and sent to him from Rome through Jean-Jacques Bouchard.<sup>43</sup> This coincides with that of Valentini, but with a complete scale of bass courses: *C-D-E-F-G-c-f-a-d'-g'*.<sup>44</sup> The same tuning is indicated by Kircher, according to whom all ten courses consist of bichords, except for the chanterelle.<sup>45</sup>

40. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II. De organographia, Parts I and II*, transl. and ed. by David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 58 (which lists as many as seven pitch levels). See also Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (no place: The Lute Society of America, 2002), 78–9.

41. Pier Francesco Valentini, “Il leuto anatomizzato,” Rome [ca.1640-45], f. 2r–v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barberiniano lat. 4433. For this tuning, he also used equal temperament, obtained with a monochord whose vibrating string-lengths were the result of his original method of calculation. See Patrizio Barbieri, “Il temperamento equabile nel periodo frescobaldiano,” in *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita*, ed. Sergio Durante and Dinko Fabris (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 387–423, at 397–400.

42. Scipione Cerreto, *Della prattica musica vocale, et strumentale* (Naples: Carlino, 1601), 315

43. Marin Mersenne, *Correspondance*, vol. 4, ed. Cornelis de Waard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), 5; Jean-Jacques Bouchard (Rome) to Mersenne (Paris), 14.1.1634: “Voici l'accord d'Italie pour ce qui est des luts, cistres, guitarras, tiorbes et violes que Giovan Giacomo [Kapsberger] m'a donné . . .” These tunings were indicated on an attached sheet, which has not come down to us. As we shall see, however, they were all published by Mersenne in his *Harmonie universelle*.

44. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636–37); reprint, ed. François Lesure (Paris: CNRS, 1963), vol. III, “Traité des instrumens à cordes,” 87: “Accord du luth,” “comme les Italiens marquent leur accord.”

45. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 1 (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650), 476. As mentioned above, in the Roman archival documents consulted, the number of courses is never stated. Only on 10 February 1742, in the inventory of goods left by the late Pasquale Liberti, do we find recorded: “A large ten-course lute, almost new, eight scudi” (“Un liuto grande a dieci ordini quasi nuovo, scudi 8.-: T-25-578, f. 130v).

**Chitarrone vs. theorbo.** In 1572, the inventory of goods left by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este records, at his Roman residence at Monte Giordano, "a keyed *tiorba* in its wooden case."<sup>46</sup> The term should be interpreted according to its more ancient meaning of "hurdy-gurdy." This interpretation is confirmed in 1585, both in the *Piazza universale* by Tommaso Garzoni,<sup>47</sup> and by the employment of such an instrument during a public festival at Ferrara during Carnival that year.<sup>48</sup>

A short while later, the same term was used, on the other hand, to designate the well-known instrument belonging to the lute family, an instrument that was earlier known as a "chitarrone."<sup>49</sup> Still called *chitarrone*, this instrument first appears at Florence in 1587 and in Rome in 1590.<sup>50</sup> It is well known that musical instruments of the plucked-string type were formerly found frequently in barbers' shops. In one such Roman shop, in 1592 the inventory records "a lute and a *tiorba*";<sup>51</sup> this is the first

46. ASAC-6039, f. 485r, 22.12.1572: "Una tiorba a tasti, nella sua cassa di legno." The inventory also indicates the following other instruments: "[f. 479r] Una spinetta alla franzese dipinta a grottesca di dentro, coperta di corame; Un gravicembalo a doi registri con cassa dipinta verde; [f. 483] Una spinetta alla franzese, foderata di velluto nero guarnita di argento con l'arme di Madama di Valentino." The said tiorba is no longer included among the goods inventoried in 1624 at the Roman residence of his successor, Cardinal Alessandro d'Este. It does, however, include two harpsichords, one of which can be identified with the famous archicembalo by Nicola Vicentino, made in Rome at the time of Ippolito II: "Un gravicimbalo con la tastatura ordinaria con sua cassa e piedi dipinto di rosso e filetti gialli. Un altro del già Ippolito secondo Card. di Ferrara con due tastature detto Cimbalo armonico con sua cassa e piedi, dipinto alla grottesca." This second inventory has been published in Giuseppe Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventari inediti di quadri, statue, disegni, bronzi, dorerie, smalti, medaglie, avorii, ecc. dal secolo XV al secolo XIX* (Modena: Vincenzi, 1870), 57–73.

47. Douglas Alton Smith, "On the Origin of the Chitarrone," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 440–62, at 458–61. With the same meaning, it is again used in 1598, in John Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Words*, see Robert Spencer, "Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute," *Early Music* 4 (1976): 407–23, at 411.

48. Diego Cantalupi, *La tiorba e il suo uso in Italia come strumento per basso continuo* (Cremona: MV Cremona, 2006), 24.

49. A recent hypothesis on the origin of this term can be found in Renato Meucci, "Da 'chitarra italiana' a 'chitarrone': una nuova interpretazione," in *Enrico Radesca di Foggia e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesca Seller (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2001), 37–57, at 54.

50. Piero Gargiulo, "Strumenti musicali alla corte medicea: nuovi documenti e sconosciuti inventari (1553–1609)," *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale* n.s. 3 (1985): 55–71, at 67; Pesci, "Lorenzo Tracetti," 239; among the goods inventoried in 1590, at the death of Tracetti, appear "tre leuti usati" and "un quitarrone usato."

51. "Un liuto e una tiorba," inventoried amongst the goods of the barber Baldassarre de Ferraris. See Antonella Cesarini, "*Io so barbiero e fo la barbaria*. I barbieri a Roma alla fine del Cinquecento tra professione e mercato d'arte," in "*L'essercitio mio è di pittore*". *Caravaggio e l'ambiente artistico romano*, ed. Francesca Curti, Michele Di Sivio, Orietta Verdi, = *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 19 (2011): 259–97, at 284.

appearance of the term in the modern sense.<sup>52</sup> Going on to examine the makers' workshops in the city, we note that in 1593 the one belonging to Bartolomeo Lauro contained "three *chitarroni*" (*D.1593*), whereas just two years later, "four *tiorboni*" and "*a tiorbone alla Napoletana*" are recorded instead (*D.1595*). Starting from that year, the makers of the city employed exclusively the term *tiorba*: see Cristoforo Echmen (*B.Ech*, 1596), Orazio Fattorini (*B.Fa*, 1597), Pietro Alberti (*D.1598*), and all those following.

There has been much debate as to whether these first *chitarroni* already had an extended neck to accommodate the unstopped strings, which invention was claimed in 1595 by Alessandro Piccinini. Unfortunately, the new Roman documents neither confirm nor exclude this possibility. We have just seen that the term *tiorba*, used in the modern sense, appears in 1592, and not in 1600, as deemed till now. The fact that from 1592 to 1595 it had definitively replaced the term *chitarrone*, leads us to hypothesize that it may have been due to the need to designate unambiguously a new instrument, i.e. the one with the extended neck. This is confirmed by a Neapolitan inventory of 1591, in which, among a few customary lutes, "an old lute with two necks" is mentioned.<sup>53</sup> This phrase could also refer to an archlute, alternatively called by Doni, as we will see below, "double-necked lute."

For the theorbo—apart from the tenor-sized, whose tuning will be discussed below—there must have been at least two other pitch levels in Rome:

1. *Bass*. Beside the already-mentioned *tiorboni* by Bartolomeo Lauro (*D.1595*), see the inventory of goods left in 1639 by Stefano Landi, which include both a *tiorba* and a *tiorbone*.<sup>54</sup>

52. The first appearance of this term up to now was dated to the year 1600 when, in the preface to the *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo*, Emilio de Cavalieri mentions "a *chitarrone*, also called *tiorba*" ("un chitarrone, o tiorba che si dica"); see Spencer, "Chitarrone, Theorbo," 408.

53. "Un altro leuto vecchio con due manichi," registered in Naples, in the inventory of Marquis Ferdinando de Alarcòn, deceased on 6 February 1591. See Carolina Belli, "Arte, musica e milizia nella nobiltà d'oltermare. Gli Alarcòn y Mendoza al mare di Chiaia," in *Dimore signorili a Napoli. Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano e il mecenatismo aristocratico dal XVI al XX secolo* (Naples: Intesa Sanpaolo, 2013), 152–63, at 163. The appearance of the extended neck (*tratta lunga*) was so far not documented by any source prior to 1595, the date indicated by Piccinini, as pointed out by Renato Meucci, "Alessandro Piccinini e il suo arciliuto," *Ricerca* 21 (2009): 111–33, at 119.

54. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, "Nachträge zu Stefano Landis Biographie," *Analecta Musicologica* 22 (1984): 69–129, at 127 ("Item una tiorba; Item un tiorbono"). See the correct spelling ("Item un tiorbone") in the copy of the same inventory preserved in ASV, *Archivio*

2. *Treble*. This is mentioned in at least four inventories: 1607 (“A lute and a *tiorbina*”), 1622 (“two lutes, a Spanish guitar, a *tiorbino*”), 1623 (“a *tiorba*, new, large, a work by Magno; a *tiorbino*, alike”), 1630 (“a *tiorba*, a *tiorbino*, and a little lute with their leather casings”).<sup>55</sup> It should be recalled that a *tiorbino* is also requested by Bellerofonte Castaldi in his *Capricci* dated 1622.<sup>56</sup>

The inventory of Pietro Alberti’s workshop, beside the *tiorbe* already mentioned, also indicates “nine Paduan lutes” (“nove leuti padovani”), not better identified (*D.1598*). It is reasonable to assume that these instruments were similar to the *leuti padovani* recorded in 1601 in the inventory of Casa d’Este, the family to whom Pietro—as we saw above—had supplied three valuable lutes.<sup>57</sup> Their shape could be like a variant of the theorbo described by Praetorius in 1618. Indeed, this author reports that, apart from the Roman kind (“di Roma”), there was a second type of *chitarrone* “made up to the present at Padua”; it was equipped with eight bourdons like the Roman model but, as compared to the latter, was shorter (five feet instead of six feet, two inches) and had eight courses on the fretted fingerboard instead of six.<sup>58</sup>

**Archlute and theorboed lute.** The structure of the archlute is very similar to that of the theorbo, so that from a simple physical examination—without knowing the school—it is not easy to distinguish one type of instrument from the other.<sup>59</sup> The related documentary references are consequently particularly useful.

The two instruments differ above all in that the archlute (*arciliuto*) is substantially a lute—often with the same tuning—with an extended neck strung with unstopped bass strings (bourdons), so that it is sometimes sim-

*Generale Urbano*, sezione 20, vol. 5, 28.11.1639.

55. “Un leuto et una tiorbina” (T-28-71, f. 302, 3.10.1607, inventory q<sup>m</sup> Paolo Mariani); “Doi leuti; Una guitarra alla Spagnola; un tiorbino” (ASAC-4653, f. 524r, 8.4.1622, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Odoardo Costalta); “Tiorba nova grande opera di Magno, sc. 1.20; Tiorbino simile, sc. 1.-” (T-13-217, f. 391r, 8.2.1623, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Giacomo Guasconi); “Una tiorba, tiorbino, et leutino con sue casse di corame” (ASAC-3112, f. 924v, 14.8.1630, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Cardinal Giovanni Battista Deti).

56. Carlone, “Lutes,” 86.

57. Luigi Francesco Valdrighi, *Musurgiana n° 11 – Cappella, concerti e musiche di Casa d’Este dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Modena: Vincenzi, 1884), 61.

58. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II. De organographia, Parts I and II*, transl. and ed. by David Z. Crookes, 59.

59. Cantalupi, *La tiorba*, 14.

ply called a “lute” (*liuto*). As far as the stringing is concerned, for the same pitch the theorbo’s strings are somewhat longer than those of the archlute. This had two consequences: (1) the two higher courses, owing to the excessive tightness required, could not be brought up to the archlute pitch, so that they were tuned one octave lower, losing in particular in sound volume, due to their low tension; (2) on the other hand, the bass notes gained in sound volume, which—for the same pitch—were tighter than those of the archlute.<sup>60</sup> The theorbo was thus more apt to be used for the *basso continuo*, while the archlute, at least in the first years, was best employed as a virtuoso instrument, since its strings were on the average less tight (and therefore more easily fingered) and it had a higher range in the top notes.<sup>61</sup> In particular cases, some of the lower bourdons were stretched over a second independent bridge, slightly increasing the vibrating length without substantially altering the plucking point (fig. 3);<sup>62</sup> this expedient was probably aimed at reinforcing tightness a little, hence—as we have seen—the sound emitted by the bourdons. Archlutes with two bridges are historically vouched for in Roman seventeenth-century production.<sup>63</sup>

After this short technical introduction, let us examine other historical evidence concerning Rome. In the city, the first mention of an archlute is found in the inventory of goods left in 1608 by a certain Marcello Melchiorri, which includes both a *tiorba* and an *arci leuto*.<sup>64</sup> Another appears in

60. The energy  $W$  added to a string under a tension  $T$ , is equal to the work done by the finger at the moment of plucking. The work done in stretching a string by a small amount  $\delta L$  is  $W = T \times \delta L$ , neglecting the small change in tension. See Michael Spencer, “Harpichord Physics,” *Galpin Society Journal* 34 (1981): 2–20, at 17 (note 18). During the vibration, part of this  $W$  is transformed into sound energy, while the rest is dissipated as heat.

61. Spencer, “Chitarrone, Theorbo,” 417.

62. Caricature by Pier Leone Ghezzi, ca.1720–30, without caption; Moscow, Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum, Disegni italiani, inv. no. 1496. Already reproduced in Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Il “Mondo novo” musicale di Pier Leone Ghezzi* (Milan: Skira, 2001), 87, 276.

63. In Pietro Grail’s workshop, for example, we find “an archlute with two bridges” (*D.1649*). Matteo Buchenberg also made at least one archlute of this kind, indicated in an inventory of the Medici Court (Florence, ca.1700): “Un leuto doppio . . . con due cordiere tinte di nero, e manico fino a’ primi bischeri d’ebano et il restante d’albero tinto di nero, lungo braccia  $3\frac{1}{4}$  . . . *Matheus Buechenberg Roma 1617*” (Vinicio Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali alla corte medicea* (Florence: Licoso, 1969), 15). Another one in the same inventory is indicated as the work of *Magno Longo in Napoli 1619* (*ibid.*, 15).

64. T-15-43, f. 946r, 1.12.1608, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Marcello Melchiorri. The same inventory reappears, together with estimate, in T-15-44, 16.2.1609, in which the following musical instruments are recorded: “[f. 374r] Item un organo di noce, scudi 100.-; [f. 376v] It. un cimballo di cipresso et avolio, sc. 40.-; It. un arpa indorata, et turchina, sc. 20.-; It. doi chitarrini con le sue casse interziate di avolio, sc. 4.-; It. una tiorba interziata di avolio con sua cassa, sc.5.-; It. un arci leuto con sua cassa interziato come sopra, sc. 6.-; It. un altro



FIGURE 3. Consort with a double-bridge theorbo or, more probably, archlute. Pier Leone Ghezzi, pen-and-ink caricature without caption, *ca.* 1720–30. Moscow, Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum, *Disegni italiani*, inv. no. 1496.

1627, in the estate of the Cardinal dal Monte.<sup>65</sup> Magno Grail (*d* 1642), according to a payment dated 1637, was in turn the earliest author mentioned in connection with the making of an *arciliuto*,<sup>66</sup> an instrument that, in Roman workshop inventories discovered so far, starts appearing only in 1638 (*D. 1638*).

In 1640–44, the “Roman” Pier Francesco Valentini was in turn the first treatise writer to mention another similar instrument: the theorboed lute, which turns out to be similar to the archlute. In the Roman archival documents, this instrument is first encountered in an inventory dated 1602, concerning the goods left by Pietro Alberti (*d* 1598), which records a *liuto tiorba*, an instrument quite different therefore from the numerous *liuti* and *tiorbe* also indicated in the said document.<sup>67</sup> Subsequently the instrument is found only once, on the death of Stefano Indelang (*D. 1651*): “A small *liuto tiorbato*, with its case.” In the same inventory, however, “two old *arcileuti*” also appear, so that there must have been some slight difference between the two typologies. Perhaps the extended neck was applied to special types of lute, as seems to be suggested by the presence, again in *D. 1651*, of “six lutes with the Italian-style short neck, without *tratta* [= neck extension], new.” The identical nature of the two instruments, implicit in Valentini’s statement, could however merely refer to the fact that they were both tuned in the same way, as we shall now see.

Starting from mid-century, in Rome the *arciliuto* progressively gains in popularity over the *tiorba*. Eloquent evidence in this connection is provided by the *Sonate a tre*, op. 1, by Arcangelo Corelli (Rome, 1681): in all the Roman editions the instruments include two violins, violone or archlute, plus the organ for the continuo, whereas elsewhere in Italy the archlute

chitarrino interziato con sua cassa, sc. 2.50; It. un altro cimballo foderato di corame con sue bollette, sc. 25.-.”

65. T-28-138, f. 603r, 1.2.1627, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Cardinal Alessandro dal Monte: “Un’arcileuto; . . . Un calascione.”

66. Magno Grail, lute-maker for the princely Barberini family, appears in this connection in Vatican City, Archivio Barberini, Computisteria 68, p. 212, 31.1.1637: “A Magnio leutaro per corde, accomodatura di leuto, archileuto et altro per Antonio Maria [Ciacchi], *scudi* 6.50.” It must clearly have been the same instrument already mentioned on 30 May 1635 (*ibid.*, p. 36): “Per un archileuto, corde et altro per Antonio Maria senese, *scudi* 12.60.”

67. T-32-8, f. 490v, 14.3.1602: “un liuto tiorba senza vernice.” An instrument of this kind was probably the “leutto chitaronato” played by Francesca Caccini, mentioned in 1610 by Monteverdi, in a letter to Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga: Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere*, ed. Éva Lax (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 10.

was replaced by the theorbo.<sup>68</sup> Confirmation of this development is also found in the inventories of goods left by the leading Roman virtuosi of the time, which indicate only *arciliuti*, as for example in those of Arcangelo Lori (1679) and Lelio Colista (1680).<sup>69</sup> At the same time, a similar decline in the presence of the theorbo is found in the workshop of the makers: in 1689, the inventory of Sebastiano Haim records only archlutes, as many as twenty-six pieces.<sup>70</sup> This latter, and not the theorbo, is also indicated among the instruments played in 1696 by the students of the Collegio Clementino.<sup>71</sup> Albeit less suited than the theorbo for the basso continuo in consort music, in Italy the sound emission of the archlute was wholly adequate for its function. In this connection we have the evidence of François Raguenet, dated 1702. On his return from a trip to Rome and other Italian cities, he states that the sound of the orchestras he had heard was “one-and-a-half times as loud” as the French ones, and that “their archlutes are twice the size of our theorbos.”<sup>72</sup>

68. Ivo Magherini and Lynda Sayce, “L’arciliuto a Roma nel XVII e XVIII secolo,” in *Leutaro in Roma*, ed. Gerardo Parrinello (Rome: Editoriale Artemide, 2007), 26–37, at 30.

69. T-1-280, 8.2.1679, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Arcangelo Lori: “[f. 310v] Un cimbalo ad un registro con coperta di corame; [f. 311r] Tre arcileuti con le sue casse; . . . Un cembalo grande coperto di corame dorato.” The inventory of Lelio Colista (31.10.1680) indicates twelve archlutes, to which are added three “leuti piccoli,” one “leutino piccolo,” and one “leuto alla francese,” an instrument which we shall examine below. See Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista. Un maestro romano prima di Corelli* (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002), 110–11, 120. “Tre arcileuti, et un violone vecchi” are recorded among the goods left by Angelo Battaglia, *ministro* of Monsignor Filippo Muti (T-7-268, f. 556v, 12.5.1705). Among his expenses sustained for Muti, the following concern our instrument: “[f. 559r] E più nel mese d’Agosto [1704] per quatro academie istrumenti e voce: 3 violini, scudi 1.50; violone, sc. 0.50; arcileuto, sc. 0.50; castrato, sc. 0.60; . . . E più cinque mesi dato lettione d’arcileuto a Pippo figlio della Sig.<sup>ra</sup> Antonia da Gasparo . . . sc. 6.-.” “Un arcileuto, et una chitarra vecchi” were also present in the workshop of a barber on Piazza Navona (T-15-279, f. 394r, 11.10.1677, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Domenico Sellari).

70. *D. 1689*. Another player of the archlute was Giovanni Antonio Haym, Sebastiano’s eldest son (and not his brother, as hypothesized by Lowell Lindgren, “Haym, Nicola Francesco,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second ed., vol. 11 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 284–6): see *B.Haim*.

71. *Carmen seculare dum annum a Clemente VIII Pont. Max. fundatore centesimum Collegium Clementinum celebraret* (Rome: Ercoli, 1696), 36. Among the students distinguished “nel suono d’Arcileuto” we find: Francesco Maria Imperiali and the Marchese Giovanni Battista Vidoni Goldoni. The former was certainly a kinsman of his homonym Francesco Maria Imperiali, who in 1668 was doge of the Republic of Genoa. See Girolamo Donnino, *I convittori illustri del pontificio nobile Collegio Clementino di Roma fondato da Clemente VIII* (Rome: Tipografia Artigianelli di S. Giuseppe, 1899), 45.

72. [François Raguenet,] *Parallèle des Italiens et des François en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras* (Paris: Moreau, 1702), 103r–104r: “Leurs archilutes sont une fois plus grands que nos thüorbes; tout est plus fort de la moitié, pour les sons; leurs basses de violon sont une fois plus grosses que les nôtres.” Due to the lowering of the pitch, which started from the



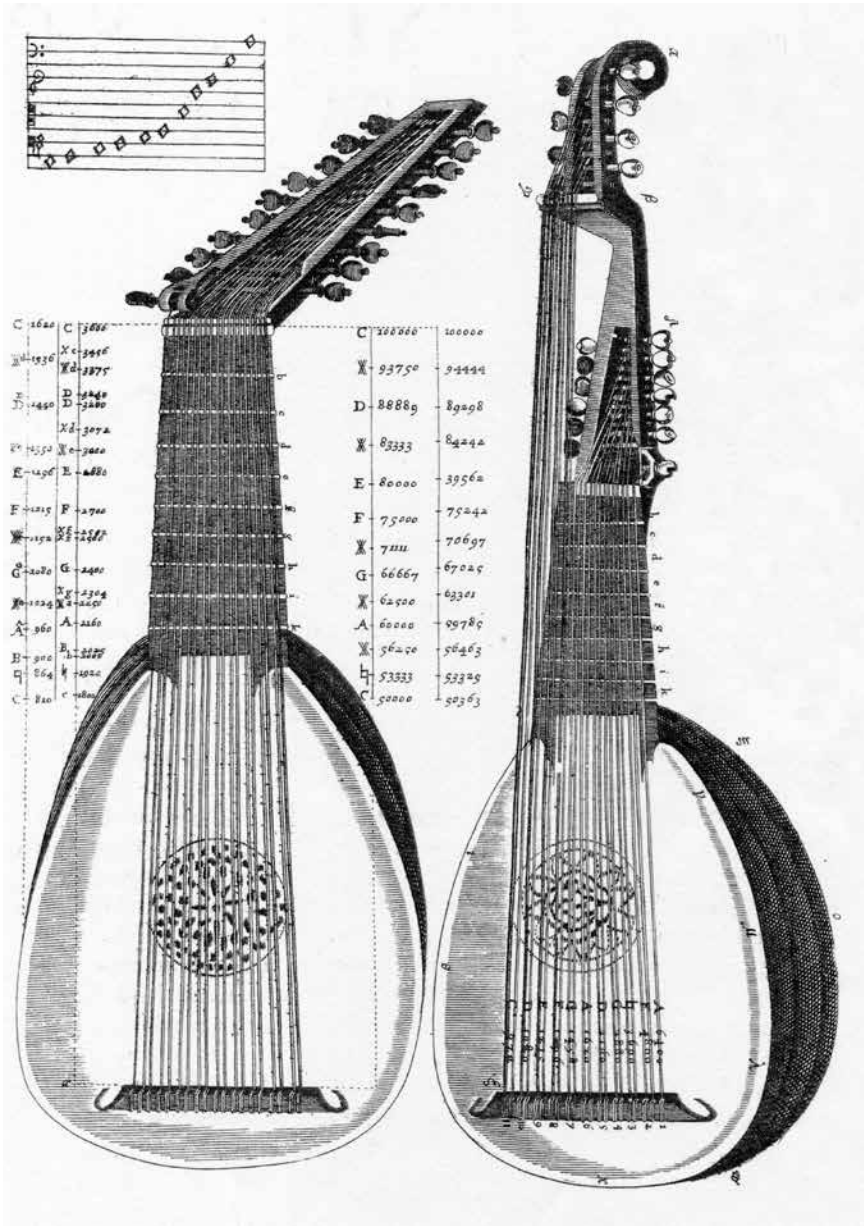


FIGURE 4. A-tuning for both the lute (left) and the theorbo. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636–7), vol. 3, “Traité des instrumens à cordes,” 46, detail.

**Theorbo vs archlute: their tuning in Rome.** In his *Harmonie universelle* (1636–37) Mersenne describes the French tuning of both the lute and the theorbo (*tuorbe*), both being 11-course A-tunings: *C-D-E-F-G-A-d-g-b-e'-a'* (fig. 4). From his verbal description, we note that the sole distinction between the two instruments lay in the fact that in the *tuorbe*, the four bass strings were longer, in order to be tenser and therefore emit a louder sound.<sup>73</sup> As we can see, this tuning was of the non-re-entrant type, although Mersenne adds that often, since it was difficult to make the chanterelle rise as far as *a'*, it was tuned one octave lower, to *a*. In France, there was thus no distinction between theorbo and archlute.

Going on to examine pitch level, Mersenne—again clearly drawing on information from Kapsberger—in 1636–37 reports “the tuning of the theorbo as practised in Rome”: *G'-A'-B'-C-D-E-F-G-A-d-g-b-e-a*, an A-tuning in which the two highest notes are re-entrant, also later reported by Kircher;<sup>74</sup> according to Mersenne, however, “the Italians call ‘arciliuto’ the theorbo.” In 1634—commenting on this very part of the preparatory manuscript for the *Harmonie universelle*, which had been sent him for an opinion—Giovanni Battista Doni is the first author to describe several distinctive particulars of these two instruments in Rome. Having noted that in fig. 4, owing to the engraver’s error, the lute was inverted as a mirror image, he duly observes, in his reply:<sup>75</sup>

end of the sixteenth century, the stopped-string lengths of Roman archlutes were increased up to 70–73 cm (Magherini and Sayce, “L’arciliuto a Roma,” 34); a length, however, that still did not compel makers to resort to a re-entrant tuning for the first two courses, like in the theorbo.

73. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 465–7. In his *Musurgia*, as usual without citing his source, Kircher would republish Mersenne’s said table, correcting the position of the chanterelle, but not that of the related small pulley. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Iconismus VII.

74. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 46 (“Les Italiens appellent la Tuorbe Arciliuto”); *Ibid.*, 88: “l’accord du tuorbe pratiqué à Rome.” Kircher, *Musurgia*, vol. 1, 476: “Consonantia Tiorbae.”

75. Mersenne, *Correspondance*, vol. IV, 392 (Doni, Rome 8.11.1634, to Mersenne, Paris).

Au reste vous dites en vos cahiers, ou vous traictez des instrumens, que le luth à double manche s'appelle aussi *Tuorbe*. Mais je vous advertis que par deça, où regne la vraye Tiorbe (pour l'appeller selon nostre usage), nous y faisons grand distinction d'autant que le luth soit à simple manche, soit à double (qui s'appelle proprement *Arciliuto*) a toujours le mesme accord d'une 15me aux cordes principales depuis *Gamma ut* jusque *g sol re ut*, et a le corps plus petit et les cordes toujours doubles hormis de la chanterelle. Mais la tiorbe est beaucoup plus grande de corps et de manche et toujours se sert de simples cordes et ne se sert guere que pour y chanter dessus.

In your notebooks, in which you deal with the instruments, you say that the double-necked lute is also called a theorbo. I must warn you however that here [in Rome], where the real tiorba (to call it by the term we use) reigns, we make a considerable distinction, since the lute—whether single- or double-necked (which should properly be called an *arciliuto*)—always has the same 15th tuning on the main strings, from *Gamma ut* to *g sol re ut*, and has a smaller body and always double strings, except for the chanterelle. The tiorba, on the other hand, is much larger both in body and neck, and is always strung with single strings and is used solely to accompany singing.

As we have seen above, Mersenne took these observations into account, and we find them indicated in the *Errata-corrige* of his *Harmonie*.

Only a few years later, however, in Rome the archlute abandoned the G-tuning mentioned by Doni. Speaking of the “theorboed lute, that is archlute” (“Leuto teorbato, o vero Arciliuto”), towards 1640–44 Valentini informs us “that as a rule it is played one tone under the natural tone, with the fourth string, open, employed as a *G sol re ut* string.”<sup>76</sup> According to the precise instructions that immediately follow, the instrument was preserving the pitch and tuning of the lute (*G-c-f-a-d'-g'*), but its fourth string (*f*) was then rebaptized as a *g*, thereby producing a nominal A-tuning which was lowering the pitch of the whole instrument by a tone. Indeed, we have already mentioned that at that time instruments were settling on the so-called “Roman pitch” ( $a' \approx 392$  Hz), with a drastic lowering, even more than a semitone, from the former one.<sup>77</sup> This operation was thus produc-

76. Valentini, *Il leuto anatomizzato*, f. 25v (“che ordinariamente si usa sonare un tono sotto al tono naturale, con fare che la quarta corda a voto serva per la corda di G sol re ut.”).

77. Patrizio Barbieri, “Il corista bolognese, secondo il rilevamento di V.F. Stancari,” *L'Organo* 18 (1980): 15–29, at 21–4; *Ibid.*, “The Roman Organ c1480-1750. Part I: Evolution of Pitch, Compass, and ‘Portable’ Instruments,” *The Organ Yearbook* 45 (2016): 23–56,

ing an A-tuning ( $G^{\prime}A^{\prime}B^{\prime}C^{\prime}D^{\prime}E^{\prime}F^{\prime}G^{\prime}A-d-g-b-e^{\prime}a^{\prime}$ ) capable of starting, as stated by Valentini, from  $C$  (“con 5 cordoni”, i.e. with five bourdons) or from  $G^{\prime}$  (“con 8 cordoni,” i.e. with eight bourdons). This way, the archlute was in line with the A-tuning of the theorbo, a result, however obtained, leaving it structurally unchanged, and thus preserving its sound character. This operation was evidently requested by its increased use—in Rome, as we have already seen—as a continuo instrument.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, no complication arose for performers in playing, since as a rule they utilised a tablature and not staff notation.

**The “French lute.”** Starting from the early decades of the seventeenth century, the French began to experiment with various kinds of *accord nouveau*, among which, besides the major third and the fourths of traditional tuning, they also introduced the minor third. These new *accords* had the advantage of “increased resonance and ease of left-hand fingering, though only within a very limited range of keys.”<sup>79</sup> In the second half of the century, the typical French lute, with eleven courses and the pegs housed in a single peg-box, was generally tuned with the most widespread of these *accords nouveaux*, the one known as “D minor:”  $Cc-Dd-Ee-Ff-Gg-Aa-dd-ff-aa-d^{\prime}f^{\prime}$ .<sup>80</sup>

In his already quoted manuscript, Pier Francesco Valentini indirectly confirms what we have said so far.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, he mentions

at 24–9.

78. It should be stressed that this operation is documented only in Rome. At Florence, for example, again at the turn of the seventeenth into the eighteenth century, we still find the old distinction between the tuning of the theorbo (in A:  $G^{\prime}A^{\prime}B^{\prime}C^{\prime}D^{\prime}E^{\prime}F^{\prime}G^{\prime}A-d-g-b-e-a$ ) and that of the archlute (in G:  $F^{\prime}G^{\prime}A^{\prime}B^{\prime}C^{\prime}D^{\prime}E^{\prime}F^{\prime}G^{\prime}c-f-a-d^{\prime}g^{\prime}$ ). See Teofilo Macchetti, “Miscellanea – Accordi d’alcuni instrummenti”; Pisa, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms. 320, ca. 1690–1710. Macchetti specifies that the bourdons are “single” (“semplici”), whereas the stopped strings are “double or single, at will” (“doppie o semplici a libertà”).

79. Lynda Sayce, “Lute.5,” in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 333–4, at 334. A *nouveau accord*, versus the *vieil accord*, is already illustrated in Mersenne, *Harmonie*, vol. III, “Traité des instrumens à cordes,” 91.

80. Spencer, “Chitarron, Ttheorbo,” 418.

81. Valentini, *Il leuto anatomizzato*, f.28r–v.

Di una certa accordatura di leuto alla francese chiamata per b molle . . . In un leuto di ordinaria grandezza, non tiorbato, ma si bene di undici ordini di corde posate tutte sopra un medesimo ponticello, o capotasto, sogliono i Francesi usare una certa loro accordatura quale chiamano per b molle e fa bellissimo effetto in sonarci le correnti, e simili arie.

A certain tuning of the French lute called B-flat . . . In an ordinary-sized non-theorboed lute, but with eleven string courses all stretched over the same bridge or nut, the French utilize a certain tuning of theirs that they call B-flat, which is wonderfully effective in playing the *correnti*, and similar arias.

Beside this “B-flat tuning in its natural tone” (“accordatura per b molle nel tono naturale”), described by him as *Ff-Gg-Aa-Bb-cc'-d-g-bb'-d'-g'-bb'*, Valentini also cites the same “transposed to the fourth above,” which he calls “*b-quadro* French tuning” (“accordatura francese per b quadro”). This he obtains—as we have already seen for the archlute—simply by changing the name of the notes, rebaptizing the *d* as *A*, and so on. He thus obtains *Cc-Dd-Ee-Ff-Gg-A-d-f-a-d'-f'*, from which we can see that, for example, the new *d* has the same pitch as the *g* in the tuning for B-flat, etc. It is also clear that this new tuning coincides with the one mentioned above in “D minor”, with the sole variant being that the *d, f, a* strings are single rather than double.<sup>82</sup> As an example of the latter’s application, Valentini indicates the “Ruggiero tune” accompanied with chords (“un’aria di Ruggiero con botte piene”), with the premise, however—totally contradicting the approval he had previously expressed—that this tuning is not very pleasing for singing and playing the basso continuo (it does not produce “troppo bello effetto il cantarci sopra e nemmeno sonare sopra la parte”).

In the Roman workshop inventories found so far, these *liuti alla francese* make a timid appearance in 1649, and only by four makers with German names (*D.1649, 1651, 1653, 1689*). Although the Roman virtuoso Lelio Colista owned one, the Italians did not use this instrument very much.<sup>83</sup>

82. Valentini also introduces a special mark to indicate when the five lower courses must be pressed on the first fret, so as to obtain a continuous chromatic scale from *C* to *A*.

83. For Colista, see See Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista. Un maestro romano prima di Corelli* (Rome: IBIMUS, 2002), 110–11; 120. In Italy, however, there must have been various versions of this instrument. In Milan, for example, in Manfredo Settala’s Wunderkammer, after “a theorboed lute” was recorded “another one *alla Francese*, with the addition of Italian inventions.” See Paolo Maria Terzago, *Museo ò galleria adunata dal sapere, e dallo studio del Sig. Canonico Manfredo Settala*, transl. and revised by Francesco Scarabelli (Tortona: Viola, 1668), 366 (“Un liuto a tiorbato, con l’utre, ò corpo d’avorio con suono



FIGURE 5. “Double lute,” comprising a “French lute” and a “theorbo” coupled together, invented and made by Thomas Mace; detail of the French lute part. Mace, *Musik’s Monument* (London, 1676), 32, adapted.

This finds confirmation in the fact that, in 1696, none of the three pupils of the Collegio Clementino mentioned as *distinti* on the *leuto francese* was Italian.<sup>84</sup> Further confirmation —albeit in rather confused terms, which is not rare with this author—comes from Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli’s statement in the first third of the following century, in a passage to which we shall return later.<sup>85</sup>

Il Padre Mersenne dice trovarsi alcuni leuti detti Ghitarroni, i quali hanno corde di metallo in un braccio, e nell’altro d’intestini, et alcune volte avendone fin al numero di 40, molte delle quali sebene non sono toccate concepiscono non di meno tremori, e rendono il suono, il manico di questo istrumento puol essere lungo quattro o cinque piedi, il medemo istrumento ha il manico ritorto, e si chiama il leuto francese, qui in Italia non è molto in uso, ma in Francia, et in Germania è in gran riputazione.

Father Mersenne says he has found several lutes called *Ghitarroni*, which have metal strings on one neck, and gut strings on the other, and sometimes as many as forty, many of which, albeit not plucked, nevertheless quiver and emit sound. The neck of this instrument may be four or five feet long, with a curved neck, and it is called a French lute; though not much used here in Italy, in France and Germany it has a great reputation.

The “curved neck” mentioned may make one think not so much of the single-headed French lute spoken of by Valentini, but of a two-headed one; i.e. similar to the one portrayed by Thomas Mace in 1676, with reference to his “Lute Dyphone,” which was provided with a “head bearing back as the French lute” (fig. 5).<sup>86</sup>

molto dolce. Altro alla Francese, con l’aggiunta d’inventioni Italiane”).

84. *Carmen seculare*, 36: “Giovanni Francesco Antonio Lamberg, Baron Ignazio Stain, Baron Carlo Wratislau.” The last, Carlo Francesco Wratislaw, came from Prague, and would become plenipotentiary minister at the Royal Courts of Poland and Sweden, as well as for the Russian Emperor. See Donnino, *I convittori illustri*, 63.

85. Pinaroli, “Polyanthea technica,” vol. 1, f. 99v–100r, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 3004. Pinaroli’s source, which he does not cite, however, is Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico*, 124, entry “Arcileuto.” This author, however, merely states (without citing the bibliographic source relating to Mersenne and particularly without quoting the last sentence relating to the French lute): “Aggiunse il Mersenne tovarsi alcuni liuti detti Chitarroni, li quali hanno corde di metallo in un braccio, e nell’altro d’intestini, e alcune volte avendone al numero di 40, molte delle quali, benchè non toccate, concepiscono tremori, e rendono suono. Il manico di questo istrumento può essere di quattro, ò cinque piedi lungo.”

86. Thomas Mace, *Musik’s Monument* (London: Ratcliffe and Thompson, 1676), 32. On Mace’s lute, see Spencer, “Chitarrone, theorbo,” 418.

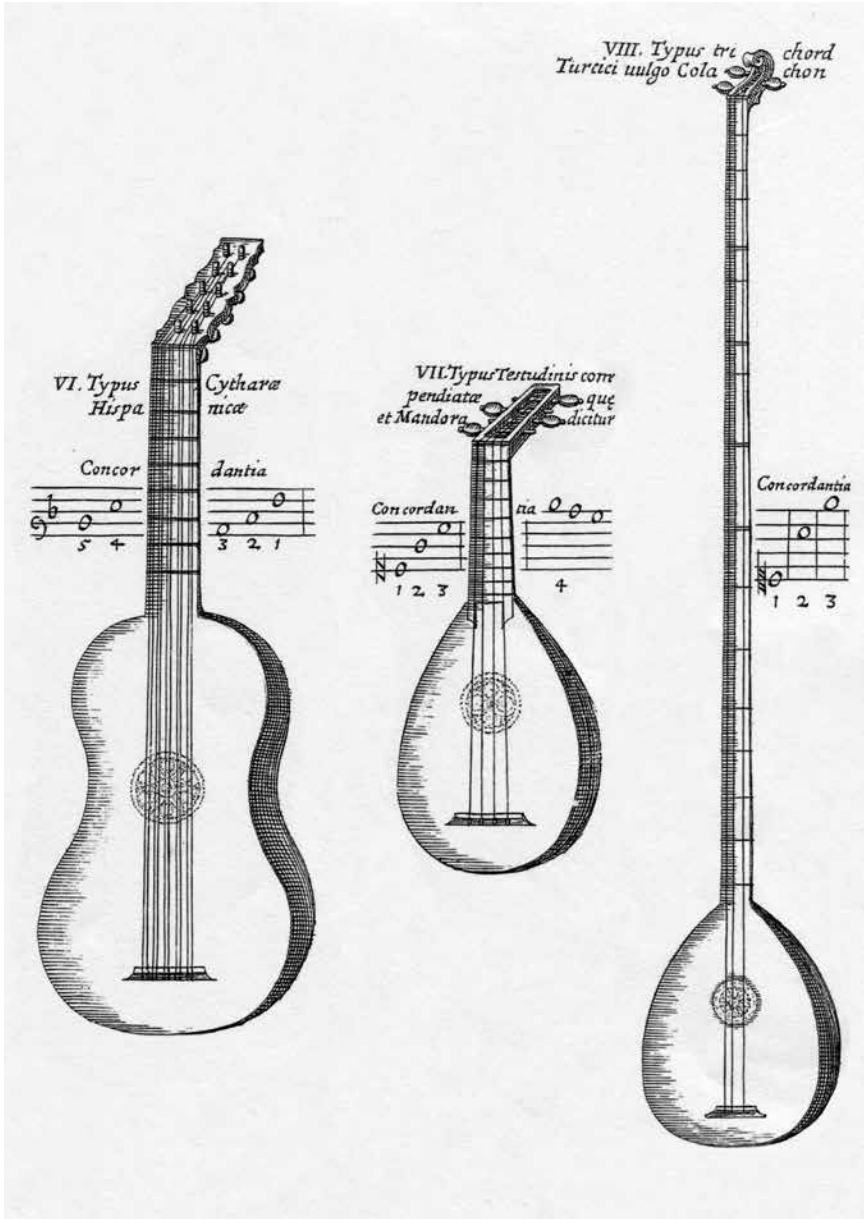


FIGURE 6. (VI) Spanish guitar; (VII) four-string mandola; (VIII) three-string colascione. Kircher, *Musurgia* (Rome, 1650), vol. 1, table VII, at 477; detail, adapted.



### *The Guitar Family and Other Plucked Strings*

**The Italian guitar (bordelletto).** As early as the second half of the sixteenth century, we have evidence of two types of guitar, known respectively as *alla Spagnola* (Spanish style, see below) and *all'Italiana* (Italian style).

In 1601 the Neapolitan Scipione Cerreto defines the latter as a “seven-string guitar, known as *bordelletto* Italian style” (“strumento della chitarra a sette corde, detto Bordelletto alla Taliana”). To these seven strings, grouped in four courses, he attributes the following re-entrant tuning: *g' g' -d' d' -f# f# -b' b'*.<sup>87</sup> In Roman inventories it is often simply referred to—owing to its size, being smaller than the Spanish one—as *chitarrino*, or with various other names, such as *chitarra leutata* (1593–1601, as we shall see below), *chitarra alla Napolitana* (D.1595a, 1598), *bordelletto* (D.1598), *guitarrina alla Romanesca* (D.1616),<sup>88</sup> *chitarra all'Italiana*, *chitarra Italiana*, or *chitarrino alla Taliana* (D.1618, 1649a, 1651, 1656, 1689). Although generally classified as a treble instrument, there must have been models with different pitch levels; indeed, at the workshop of Giacomo Fredi we find “2 guitars *alla Napoletana*, large (D.1595a),”<sup>89</sup> and in that of Pietro Grail, beside many *ghitarrini*, there are “15 *ghitarrini* at the fourth” (D.1649).

According to recent research by Renato Meucci, the form of these instruments must have been similar to that of the lute. In this connection, he quotes the proof given by the Roman Carlo Pellegrini (1665), which makes reference to the illustration appearing six years earlier in Kircher's *Musurgia* (fig. 6):<sup>90</sup>

87. Cerreto, *Della prattica musica*, 320.

88. Present in a barber's shop: “una tiorba . . . un leuto, una guitarrina alla Romanesca.” T-37-86, f. 57v, 13.7.1616, inv. of “Laurentius barbitonsor.”

89. James Tyler, “Guitar.3-4,” in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 495–9, at 495, had already put forward the hypothesis—now confirmed by the said document—that of the four-course guitar there may have been “lower sounding or larger instruments.” This hypothesis had already been voiced by Meucci, “Da ‘chitarra italiana’ a ‘chitarrone,’” 42.

90. Meucci, “Da ‘chitarra italiana’ a ‘chitarrone,’” 46, 50, citing Carlo Pellegrini, *Museum historico-legale bipartitum* (Rome: Fabio de Falco, 1665), 21.

*Mandora*, seu ut alij dicunt *Mandola*, vel testudo compendiaria, est illud instrumentum, quod hodie dicitur vulgò: *chitarrino*, seù *Burdelletto*, cum collo etiam retorto ad modum testudinis, seu *leuti*; quatuor tantum chordis ex intestinis constat, et aliquando duplicantur duplicato ordine, et pulsatur ad modum cytharæ Hispanicæ; cuius formam habes apud *eundem* Kircher.

The *Mandora*—or, as others say, *Mandola* or simplified lute—is the instrument now popularly known as the *chitarrino* or *Bordelletto*, which also has a pegbox bent backwards like a *testudo*, i.e., like the lute; it is strung with just four gut strings, which are sometimes doubled, duplicating each course, and is played like Spanish guitar; its shape can be seen in the already-quoted Kircher.

In this connexion, some of the early workshop inventories make no mention of *chitarrini*, but only of *chitarre leutate*, *chitarre aliutate* or *chitarre alla leutina* (i.e., guitars shaped like a small lute).<sup>91</sup> From what we have seen, such instruments—a great number of which are found in the said inventories—can be identified with the *chitarra Italiana*, of which they appear to be the first name employed (see also the passage in Mersenne's *Harmonie*, which we shall examine below). Contrary to what has been held so far, at the end of the seventeenth century this instrument was still fairly widespread.

**The mandola family.** This is what Mersenne says about the *mandore*:<sup>92</sup>

. . . elle n'a pour l'ordinaire que quatre cordes, encore que l'on en fasse à six, ou à un plus grand nombre, afin de les faire approcher de l'excellence du luth, dont elle est le racourcy, et le diminutif, c'est pourquoy on l'appelle Luthée.

. . . usually it has only four strings, even though they are [also] made with six or even more [strings], in order to bring its excellence close to that of the lute, of which it is a diminutive abbreviation. This is why it is called "luthée."

He provides the following tuning for it: *c' g' c" g"* (in which the chante-relle *g"* may also be tuned to *f"* or *e"*), which is the same tuning reported above by Kircher (fig. 2), to which Carlo Pellegrini referred. Although

91. *D. 1593, 1595*. The term *chitarra alla leutina* is also used in the inventory of the Del Forno–Haitert company, 1602. See the document published by Tarrini, "L'inventario," 47–49, which indicates as many as ten such guitars, valued at 0.80 scudi each.

92. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, vol. 3, f. 93r.

its shape is similar to the *chitarrino*, its tuning—even for the four-course model—was very different, being in fifths and octaves and not of the re-entrant type. This explains the simultaneous presence, already in the early inventories, of both mandola and *chitarrino*, recorded as two distinct instruments: *D. 1595, 1595a, 1651, 1689*. With reference to this dichotomy, the situation in Naples must have been quite similar: in a workshop inventory dated 1578 we find “four seven-string guitars” (i.e. *chitarrini*) and “eight seven-string lutes” (probably mandolas), to which are added: “four eleven-string lutes” (i.e., the usual six-course lutes), “a seven-string lute of Naples” (another kind of mandola?), and “three nine-string guitars, new” (i.e., five-course guitars).<sup>93</sup>

The popularity of the mandola intensified during the seventeenth century, and even more so during the next.<sup>94</sup> At the same time, we see an increasing number of models with more than four courses. In 1722, Filippo Bonanni mentions only the four-course model, and is corrected as follows by Pinaroli.<sup>95</sup>

*Della Mandola.* Il piccolo istrumen-  
to qui espresso, detto volgarmente  
Mandola o Pandorem, ha solamen-  
te 10 corde; di questo numero era la  
mandola ordinaria antica; vi è poi la  
moderna e ne contiene 12, in che s'in-  
gannò il Padre Filippo Bonanni della  
Compagnia di Giesù non assegnan-  
do alla medema che quattro corde, e  
manda fuori un sono molto acuto . . .

*On the Mandola.* The small instru-  
ment thus called, known popularly  
as Mandola or Pandora, has only ten  
strings, the same number as the ordi-  
nary ancient mandola. There is also  
the modern one, which has twelve—  
this matter fooled Fr. Filippo Bonanni  
of the Company of Jesus, who only as-  
signed four strings to the same—and it  
emits a very high sound . . .

93. Francesco Nocerino, “La bottega dei ‘violari’ napoletani Albanese e Martino in un inventario inedito del 1578,” in *Liuteria, musica e cultura 1999–2000*, ed. Renato Meucci (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 3–9, at 5; 8.

94. See table 1. For the eighteenth century, see: Carlo Angelo Cecconi, “Gaspar Ferrari e altri ‘chitarrari’ romani del XVIII secolo,” in *Leutaro in Roma*, ed. Gerardo Parrinello (Rome: Artemide, 2007), 14–19; Gerardo Parrinello, “Gaspar Ferrari e il mandolone a Roma,” in *idem*, 20–25.

95. Pinaroli, “Polyanthea,” f. 97v. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* . . . (Rome: Placho, 1722), 91, which tells us that “*mandora*” is merely the Latin term for “*mandola*”; he also attaches an illustration (table 53) in which the mandola is (erroneously) shown as a small 8-shaped guitar.

The success of these larger sizes made it essential to introduce the diminutive “mandolino” to designate the earlier, smaller model.<sup>96</sup> In Rome, “mandola” and “mandolino” are distinguished as early as 1634, at the Barberini Court.<sup>97</sup> In 1657, as many as twenty-two mandolins are recorded among the instruments at the shop of Lorenzo Filzer on his death,<sup>98</sup> while in 1696 the instrument appears officially among those played by the students at the Collegio Clementino.<sup>99</sup>

We have seen that the mandola was sometimes called mandora, i.e., using the equivalent Latin term; see for example *D.1595a*. Early on, it could also be called by the alternative term, of Spanish origin, *banduria*. Indeed, in *D.1595* we find inventoried “fifteen soundboards for *bandurie*,” which, in the related valuation are recorded as “no. 15 *mandola* soundboards, scudi 0.30.” The term pandora, deemed by some to be another equivalent of mandola (see Bonanni, above), is mentioned among the documents discovered only in the will of the Englishman Roger Baynes, writer and secretary of Cardinal William Allen, who in 1623 left the English College “a pandora for the music chamber.”<sup>100</sup> It must, however, have been the same as the “English invention” mentioned in 1619 by Praetorius, who likened it to “a large cittern” with six or seven courses of metal strings.<sup>101</sup>

**The Spanish Guitar.** Unlike the *chitarrino* examined above, it had five courses, stretched over a figure eight-shaped body, derived from the vihuela (fig. 6); the back could be flat or convex (*D.1605, 1649a*: “gobbe e piane”). In Roman inventories, where it appears from 1571, it is almost

96. Meucci, “Da ‘chitarra italiana’ a ‘chitarrone,’” 50.

97. A bill for works performed by Adamo Acciaini, dated 1634, mentions both a “mandola” and “a case for the *mandolini*.” See Frederick Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634–1643,” *Analecta Musicologica* 19 (1979): 94–124, at 105.

98. Barbieri, “Cembaloro,” 171. About “mandola” and “mandolino,” however: “both terms were used for the same instrument until well into the eighteenth century.” James Tyler, “Mandolin.1,” in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), vol. 3, 380–82, at 381; Tyler, “The Italian Mandolin and Mandola 1589–1800,” *Early Music* 9 (1981): 438–46, at 445.

99. *Carmen seculare*, 36: played by “Sig. Giuseppe Carcani Accademico.”

100. T-33-107, fs. 49–50, 9.10.1623, opening of the will: “una pandora per la camera della musica” of the English College. The document also contains references to his works.

101. Praetorius, *Syntagma*, 60. The *pandura*—according to Bonanni, *Gabinetto*, 97—was on the other hand an instrument of Neapolitan origin, in shape “little different from the mandola,” but its bulk was “much greater” and strung with eight metal strings.

always called “*alla Spagnola*”.<sup>102</sup> Its tuning, here also re-entrant, is given by Mersenne, again reported by Kapsberger.<sup>103</sup> This is then taken up by Kircher: *g' g' c' c' f' f' a' a' d' d'* (where we should note that, as with the modern guitar, the actual sounds are one octave lower),<sup>104</sup> and is the tuning for the guitar known as *corista*, an instrument that, like the *chitarrino*, was also available in other pitch levels: in 1622, a private inventory indicates “two Spanish guitars, one medium-size and the other small.”<sup>105</sup> Cristoforo Del Forno’s workshop, in 1649, contained several of them “at the fourth” or, generically, “large and small” (*D.1649a*); the same can be said for that of Stefano Indelang (*D.1651*) and Sebastiano Haim (*D.1689*).

As we see from table 1, in Rome, starting from the late cinquecento, the guitar progressively replaced the lute.<sup>106</sup> Confirmation of this is also found among youths wishing to become professional players.<sup>107</sup> This

102. *D.1571*. In Rome, rarely, is also found the term “*chitarriglia alla spagnola*.” See, for example, T-15-86, f. 670v, 25.11.1620, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Romolo Cevini: “Una chitariglia spagnola”; T-25-203, f. 354, 13.2.1642, at Palazzo della Cancelleria, the seat of the Vice-Chancellor Cardinal Francesco Barberini, in a room inhabited by a certain Michael Indisus: “Una chitarriglia alla spagnola, con la sua cassa,” together with “tre viole, con li suoi archi.” With the Spanish guitar it seems we can also identify “a French guitar, entirely worm-eaten” (“una chitarra alla francese tutta tarmata”) inventoried at the death of Girolamo Valperghi, master mason. See ASR, *Congregazioni religiose maschili—Girolamini di S. Onofrio al Gianicolo*, B. 3051, f. 142v, 28.3.1646. Toward the end of the following century, however, it was the new six-course guitar that was designated as a “French guitar.”

103. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 95.

104. In the already-quoted manuscript by Teofilo Macchetti, “Miscellanea—Accordi d’alcuni instrumeti” (ca.1690–1710), there appears on the other hand a modern A-tuning already in real notation: *A-d-g-b-e'*. Macchetti goes on to prescribe that the strings corresponding to *A*, *d*, *g*, *b* should be double; the bichords of *A*, *g*, *b* should be tuned in unison, while one of the two *d*'s should be tuned to the lower octave. He thus obtains: *A/A-D/d-g/g-b/b-e'*. This should be considered the last stage of re-entrant tunings prior to the modern non-re-entrant series. The immediately previous stage, going back to no certain date, comprises two Italian sources, indicated by Tyler, “Guitar.3-4,” 496, still containing two re-entrant courses (original notation): *a/a-d/d'-g/g'-b/b-e'* (actual sounds: *A/A-D/d-G/g-B/B-e*).

105. “Un liuto . . . Doi chitarre alla spagnola, una mezzana e l'altra piccola.” T-33-101, f. 389, 14.5.1622, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Camillo Bursacchi

106. It was, for example, frequently found in barbers' shops. See, at the beginning of the century, the “chitarra alla spagnola” present in one of them: T-1-75, f. 213, 26.3.1608. In 1678, in Francesco Amadei's shop, are recorded, beside the usual barber's and surgeon's instruments: “1 chitarra spagnola fasciata d'ebano con sua cassa del Magno vecchio [probably Magno Grail]; 1 altra chitarra spagnola corista con il corpo e con il manico intersiato, scudi 1.-; 12 libri, cioè 4 di musica, 5 di sonate di diversi instrumenti.” T-15-282, fs. 746v-747r, 17.11.1678.

107. In this connection, the following two cases are emblematic. In 1564, the Milanese Giuseppe and Filippo de Biraga gave their brother Sebastiano into the custody of the “Magister Stephano de Brescia sonator leuti,” *pro famulo*, to serve him for a three-year period. In exchange, Stefano undertakes to teach Sebastiano “the art of playing the lute,” and

development is recorded in the makers' workshops; in 1618, for example, Angelo Lisi's workshop contained only guitars and, moreover, only those *all'Italiana*, even though Lisi is still classified in documents as a *leutaro*.<sup>108</sup> Bearing this development in mind, this professional qualification starts being replaced in parish registers, from 1620–30, by that of *chitarraro*.<sup>109</sup> The development is confirmed in 1628, by the well-known *Discorso* of Giustiniani, in which we read, with reference to the lute:<sup>110</sup>

. . . questo stromento resta quasi abbandonato affatto, doppoichè s'introdusse l'uso della Tiorba, la quale essendo più atta al cantare anche mediocrementemente e con cattiva voce, è stata accettata volentieri generalmente. . . . Tanto più che nell'istesso tempo s'introdusse la Chitarra alla spagnola per tutta Italia, massime in Napoli, che unita con la Tiorba, pare che abbiano congiurato di sbandire affatto il liuto.

. . . this instrument has been almost totally abandoned, after the introduction of the theorbo which, being more suitable for mediocre singing with a bad voice, has been willingly accepted everywhere. . . . Furthermore, at the same time, the Spanish guitar has been introduced throughout Italy, especially in Naples, and, together with the theorbo, seems to have conspired to banish the lute absolutely.

The success of the guitar, starting in Naples and then spreading to Rome, had a considerable impact on musical practice, as we deduce from the remarks of Giustiniani and as recently proven by musicologists such as Ivano Cavallini and John W. Hill. Indeed, guitar accompaniment for singing, which started as a popular practice, progressively took over from the lute among the cultured classes, whence it is also found in written sources. In the second half of the sixteenth century, in *arie in stil recitativo*, the strumming technique (the *rasgueado*) of the Spanish guitar actually replaced the substantially polyphonic tablature of the lute.<sup>111</sup> Specifically,

furthermore will receive from his two brothers 0.5 scudi per month. See ASR, *Notai del Tribunale acque e strade*, vol. 3, parte II, f. 71r, 6.5.1564. About forty years later, in a similar situation, the guitar is the instrument of choice: another Milanese, Giovanni Domenico Margherita, enters the service of the Neapolitan Giovanni Paolo Casanova. As payments, apart from board and lodging, Casanova must only "teach him to play the Spanish guitar:" T-10-47, f. 1115, 7.7.1603.

108. *D.1618*. Barbieri, "Cembalato," 195.

109. *Ibid.*, 170.

110. Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi*, ed. Salvatore Bonghi (Lucca: Giusti, 1878), 34–5.

111. Ivano Cavallini, "Sugl'improvvisatori del Cinque-Seicento: persistenze, nuovi re-

it was Cardinal Montalto's virtuosi and singers, who travelled from Rome to Florence in 1608 for the Medici wedding, who introduced to that city the repertory accompanied by the Spanish guitar, which was then called *cantare alla Romana*.<sup>112</sup> This must have been done with the instruments made on Via dei Leutari, which, as we have seen, was close to Cardinal Montalto's residence.

Giustiniani, in his *Discorso*, adds that, owing to the spread of theorboes and Spanish guitars, "the playing of Neapolitan guitars has totally disappeared in Rome, and almost in Naples too."<sup>113</sup> This observation should be taken with a grain of salt: in actual fact, in 1645, in Rome was published the well-known *Conserto vago di balletti . . . per sonare con Liuto, Tiorba, et Chitarrino a quattro corde alla Napolitana*.<sup>114</sup> Up to the end of the century, the inventories of Roman workshops also record a solid number of the old *chitarrini*, six of which, in 1657, are even found on display at Filzer's shop.<sup>115</sup> As many as fifty *chitarrini italiani* are also found at Sebastiano Haim's shop (*D.1689*). Furthermore, in his *Instruccìon de la musica sobre la guitarra española*, dated 1674, Gaspar Sanz is ironic about the "maestri of Rome," who still use the four-course guitar.<sup>116</sup>

**The theorboed guitar.** Beside the lute, in the early years of the seventeenth century the extended neck for bourdons had already been added to guitars. The inventory of Angelo Lisi's workshop (*D.1618*) actually records as many as "four theorboed guitars with long neck" ("4 chitarre a teorba col manico lungo"). A *chitarra tiorbata* is also found among the numerous instruments left in 1639 by Stefano Landi,<sup>117</sup> as well as among

pertori e qualche riconoscimento," *Recercare* 1 (1989): 23–40, at 32; 40. John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circle around Cardinal Montalto*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 67–70; 84.

112. Dinko Fabris, "Le notti a Firenze i giorni a Napoli: gli esordi della chitarra spagnola nell'Italia del Seicento," in Dinko Fabris et al., *Rime e suoni alla Spagnola*, ed. Giulia Veneziano (Florence: Alinea, 2003), 15–33, at 25.

113. Giustiniani, *Discorso*, 35: "il suonare di Chitarra napolitana resta affatto dismesso in Roma, e quasi anche in Napoli, con la quale già suonavano in eccellenza Don Ettore Gesualdo e Fabritio Fillomarino in conserto col Prencipe suddetto di Venosa."

114. As Ivano Cavallini notes, "L'intavolatura per chitarrino alla napolitana del *Conserto vago*—1645," *Quadrivium* 19-2 (1978): 227–47, at 243.

115. Barbieri, "Chitarraro," 171.

116. Michele Greci, "La chitarra: sua origine, storia, evoluzione," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 22 (1988): 709–25, at 717.

117. Panofsky-Soergel, "Nachträge," 125: "Item una Chitarra tiorbata."

those in Stefano Indelang's workshop (*D. 1657*). It is a known fact that this kind of instrument, which never managed to achieve any great popularity, was prescribed by Giovanni Battista Granata for his *Soavi concerti* dated 1659.<sup>118</sup>

A similar addition in the bass range was applied not only to the Spanish guitar, but was also found useful in the Italian model, as proven by an inventory dated 1691, which records the presence of a "theorboed *chitar-rino*."<sup>119</sup> In connection with such instruments, a Neapolitan manuscript, dating partly to the end of the sixteenth century and the rest to the start of the seventeenth, contains various dances notated in Italian tablature for an instrument called a "*catara*," with five courses over the fingerboard and eight bourdons. An edition of this music was published in 1981.<sup>120</sup> Initially interpreted as music for an ordinary (Spanish) guitar equipped with bourdons, according to a new interpretation it appears to have been written for an Italian guitar with bourdons, already of the five-course kind and provided with a long extension of the neck.<sup>121</sup>

**Colascione and theorboed colascione.** As we can see in fig. 6, this instrument is structurally very similar to the four-course Italian guitar and to the early mandola. About it, Filippo Bonanni says that "it produces a raucous sound, since the strings are much longer, and the *testudine* (= rounded body) is of small dimensions."<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, considering that it was also called a "*ghitarrone*," we might think that, initially at least, it constituted the bass of the *ghitarrino*. Pinaroli says:<sup>123</sup>

118. Dinko Fabris, "Danze intavolate per chitarra tiorbata in uno sconosciuto manoscritto napoletano (Na, Cons., Ms. 1321)," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 15 (1981): 405–26, at 409 (called by him *chitarra atiorbata*).

119. The inventory of goods left by a certain Domenico Spigola—a brass-smith (*ottonaro*) who must also have been an amateur musician—records: "Un'arcileuto, una chitarra col manico e corpo d'ebano, altra chitarra ordinaria, un chitarrino tiorbato, una cetra, una mandola ordinaria, et un'arpa a 26 corde" ("An archlute, a guitar with neck and body of ebony, another ordinary guitar, a theorboed *chitarrino*, a cittern, an ordinary mandola, and a harp with twenty-six strings"), ASRCA-1016, f. 720, 17.12.1691.

120. Fabris, "Danze intavolate," 406.

121. Meucci, "Alessandro Piccinini," 121.

122. Bonanni, *Gabinetto*, 100: "Rende un suono rauco, essendo le corde molto più lunghe, e la testudine di piccola mole."

123. Pinaroli, "Polyanthea," f. 98v.



. . . i contadini ne usano solamente con due o tre corde, da altri vien detto ghitarrone ò vero citara, ma il suo vero nome è di colascione.

. . . the peasants use them with only two or three strings; by others it is even called a *ghitarrone* or *citara*, but its true name is *colascione*.

Its diffusion cannot, however, have been exclusively among the peasants, since one appears among the goods left by Cardinal Dal Monte in 1628, and a second, in 1643, with another member of the Roman aristocracy.<sup>124</sup>

Mersenne, like Kircher (fig. 6), gives the following tuning for it: *c' c'' g''*.<sup>125</sup> According to Bonanni it could, however, have been “sometimes six feet long,” i.e., about 180 cm, which means strings with a vibrating length of 120–130 cm.<sup>126</sup> In such a case, its tuning must have been *C-c-g*, compatibly with the maximum tension of the *g*, the highest string. This tuning, which is two octaves below the one indicated, must have been for the bass *colascione*. There must have been more contained measurements for other pitch levels, such as the one called a *colascioncino*, which however is not listed in the inventories found so far. For his part, Mersenne, in this connection, says merely that the *colascione* “is an instrument from four to five feet long, which is used in Italy.”<sup>127</sup>

Among the city makers, as early as 1614 we find a *colascione*, together with two lutes, in the window of the workshop of Giovanni Carboncini (*D.1614*); another one appears in 1620, together with two guitars, in the window of a shop belonging to Bartolomeo Frezza (*B.Frez*). It seems, however, that this instrument was produced only by a few special makers, Italian by birth or tradition. Besides Frezza’s case, it is in fact inventoried only in the workshop of Dal Forno (*D.1649a*), later taken over by his pupil Filzer. At this shop and also at that of Stefano Indelang (*D.1651*), we find a record of the theorboed *colascione* (*colascione tiorbato*). Consequently it cannot be excluded that—like the lute described by Pier Francesco Val-

124. ASAC-1404, f. 425r-v, 19.11.1643, inventory of the Illustrissima Barbara Bandini: “Doi tiorbe da sonare; Un arcileuto; doi chitarre; Un galascione.” For Cardinal Alessandro Dal Monte, see fn 65.

125. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 99.

126. Bonanni, *Gabinetto*, 100: “lungo tal volta sei piedi.” For the dimensions of the various sizes of *colascione*, see Franz Jannel, *La chitarra e gli strumenti a pizzico* (Italian translation of *Die Gitarre und ihr Bau*) (Modena: L F Edizioni, 2007), 53. For a bass, with a total length of 160–180 cm, this author states that the length of vibrating string is about 120–130 cm.

127. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 99: “Le Colachon . . . est un instrument de quatre ou cinq pieds de long dont on use en Italie”.



entini, which already on its own descended to *C*—using the said application the bass colascione could also be made to descend to *GG*, and thus to the same level as theorboes and archlutes.

**Cittern and theorboed cittern.** As Mersenne also reports, in Italy this instrument was also called a *citara*, emphasizing its several differences from the one used in France. He also provides a description of its tuning (fig. 7), which he had received, as we have seen for other instruments from Kapsberger (see fn 43); he adds that in Italy there were even models with “up to nine or ten” courses, for which he likewise gives the tuning.<sup>128</sup> In Rome, it reached its apex in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the craftsman who made it was known as a *citeraro*, in contrast to the *liutaro*, i.e., the common lute-maker. This term is used to classify Pier Gentile (*B.PG*, fl 1554), Bartolomeo Contegiacomo (*B.Cong*, ca.1495–1575), and Sebastiano Conti (*B.Cont*, fl 1575–6), all natives of Umbria or surrounding areas.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, Perugia, the capital of Umbria, at that time was a great production center for such instruments.<sup>130</sup> In this connection, it has recently been discovered that, at the outset of his career (ca.1578), the famous Umbrian organ-maker Luca Biagi operated at Perugia as a *cetraro*.<sup>131</sup>

About the makers active in Rome, it appears that the musical instruments made by the mentioned Bartolomeo Contegiacomo were only citterns. Although classified as a *citerarius*, he also produced clogs, and as many as 1,400 pairs of footwear are found in his workshop inventory, together with about one hundred citterns (*D.1575*). Such different activities are not surprising, since these craftsmen were skilful wood-carvers, inasmuch as “the body, neck, and peghead of many Italian citterns are

128. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 97–8.

129. For the dates of the deaths of Bartolomeo and his wife Concordia, see *Registrazione dei defunti negli archivi parrocchiali*, ed. Claudio De Dominicis (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1990–): vol. 4, 118; vol. 5, 104.

130. Biancamaria Brumana, “Costruttori di strumenti a Perugia tra Cinquecento e Seicento,” in *Arte e musica in Umbria tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. Biancamaria Brumana and Francesco F. Mancini (Perugia: Centro Studi Umbri, 1981), 341–350 (on the activity of the *ceterari* at Perugia in the second half of the sixteenth century). Dinko Fabris, “*Il primo libro di Tabolatura di Cithara* di Paolo Virchi (1574) e la tradizione degli strumenti a corda a Brescia nel Cinquecento,” in *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra Cinque e Seicento*, vol. 2, ed. Rosa Cafero and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzi (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 1992), 65–89, at 67.

131. Renzo Giorgetti, “Gli organari Luca e Stefano Blasi: gli anni e le opere giovanili,” *Recercare* 3 (1991) 105–45, at 108.

all carved from one piece of wood.”<sup>132</sup> This custom is confirmed by the fact that the said workshop inventory includes “nineteen citterns, carved” and “eight chisels for citterns” (*D.1575*). Beside the makers, at that period in Rome there were also “most excellent players of the said instrument,” as evidenced by Scipione Cerreto, who was able to hear them in 1602.<sup>133</sup> This fashion declined rapidly in the seventeenth century. After the five old *cetere* in Giacomo Fredi’s shop (*D.1595a*) and eleven (of which eight were “old”) in the one by Giovanni Carboncini (*D.1614*), among all workshops in the following years, citterns are actually found only in those of Del Forno and Filzer, his pupil and successor. These were the same shops which, as we saw above, were included among the rare makers of *colascioni*, another instrument popular among the peasant classes (*D.1649a*).<sup>134</sup> Indeed, in cultured musical circles, the employment of the cittern in this century is very infrequent; see, for a rare example, the *commedia Chi soffre spera*, by Marco Marazzoli and Virgilio Mazzocchi, performed in 1637 and 1639 at the Barberini theatre. For this work, a *cetra* is prescribed, which, although unspecified, must have been tuned in one of the two ways pointed out to Mersenne, as we have seen, by Kapsberger (fig. 5).<sup>135</sup> We should add that, albeit not indicated in any workshop, in Rome the theorboed cittern (*citera tiorbata*) was also used: one of them is, for example, inventoried among the plucked-string instruments left by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini.<sup>136</sup>

A distinguishing feature of the cittern was its stringing exclusively with metal strings. An interesting list of such strings, mixed with others used also for harpsichords and *spinette*, is found in 1570, in the workshop inven-

132. James Tyler, “Cittern,” in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 545–8, at 545.

133. Scipione Cerreto, *Dell’arbore musicale* (Naples: Sottile, 1608), 37: “il dì d’oggi se ne trovano eccellentissimi sonatori di tale stromento [cithara], de quali ne posso far fede d’habere intesi nella Città di Roma, che fù l’anno 1602.”

134. Even in private houses, this rather rare instrument is recorded almost solely up to the end of the sixteenth century: see, for example, the “doi cetere da sonar, una nova et l’altra vechia,” indicated in the estate of a certain Antonio Bianchini: T-1-39, f. 22, 6.1.1590.

135. Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi,” 120–21.

136. ASAC-3161, 9.9.1638, inv. q<sup>m</sup> Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini. The plucked-string instruments are the following: “[f. 920r] Una chitarra di ebano incavata a cinque ordini tutta guasta . . . Un’arpa dorata con l’arme del Sig.<sup>o</sup> Cardinale; [f. 1152r] Un arcileuto con la sua cassa; Una ~~chitarra~~ citera tiorbata con la sua cassa; Una tiorba profilata.” “A double-headed theorboed cittern with a rather long neck” (“Una cetra di dui ordini tiorbata con manico assai longo”) was also present also in Milan, in the Manfredo Settala’s Wunderkammer. See Terzago, *Museo*, 367.

tory of a Roman milliner's shop (original in *D.1570*):

- pounds 1, ounces 10 of cittern strings, at *baiocchi* 45 per pound, scudi 0.80
- pounds 1, ounces 1 of Milanese steel strings, holes of 6, at *baiocchi* 60 per pound, scudi 0.65
- pounds half of similar strings, holes of 4, at *baiocchi* 40 per pound, scudi 0.20
- pounds 3, ounces 3 of similar yellow [= brass] strings, holes of 5, at *baiocchi* 50 per pound, scudi 1.62
- pounds 2, ounces 4 similar, holes of 4, at *baiocchi* 40 per pound, scudi 0.93
- ounces 2 similar, holes of 3, at *baiocchi* 35 per pound, scudi 0.06

The unit cost by weight was in proportion to the number of (wire-drawing) holes through which they were drawn, i.e., inversely proportional to their diameter. “Ten bunches of steel and brass cittern strings” are found in a similar workshop inventory in 1582.<sup>137</sup> Metal cittern strings are also found in several inventories of the following century.<sup>138</sup> This specific denomination notwithstanding, they must however also have been used for guitars, some of which, as early as the middle of the century, are already reported as having this type of stringing, as seen in the “twelve guitars with cittern strings” at Filzer’s shop.<sup>139</sup>

The inventory of Haim’s workshop (*D.1689*) records *saltaleoni*, i.e., strings made of various metal strands twisted together, a practice that provides greater flexibility, hence a greater emission of high harmonics than a single-strand string with an equivalent cross-section. *Saltaleoni*, at that

137. T-13-66, f. 380v, 25.8.1582, inventory *apothecae artis albae*, in favor of Pompeo da Sarzana: “Cor. [= corolle] 10 corde da cetera azalini [= azzaline = accialine = acciarine, i.e., “di acciaio”] et ottone, scudi 0.40.”

138. *D.1653, 1689*. As also in the inventory of the secondhand shop of the man and wife Angelo Prevaldi and Domenica Martinelli (T-33-164, f. 1117r, 13.12.1641): “Corde di cetera libre doi et mezza a ragione di *baiocchi* 60 la libbra, in tutto scudi 1.50” (the mere fact that they were sold by weight indicates that they were of metal). A further inventory, dated 1684, informs us that cittern strings could be not only of brass and steel, but also of copper: “libre 9, corde di rame da cetera, b[aiocchi] 40, scudi 3.60; libre 56, corde da cetera d’ottone, b. 50, sc. 28.- . . .; libre 25, corde d’acciario da cetera, b. 50, sc. 12.50” (T-17-235, f. 333v, 16.3.1684, inventory of the shop of “Gio Batta Poli \ mercante”).

139. Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 170; 172: a phenomenon that increases during the following century.

time also used for the bass strings of harpsichords, are reported as early as 1618 by Praetorius, who thus describes the already-mentioned pandora of “English invention”: “It is rather a large cittern, and is strung with brass and steel strings each of one, two, three, four, or even more strands.”<sup>140</sup> They were evidently also employed for the cittern, as Mersenne confirms in 1636–37: describing the four-course model—the lowest course of which was composed of three strings, presumably octaved—he states that “the biggest string of the third and fourth course” is obtained by twisting together two strings, in order to emit a fuller sound.<sup>141</sup> To manufacture such strings, Del Forno’s workshop had “a screw and winder for cittern strings” (*D.1649a*: “una vite e molinello per corde di cetra”). This description could very well be used for a device to obtain not simply “twisted,” but also—about fifteen years prior to their earliest report—strings of the “covered” type.

### ***Bowed-string Instruments***

As already stated in the introduction, in Rome their production was fairly rare and—at least up to the mid-seventeenth century—undertaken only by makers of Italian origin, a fact that finds confirmation in table 2.

**Consorts of viols.** In 1628 Vincenzo Giustiniani writes that “in times past it was customary to entertain oneself with a consort of viols or flutes, but lately it has been abandoned.” One of the reasons for abandoning this custom was that “such entertainment, with its sameness of sound and consonances, was very soon found boring, and rather incited one to sleep than to pass the time and the afternoon heat.”<sup>142</sup> About ten years later, André Maugars confirms that the viol, an instrument at which he excelled, “is very little played in Rome.”<sup>143</sup> Indeed, in the archival documents discov-

140. Praetorius, *Syntagma*, 60.

141. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 98: “la plus grosse chorde du 3, et du 4 rang est tortillée, et faites d’une chorde redoublée et pliée en deux, afin de faire des sons plus remplis, et plus nourris.”

142. Giustiniani, *Discorso*, 34: “Per i tempi passati era molto in uso il trattarsi con un concerto di viole o di flauti, ma al fine si è dismesso . . . l’esperienza ha fatto conoscere che tale trattenimento, con l’uniformità del suono e delle consonanze, veniva assai presto a noia, e più tosto incitava a dormire che a passare il tempo et il caldo pomeridiano.”

143. André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d’Italie : écrite à Rome le premier octobre 1639*, facsimile ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock (Geneva: Minkoff Edi-

ered, the consorts of these instruments appear almost exclusively in the sixteenth century:

- 1556. At his death, the apostolic protonotary Augusto Comassi leaves “a consort of five *viole d’arco*.”<sup>144</sup>
- 1568. Giovanni Antonio Lauro undertakes to make for the Most Illustrious Sciarra Colonna “five instruments called *viole*, with their casing, for the price of 21 scudi” (*B.LaGA*).
- 1599. “A consort of 6 pieces of *viole* in two cases with their bows, and sundry music books” appear in the estate of Cardinal Scipione Lancelotti.<sup>145</sup>

In the workshop inventories for the following century we rarely encounter bowed instruments for producing *basso continuo*; furthermore, they are recorded with such generic names (*violone*, *viola da gamba*, *violone da gamba*) that do not help solve the problem of their effective identification (see table 2). In this century, the only consort of note, comprising six viols, was that of the Barberini family, restored in 1634 by Adamo Accialini and used by Cardinal Francesco in various *accademie*.<sup>146</sup> In those same years, Mersenne published the tuning for a consort consisting of four viols—in this case also the one provided by Kapsberger, even labelled as “tuning sent to me from Rome.”<sup>147</sup> He names the instruments as follows: *Basse de viole* (*D-G-c-e'-a'-d'*), *Haute-contre* and *Taille* (*A-d-g-b-e'-a'*), *Dessus* (*d-g-c'-e'-a'-d'*). In his letter to Mersenne communicating the said data, Jean-Jacques Bouchard points out that in Italy, contrary to French custom, the tenor and the alto (*Haute-contre* and *Taille*) were played on two instruments which, albeit of different sizes, had the same tuning.<sup>148</sup>

tions, 1993), 33: “Quant à la Viole, il n’y a personne manitenant dans l’Italie qui y excelle, et même elle est fort peu exercée dans Rome.”

144. ASAC-6172, f. 166r, 3.9.1556: “Un concerto di viole d’arco n° cinque; Item un cimbalò; [f. 166v] Un liutto con la cassa.” “Una viola grande da gamba,” together with a “grave cembalo,” is furthermore registered on 3.12.1565 among the goods left by Paolo Ghinucci (T-7-10, f. 1033r), who also owned “4 libri di musicha con le coperte di corame dorate. Molti altri libri di musicha” (f. 1034v).

145. T-9-30, f. 581, 4.6.1599: “Violoni. Un conserto di pezzi 6 di viole in due casse con suoi archetti, e libri diversi di musica.”

146. Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi,” 105: “aggiustato le 6 viole.”

147. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 194: “Accord que l’on m’a envoyé de Rome.”

148. Mersenne, *Correspondance*, vol. 4, p. 5 (see also fn 43). Referring to the list indicating the tunings provided by “Giovan Girolamo [Kapsberger], detto il Tedeschino,” he adds: “où vous noterez que *citara* signifie un cistre et que la haute-contre de la viole est semblable pour l’accord; et pourtant à la taille, les Italiens prenans deus tailles qu’ils accordent de mesme façon, et sur toutes les deus ils jouent indifferemment la taille et la haute-contre.”

**The lyra: *da braccio* and *da gamba*.** Toward the end of the sixteenth century many *lire da braccio* and also two *lire da gamba* were inventoried at Bartolomeo Lauro's workshop (*D.1593, 1595*). A further generic mention of the *lira* is found, again in 1595, in Giacomo Fredi's shop (*D.1595a*). After this there is silence for nearly a century, when the inventory of Sebastiano Haim indicates a not-better-identified *lira all'inglese* (*D.1689*). Mention of a lyra signed by "Magno Setuther in Roma 1651," a maker who can probably be identified with Magnus Schirler, is also found in a Medici inventory of ca.1700.<sup>149</sup>

Although absent from workshop inventories in the first half of the seventeenth century, in Rome the lyra did not fall into oblivion, especially at the Barberini Court. Information in this connection comes to us, again provided by Mersenne who, in his *Harmonie universelle*, indicated the tuning of the fifteen-string French lyra, on which the the octave diapason *c* is outside the fingerboard. It is also of the re-entrant kind, as are also all the various tunings of this instrument: *c' c''-d' d''-g' g''-d''-a''-e''-b''-f''-c''-g''-d''-a''*.<sup>150</sup> A few pages later, however, Mersenne adds another:

... accord de la lyre, dont on use en Italie, lequel m'a esté envoyé par la mesme voye du Sieur Hieronimo Landy surintendant de la musique de l'Ill.me Cardinal Barberin.

... tuning of the lyra used in Italy, sent to me by the same means [i.e. J.-J. Bouchard, as we shall see] by Signor Girolamo Landi, superintendent of music for the Most Illustrious Cardinal [Francesco] Barberini.

A year after sending him Kapsberger's tunings mentioned above, Jean-Jacques Bouchard had also sent him those of Stefano Landi, focusing not only on the three-course harp, but also on the lyra, which in this case has eleven strings (with the diapason *eb-eb'* not on the fingerboard): *eb-eb'-bb'-f-c'-g-d'-a-e'-b-f#'*.<sup>151</sup> While the compass of the French model ranged, by means of a chain of ten fifths and fourths, from C to A#, Landi's lyra ranged from Eb to F#, thus following almost the entire harmonic range

149. Vinicio Gai, *Gli strumenti musicali alla corte medicea* (Florence: Licoso, 1969), pp. 18–19.

150. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 205. This too inevitably plagiarized from Kircher, *Musurgia*, vol. 1, 486.

151. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 216. Mersenne, *Correspondance*, vol. 5, ed. Cornelis de Waard (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1959), 1: Bouchard (Rome) to Mersenne (Paris), 1.1.1635, in which he attaches Stefano Landi's "regles," of which the original manuscript has not come down to us.



of keyboard instruments tuned with meantone temperament (E $\flat$ –G $\sharp$ ). Indeed, we recall that with the lyra—thanks to its very slightly arched bridge and the mentioned re-entrant tuning of its open strings—chords of two or three notes could easily be played, to the extent that it was also known as “l’Accordo.”<sup>152</sup> The difference between the French and Italian models was not limited to what we have so far observed, since Mersenne concludes with the warning:<sup>153</sup>

<p>. . . il faut seulement remarquer que la lyre dont ie viens de discourir est à bras, comme les violons, au lieu que la nostre est appellée à iambe, parce qu’on la met entre les iambes pour en iouër.</p>	<p>. . . we should just underline that the lyra spoken of is <i>da braccio</i>, like violins, whereas ours is called <i>da gamba</i>, since it is placed between the legs to play it.</p>
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Landi’s tuning was most probably for the lyra employed in *I santi Didimo e Teodora*, with music composed by himself and by Virgilio Mazzocchi, staged in 1635–6 at the Barberini theater, in their palace at the Quattro Fontane.<sup>154</sup> The use of the lyra in the Roman Baroque period is also mentioned, albeit marginally, by Giustiniani (1628) and Maugars (1639).<sup>155</sup> What types of instrument were actually employed toward the mid-seventeenth century is difficult to say, however. By Pier Francesco Mola—a painter who operated mainly in Rome, where he died (1612–1666)—we have at least four copies of a picture portraying, with great detail, Homer playing a modern lyra, with the neck of the instrument against his left shoulder and the bottom resting on his lap; it is strung with thirteenth strings, the two lowest being unstopped bourdons, placed outside the fingerboard.<sup>156</sup>

152. Bonanni, *Gabinetto*, 102.

153. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 217. It should be noted that an 11-course lyra, with tuning G-g-c-c’-g-d’-a-e’-b-f $\sharp$ -c $\sharp$ ’ (with G and g not on the fingerboard), in 1601 was illustrated by Cerreto, *Della prattica*, 323, but as a *lira da gamba* (and not *da braccio*, like Landi’s).

154. A lyra is also found among the Barberini instruments restored in 1634 by Adamo Accialini. See Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi,” 112.

155. Giustiniani, *Discorso*, 32; Maugars, *Response*, 30; 37.

156. Laura Laureati, “Dipinti,” in *Pier Francesco Mola 1612–1666* (Milan: Electa, 1989), 148–201, tables I.36 and I.37. See also John Weretka, “Homer Lyronist: P.F. Mola, Art and Music in the Baroque,” *Chelis australis* 6 (2007): 1–12. Mola must also have been an amateur musician; in the inventory of the goods he left, we find (ASAC-3907, 30.5.1666): “[f. 480v] Un regalo [a regal] vecchio assai; [f. 481r] Un cimbalò usato vecchio a due registri; Una spinetta tutta guasta e rotta; [f. 482v] Nello stantione dove il detto Sig.<sup>re</sup> Mola

**The violin.** In Roman workshops, the first violins appear in 1571, and more precisely at Domenico Colucci's (*D.1571*). Toward the end of the century, others are recorded at Bartolomeo Lauro's shop, certainly the maker—of all those prior to Sebastiano Haim (1689)—with the greatest variety of instruments in his shop; in it are also mentioned “a violin shaped like a mandola,” probably an old rebec (*D.1595*). As a rule, violins of local production seem to have a low value: in 1649 those “di Roma” present in Cristoforo Del Forno's shop were actually valued at 0.30 scudi each, as compared to 1.0 scudi for those “from Pesaro” (*D.1649a*). Violins produced in this latter city were deemed far better, almost as good as those coming from Germany. At Sebastiano Haim's shop, indeed, the latter were valued at one scudo each, as compared to 0.86 scudi for those from Pesaro (*D.1689*). In Rome, at that time, the average price of violins was thus not particularly high, and could be compared to that of an ordinary plucked-string instrument. In 1657, for example, each of the *violini ordinari* on sale at Lorenzo Filzer's shop was valued at 0.50 scudi, but he also had others for just 0.10 scudi.<sup>157</sup> This does not, however, take into account those produced by Matteo Albani (Mathias Alban), a Tyrolean violin-maker who operated in Rome in about 1665–68, where he produced violins that were greatly in demand by the best virtuosi in the city.<sup>158</sup>

Passing on to examine the various pitch levels for this instrument family, up to the end of the seventeenth century the information provided by the newly discovered documents is scarce and generic. At Stefano Indelang's shop, for example, the inventory indicates both a *violino piccolo* and a *basso di violino* (*D.1657*): the denomination of the latter appears to be the only one of its kind so far discovered in Italian documentation relating to this century.<sup>159</sup> According to Mersenne, the lowest string of the *basse de violon* (bass violin) could be *C* or even *GG*, thus the same as for lutes (*C*) or the theorbas or archlutes (*GG*) examined above.<sup>160</sup> This bass range was exactly

dipingeva . . . Un'abbozzo in tela di diece palmi con uno che suona il violone, copia dal Mola.”

157. Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 171.

158. Charles Beare and Patrizio Barbieri, “Albani, Mathias,” in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 64.

159. Stefano La Via, “Violone e violoncello a Roma al tempo di Corelli,” in *Studi Corelliani IV*, ed. Pierluigi Petrobelli and Gloria Staffieri (Florence: Olschki, 1990), 165–91; Stephen Bonta, “Corelli's Heritage: the Early Bass Violin in Italy,” *ibid.*, 217–31.

160. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 180.

the same as that of harpsichords for that period, which could descend as far as *C* (those called *in sesta*, i.e., provided with *C/E* short octave) or down to *GG* (those called *all'ottava stesa*).

**The *viola d'amore*.** In the Roman workshops examined here, this instrument appears for the first and only time at Haim's (*D. 1689*). The related inventory, however, does not tell us whether it was already fitted with metal sympathetic strings. The first appearance of such strings is provided by Francis Bacon (1561–1626), in a work published in 1627:<sup>161</sup>

It was devised, that a viol should have a lay of wire-strings below, as close to the belly as a lute; and then the strings of guts mounted upon a bridge, as in ordinary viols; to the end that by this means the upper strings stricken should make the lower resound by sympathy, and so make the music the better.

So far, the earliest known reference to these sympathetic strings was to be found in Joseph Majer's *Musaeum musicum* (1732).<sup>162</sup>

After Bacon, still in the seventeenth century, we have only the vaguest of reports, like those on the type of *chitarrone* mentioned, according to Bonanni, by Mersenne. Kircher, in 1650, also mentions not-better-described new English bowed strings provided with strings that were partly metal and partly gut:<sup>163</sup>

Nonnulli chordas chordis addunt, quidam eas in lyrarum morem concinnarunt, non defuerunt, ut Angli, qui partim metallicis chordis, partim nervis ad maiorem varietatem eas instruxerint.

Some add further strings to the strings [of already existing instruments], and those who tune them lyre-fashion are not lacking, like the English who, for greater variety, make them partly of metal and partly of gut.

161. Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum or a Natural History* (London, 1627), in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, IV, ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864), 151–483, at 294–5.

162. Myron Rosenblum, "Viola d'amore," in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, second ed., ed. Laurence Libin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), vol. 5, 214–5, at 214. Even before Majer, however, in 1721 Bonanni (*Gabinetto*, 110) was providing the first printed description of the modern "viola d'amore," whose name he candidly confesses he cannot explain, although he is mentioning the presence of (sympathetic) metal strings below the usual gut strings.

163. Kircher, *Musurgia*, 486.

The physical phenomenon of the sympathetic resonance of two strings tuned to unison, already mentioned by Girolamo Fracastoro (1554), was scientifically tackled by Johannes Kepler (1619) and the Jesuit Nicola Cabeo (1646).<sup>164</sup> This spurred the research of other scientists who, toward the end of the century, also found the solution to the problem of the sound emission of the marine trumpet. New experiments were carried out toward 1677 by researchers in the circle of the Roman Accademia fisico-matematica. The practical demonstrations carried out there by the Dutchman Cornelius Meyer, concerning the breaking of thin crystal glasses by the action of sound waves, roused the interest of the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli.<sup>165</sup> In 1679 Bartoli demonstrated experimentally that the vibrations between two unison strings were communicated not only by air, but also through the mechanical structure interposed between them.<sup>166</sup>

. . . temperate all'unisono due eccellenti chitarre spagnuole, e posate con quel loro fondo piano sopra una tavola in competente distanza, seguiva indubitatamente il tremar delle corde dell'una, in toccando quelle dell'altra.

. . . having tuned to unison two excellent Spanish guitars, spaced at a suitable distance with their flat backs on a table, without fail the strings of the one would vibrate as soon as the strings of the other were touched.

This did not occur, he adds, in repeating the experiment using instruments with rounded backs, owing to the smaller surface area in contact with the table on which they were placed. Again in Rome, in 1718 experiments were continued at the Collegio Clementino by Fr. Gianfrancesco Baldini and Giovanni Luca Pallavicini, one of his aristocratic students. This we learn from Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli, who—in the section of his manuscript claimed to have been drafted in that year—provides the first

164. Girolamo Fracastoro, *De sympathia et antipathia rerum*, ed. Concetta Pennuto (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008), 82 (the case of “similiter tensae cordae”). Johannes Kepler, *Harmonices mundi* (Linz: Tampach, 1619), Liber III, 14–15; in which he notes that, by means of a shout (*boatus*), all the strings of a violin start to vibrate (at that time, the content in partials of a given sound had not yet been discovered). Nicola Cabeo, *In libros meteorologicorum Aristotelis commentaria et quaestiones* (Rome: Corbelletti heirs, 1646), Liber II, 298 (he experiments with two guitars, reaching the conclusion that the vibrations of the two unison strings are communicated through the air).

165. On this subject, see Patrizio Barbieri, *Physics of Wind Instruments and Organ Pipes 1100–2010. New and extended writings* (Latina: Il Levante, 2013), 162–5.

166. Daniello Bartoli, *Del suono de' tremori armonici e dell'udito* (Rome: Tinassi, 1679), 165–6.

evidence in Italy of sympathetic strings in the viola d'amore, supplying also the name of the author of this novelty, at least as far as Italy is concerned.<sup>167</sup> He actually mentions sympathetic resonance, a phenomenon that

. . . ben dottamente l'espose l'erudito Padre Baldini chierico regolare della Congregazione Somasca lettore in quel tempo di Filosofia, et hora di Sacra Theologia nel nobile Collegio Clementino di Roma, e posto in pratica dall'Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Gio. Luca Pallavicino convittore nel medemo collegio l'anno 1718, nel tempo che scrivevo questo capitolo; il tutto riuscì felicemente; l'istesso osservai nello strumento detto Viola d'amore, a cui il Signor Christoforo Signorelli milanese ha aggiunto alcune corde d'ottone, e sopra vi sono le corde di intestini, o budella: toccando le prime rispondono a meraviglia le seconde corde d'ottone.

. . . was learnedly illustrated by the erudite Fr Baldini—*chierico regolare* of the Congregazione Somasca, lector at that time in Philosophy and now in Sacred Theology at the noble Collegio Clementino in Rome—and demonstrated by the Most Illustrious Sig. Gio. Luca Pallavicino, a boarder at the said college, in the year 1718, when I was writing this chapter. It was all a happy success. I myself observed the instrument called a Viola d'amore, to which the Milanese Signor Christoforo Signorelli had added several brass strings and above them were the gut strings: by touching the former, the latter brass strings responded wonderfully.

The idea of this innovation had been also clearly expounded in a hitherto unnoticed passage of *Harmonie universelle*. In it, Mersenne starts by recalling that the pandora “was strung with brass strings, which had a prolonged resonance, but which hurt the player’s fingers, for which reason it was abandoned; those of the lute on the other hand are of gut, with a sweeter but less prolonged sound.” In the end he expresses the desire to “bring the pandora back into use,” proposing the following compromise:<sup>168</sup>

167. Pinaroli, “Polyanthea,” 121v–122r. See also Barbieri, “Cembalano,” 165. The Genoese Marquis Gianluca Pallavicini later became “senator, many times”; see Donnino, *I convittori illustri*, 57.

168. Mersenne, *Harmonie*, 52.

(a)



(b)



FIGURES 8a–b. Marine trumpet (a) and *Monocordo* (b). Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico*, 1722, tables LXII and LXI.

. . . l'on peut monter un luth de cordes de leton si on lui donne deux tables, dont celle de dessous porte des cordes de leton, et celle de dessus les cordes de boyau, ou au contraire, car si elles sont à l'unisson, celles qui seront touchées feront trembler et sonner celles qui ne seront pas touchées. . . a lute can be strung with brass strings if it is provided with two soundboards, the lower of which carries the brass strings and the upper the gut strings, or vice-versa. So long as they are in unison, the ones that are touched will make the untouched ones vibrate and sound.

Thus—except for a few construction details, like the double soundboard—we find for the first time a lute *d'amore* with all the innovations of the viola *d'amore*.

**The Marine trumpet.** In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Italy the term “tromba marina” indicated both the speaking trumpet (megaphone) and the bowed-string instrument we are concerned with, provided with a single string.<sup>169</sup> The three *trombe marine* recorded in the inventory of Haim’s workshop can certainly be identified with the latter (*D. 1689*). As with the viola *d'amore*, none of the other makers examined in this article seems to have produced or sold such an instrument. As far as its actual use in music is concerned, it has been found that in 1696 it was played by at least three students of the Collegio Clementino.<sup>170</sup>

In those very years, the theory of its operation, unknown even to Mersenne, had been clarified by the Jesuit Claude-François Milliet de Chales (1674) and by Francis Robartes (1692).<sup>171</sup> It was totally different from that of the monochord, another bowed-string instrument then used in Rome, which sometimes had an extra string. These two different operating principles can be indirectly deduced from the pictures of the two instruments provided in Bonanni’s *Gabinetto armonico* (fig. 8):<sup>172</sup>

- *Marine trumpet.* The player’s finger merely brushes the string, without pressing it on the fingerboard, so that it vibrates in its entirety, dividing itself into so many equal parts, each of which with a length equal to the distance between the finger and the nut. The bow is used on this latter part. If, on the other hand, it were used on the lower part—i.e.

169. Barbieri, *Physics*, 103.

170. *Carmen seculare*, 36.

171. Barbieri, *Physics*, 160–63.

172. Bonanni, *Gabinetto*, 103, tables LXI (*Monocordo*) and LXII (*Tromba marina*).

on the section between the finger and the bridge, as on the violoncello—it would risk exciting the string at one of its nodal points, which on the contrary must remain still, since otherwise the string would emit a confused and unpleasant sound. The notes are thus only the ones corresponding to the various harmonics  $n$  of the string itself, produced by the various portions  $L/n$  of its total vibrating length  $L$ .

- *Monochord*. In fig. 6b we see that, unlike the previous case, the bow is used on the lower part of the string, i.e., as on the violoncello, a sign that, in this case, the string is pressed by the finger against the fingerboard. The notes possible can consequently form a continuous series, rather than being discrete, as in the previous case.

The workshop inventories discovered make no mention of this second instrument. Indeed, all that has emerged is that, in 1692, the musicographer and composer Antimo Liberati left “a single-string instrument called l’Armonico.”<sup>173</sup> Excluding the possibility of its being merely a scholastic monochord (at that time no longer recorded in any musician’s inventory), we cannot say whether it can be identified with Bonanni’s “monocordo” or with a marine trumpet (which instrument, as we have seen, could only emit the harmonics of the string, whence—as a hypothesis—its possible second name).

173. T-1-319, f. 224v, 26.2.1692, inv. qm Antimo Liberati: “Un instramento con una corda detto l’Armonico.”



## APPENDIX 1

### New Biographical Documents (B Sigla)

The unpublished archival documentation provided below supplements and corrects our knowledge of the various makers involved, some of whom are little known or totally unknown till now. This sparse information is not only of a professional nature, but also private, and helps to delineate a picture of their economic conditions and family life, as well as relations with apprentices and workmen, some of whom were destined to become their successors. Such details also contribute to contextualize their lives in the city, and shed light on relations not only with each other, but also with musicians and craftsmen in other professions.

*B.Acc.* **Accialini (Acciaini, Acciarini), Adamo** (*b ca.1603; d 6.7.1638*). A native of Siena, dies in Via dei Leutari, and is buried in S. Lorenzo in Damaso. His workshop, held in partnership with Stefano Indelang (*B.InS*), is inherited by the latter. 18.7.1638: inventory of the workshop of the deceased Adamo Accialini and Stefano Indelang, made at the request of the latter, Adamo's heir (*D.1638*). The dwelling contained only a few poor items.

Source: Ld; T-32-108, f. 586, 18.7.1638.

*B.ALA.* **Alberti, Andrea** (*b 1585–87; d 3.6.1649*). “Germanus,” a native of Augsburg, brother of Giorgio. 8.6.1613: “Andrea q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis Alberti” marries the Roman-born Maddalena Chiavarini, with whom he has the following children: Giovanni Battista (*b*19.6.1614), Caterina (*b* 28.3.1616; in 1635 she marries the lute-maker Giorgio Giauna: *B.GiG*), Angelo (*b* 14.2.1618), Cecilia (*b* 19.9.1625). 18.3.1627: his second marriage with Porzia, the widow of Francesco Barzelli.

Sources: Lm; Lb.

*B.AIG.* **Alberti, Giorgio** (*b ca.1574; d 18.10.1624*). “German” of the diocese of Augsburg, kinsman of Pietro (probably his nephew, see *B.AIH*) and brother of Andrea; his father, Giovanni, is recorded as having died between 1613 and 1623. 10.6.1602: still resident in Germany, he acquires the workshop of Stefano Chelz in Rome, in Via dei Leutari (*B.Ch*). He moves there immediately, and marries the Roman Clarice Spinetti, with whom he has several children: Agata (*b* 4.2.603; godfather: Fulvio Valente, gut-string-maker; on 16.11.1621 Agata marries the sarcinator, i.e., the porter, Giulio Pardi, from Bologna), Apollonia (*b* 10.3.1606; godfather: Michele di Bernardino, gut-string-maker), Pietro Paolo (*b* 2.6.1608, *d*

19.9.1629), Maddalena (*b* 29.9.1610; *d* 19.10.1636; who marries Magno Noll), Anna (*b* 29.12.1612; who marries Martino Noll: *B.NoMT*), Giovanni Carlo (*b* 10.3.1615, *d* 27.10.1624), Marta (*bt* 16.7.1617), Bartolomeo (*b* 23.8.1619, *d* 6.9.1624). On 21.1.1610 Giorgio Alberti sublets a workshop to the lute-maker Ludovico Vigand. On 6.1.1613, “Dominus Georgius filius Domini Ioannis Alberti Theutonicus leutarius” rents out a house to a “tabernario ad leutarios”. 25.6.1623: Francesco De Vecchi, of Siena, entrusts to “Georgio q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis Alberti” his son Placido for five years, as apprentice. 18.10.1624: aged about fifty, Giorgio dies and is buried in the German Cemetery. His will, signed with a cross (he was illiterate), is opened on 30.10.1624; it contains the following provisions: (1) he wishes to be buried “in the church of the German Cemetery in Rome in the privileged chapel, and in the tomb of the Alberti family”; (2) he appoints Clarice Spinetti, his wife, to manage his estate; (3) he mentions his four daughters: Maddalena, Anna, Marta, and Apollonia; (4) if Pietro Perchimiglier, a workman in his shop, wishes to marry Apollonia, he shall receive 300 scudi as dowry, plus five scudi per month for three years, so long as he continues working at the shop and also looks after Giorgio’s family; (5) he cites other heirs, including his sons Pietro Paolo (who died a few days later, aged twenty-one) and Carlo, as well as his brother Andrea. 30.10.1624: the betrothal is recorded between “Petrus Perchemiglier filius Stephani Teutonicum Augustanae diocesis” and Apollonia (stating that he will receive what is promised only after he has “per coppulam carnalem consumabit” the marriage). The marriage then takes place (*B.Per*); see also the notarial deed dated 28.11.1625, in which appears the German lute-maker Giorgio Felle. 15.2.1647: Anna Alberti, Giorgio’s daughter, receives as her dowry a sum of money from “Giovanni Alberti, figlio di Andrea, liutaio in Urbe, per mano di Dianora Cima, moglie dello stesso Giovanni.”

Sources: Lb; Ld; Lm; T-33-60, f. 180, 21.1.1610; T-23-101, f. 3, 5-6.1.1613; T-31-106, f. 799, 25.6.1623; T-31-110, f. 529, 30.10.1624; *Ibid.*, f. 534, 30.10.1624; T-31-113, f. 430, 28.11.1625; T-31-178, f. 416, 15.2.1647.

*B.AIGio. Alberti, Giovanni* (*b ca.*1611; *d* 1656–57). 6.9.1639: death of Maddalena, at 18 months, “daughter of Giovanni Alberti and Dianora, in Via dei Leutari.” Giovanni was thus the son of Andrea (see *B.AIG*, dated 15.2.1647). 18.1.1656: his son Francesco dies, four months old. Giovanni dies of the plague in 1656–57: in 1659 only his widow, Dianora, is recorded, with three children.

Source: Ld; La.

**Alberti, Giovanni Giorgio (Giorgino).** See Alberti Pietro, male heirs of.

**B.ALP. Alberti, Pietro** (*b* ca.1528–30; *d* 3.11.1598). Son of Giorgio sr, originally from the diocese of Augsburg (see under 7.9.1595 below). Children with his wife Elisabetta [Techteren]: Clementia (*bt* 20.1.1563; godfather: Bartolomeo della Croce, Spanish lute-maker; on 1.1.1579 she marries a tailor), Susanna (*bt* 17.1.1566; on 22.12.1591 she marries the battiloro Girolamo Mesmer, whose inventory she has drafted on 11.12.1608, being left a widow; on 23.11.1614 she remarries, with the German clockmaker Tobia Salzhueber; Susanna dies on 13.7.1620), Margherita (*bt* 14.7.1567), Giovanni Giorgio (*bt* 12.1.1569; *d* 25.5.1617), Virginia (*bt* 30.8.1571; on 31.12.1591 she marries Matteo Buchenberg, “leutarium in via leutariorum”). In the census on 10.6.1576 is also recorded one “Giovanni Battista, figlio di Pietro Alberti, di anni 17.” Children from his second wife, (Giovanna) Antonia (*d* 13.7.1596): Gaspero (*bt* 17.7.1580), Vendelio (or Vendelino, *bt* 12.10.1581; godfather: “Vincenzo Pinti detto il Cavaliere del liuto”), Elisabetta, nicknamed “Isabella” (*b* 8.7.1584; godfather “Ms. Lorenzo Tagetti romano,” the lutenist; on 2.1.1600 she marries “Alexander Duratum ad Aspoera,” servant of Marquis Michele Peretti; on 22.7.1602 she remarries with Giovanni Battista de Olphis), Margherita (*bt* 31.12.1585; on 10.4.1603 marries the Roman barber Pietro Marzario), Giovanni Giorgio II (*bt* 29.6.1588), Pietro jr (*bt* 15.2.1590; godfather: Stefano Chelz, lute-maker), Olimpia (*b* 24.2.1592, *d* 14.3.1595), Felice (*bt* 9.8.1594; godfathers: the “Ill.mo Don Michele Peretti marchese di Ancisa et S.S. Ill.ma il S.r Silla Stella suo familiare”; on 7.1.1615 she is betrothed to Ruggero Fuga, from the Veneto, with a dowry of 500 scudi; on 22.11.1615 they are married). 21.6.1585: a notarial deed relating to a financial investment includes the following: “Hieronimus de Incoronatis romanus leutarius” and “Petrus q. Georgij de Albertis Theutonicus Augustanae diocesis leutarius.” 29.11.1585: Pietro rents for three years one of his houses, next to the oratory of Trinità dei Pellegrini, to the gut-string-makers Giacomo Bucci and Matteo De Matteis; it is a sort of sublet, since Alberti is to receive a percentage on all the strings sold by them over the three-year period; the document is drafted “in the room of *Magister Cavalier* Vincenzo Pinti, located in the palace of the Ill.mo Cardinal Farnese.” 29.6.1587: Antonia, Pietro’s wife, is godmother at the baptism of “Giovanni di *mastro* Giovanni Battista *mastro de cembali* e di *donna* Isabetta sua moglie,” of the same parish. 7.9.1595: “D. Petrus Albertus . . . leutarius aetatis suae annorum 66 in circa” testifies that Rodolfo Barozzi is the natural son of “Giacinto Barozzi alias il Vignola . . . e questo lo so perchè io ho conosciuto detto ms. Giacinto e Rodolfo da bambino piccolo in Roma, che detto ms. Giacinto lo accompagnava e poi lo portò con sè in Spagna.” 3.11.1598: Pietro is bedridden at his house on Via dei Leutari and, a few hours before dying, dictates his will: (1) He wishes to be buried “in Ecclesia Campi Sancti in eius sepultura”; (2) he declares that he owns the said house at the oratory of Trinità dei Pellegrini, rented

to the gut-string-maker Orazio de Paoli for sixty scudi per year; (3) he has three daughters with Giovanna Antonia: Isabella (= Elisabetta), Margherita and Felice, to each of whom he leaves 500 scudi as a dowry; (4) he is owed 300 scudi by one Stefano Mussart; (5) he appoints as his sole heirs his three sons with Antonia: Vendelio, Giovanni Giorgio, and Pietro, and appoints as their guardians: “Francesco Attoni, Matteo Buchenberg, Girolamo Mesmer, Stefano Chelz, il Cavalier Vincenzo Pinto, e Giulio Cesare della Pegna di Perugia”; among the witnesses is the lute-maker Magnus Haitert. 5.11.1598: drafting of the inventory of his goods, in the presence of the sons’ guardians, including Buchenberg and Chelz (*D. 1598*).

Sources: Lb; Ld; Lm; ASV, S. Maria in Monticelli, Battesimi I, f. 18r, Censimento, 10.6.1576; T-28-5, f. 171v, 21.6.1585; T-28-4, f. 479r, 29.11.1585; T-5-36, f. 178r, 7.9.1595; T-32-4, f. 795, 3.11.1598; T-32-4, f. 809, 5.11.1598; T-25-14, f. 1267, 11.12.1608; ASAC-2338, f. 43r, 7.1.1615.

**Alberti, Pietro jr. (Pedrino).** See Alberti Pietro, male heirs of.

*B.A.H.* **Alberti, Pietro, male heirs of. Vendelio** (*bt* 12.10.1581; *d* end 1611, at Casale Monferrato), **Giovanni Giorgio** (*bt* 29.6.1588; *d* 25.5.1617, in Matteo Buchenberg’s house), **Pietro jr.** (*bt* 15.2.1590; *fl* 1622). In 1602 Vendelio Alberti ceases to be under his guardian and starts a lawsuit involving administrators and guardians: Stefano Chelz, Matteo Buchenberg, Girolamo Mesmer, the Cavalier Vincenzo Pinti, Francesco Attoni and Giulio Cesare della Pegna. To settle the dispute, the goods inherited are divided, so that on 14.3.1602 the inventory of the remaining goods is drafted. The said inventory is repeated on 28.6.1602, accompanied by a valuation of the goods, carried out by Leonardo Tucci and Giorgio Alberti (*D. 1602*). At the same time, a company is set up, with office at the former paternal workshop, between Vendelio (formerly “Vendelino”) and his brothers, who are still minors, Giorgio (Giorgino) and Pietro (Pedrino); the goods are divided as follows: two-thirds to Vendelio, one-third shared by the other two; for the related costs, see *D. 1602*.

On 11.9.1618 an *arbitrato* is drawn up, at the instance of the heirs and Matteo Buchenberg, concerning the estate of Pietro Alberti and of his sons, who had died in the meantime: Vendelio and Giovanni Giorgio. Taking part were: Giorgio (“Giorgio Alberti, tutore e curatore di Cecilia, figlia della fu Isabella Alberti, sorella del fu Giovanni Giorgio Alberti”), Pietro Marzari (father and administrator of Camillo and Paolo Antonio, his sons from his deceased wife Margherita, Pietro’s daughter), and the daughters of Pietro: Felice, Virginia (Buchenberg’s wife) and Susanna. Pietro junior, who, although recorded as still alive in 1622 (see below), does not appear. On f. 209r–v of this *arbitrato* is also attached a deed by a notary of Casale Monferrato, drafted on 4.6.1614 by the Camera Apostolica of

that town, in which we read: “Fidem facio, et attestor ego Nicolaus Fixus civis, et not. Collegius Casalis Sancti Evasij, in Monteferrato . . . sicuti sub die vigesima octava men. octobris anni mill. sex. undecimo [28.10.1611] recepi instrum. codicillor. condito per q<sup>m</sup> D. Vandelium Alberti teutonicum alias habitatore in Alma Urbe in Sancto Laurentio in Damaso leutarium, et curialem q<sup>m</sup> Ser.<sup>mi</sup> Principis Mantuae et Montisferrati danda et solvenda per Dominos Petrum et Georgium de Albertis eius fratres et heredes institutos in eius ultimo testamento . . . ” The will, in which he leaves twenty-five scudi to his sister Felice, being drafted by the same notary on 19.10.1611. Vendelio was therefore a lute-maker and business administrator for the Gonzaga family at the Roman Curia; to the document is attached the inventory of his goods, really very modest, in which no musical instrument appears.

On 8.10.1619 is recorded a *Consensus* of the heirs of the deceased Giovanni Giorgio Alberti, relating to the sale of a house. Dated 19.9.1620 there is also a *Reddito computorum* by Giorgio Alberti, administrator for Cecilia de Olfis, the daughter of the deceased Elisabetta. Giorgio, who states that Cecilia is “his niece,” presents the accounts of his administration. On 17.4.1622 Pietro Alberti junior, the last male heir still alive, donates two shares (“dua loca montis”) to “D. Georgio fil. q. Ioannis Alberti.”

Sources: T-32-8, fs. 446v–501v, 14.3.1602; T-32-9, fs. 200, 220, 28.6.1602; Alessandria, Archivio di Stato, Notai del Monferrato, not. Fixus Nicolaus, B. 1850 (will of Vendelio Alberti); T-9-129, f. 206r, 11.9.1618; T-9-135, f. 472, 8.10.1619; T-9-141, f. 187, 19.9.1620; T-31-102, f. 658, 17.4.1622.

**Alberti, Vendelio (Vendelino).** See Alberti Pietro, male heirs of.

*B.An. Ankeler (Anglà), Giovanni* (*b* 1618–20; *fl* 1693). In 1653 he undertakes to marry one of the daughters of Giovanni Battista Conelli, who makes him a partner in his workshop. Still active in 1693, at the age of 73. See also *B.Con.*

Source: ASV, S. Stefano del Cacco, Anime, 1693.

*B.Ar. Arrighi (d’Arighi), Tobia* (*fl.* 1624–25). “Leutarò”, of French origin, with his wife and three young children.

Source: ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Anime, 1624–25.

*B.Art. Artz, Martino* (*b* 11.11.1623; *fl* 1687). 20.9.1674: receipt for 100 scudi in favour of “Francesco Haim q<sup>m</sup> Luciano de Fiesareo in Germania” and “Martino Hartz fu Cristoforo, di Füssen.” The document also refers to a deed drafted by the same notary on 23 July 1674. 24.9.1684: recorded as a native of Füssen, at the age of circa sixty-five he appears as a witness at the opening of the will of the

string-maker Cherubino Follacchi.

Sources: T-29-216, f. 83, 20.9.1674; T-36-151, f. 337, 24.9.1684.

**Bartolomeo di Visso.** See Contegiacomo Bartolomeo.

**B.Bi. Biondi (De Blonis), Francesco** (*fl* 1578–1602). See *B.Pas*, 1578: “Francesco de Blonis, son of Graziano, from Bergamo.” 22.10.1599: notarial deed in favor of “Franciscus Blondus leutarius,” who has a warrant against a certain Francesco Montini for a credit of 103.27 scudi. 15.12.1602: Elisabetta Cesari is mentioned, “uxor magistri Francisci q<sup>m</sup> Gratioli Blonij Bergomensis leutarij in Campo Martio.”

Source: T-3-61, f. 551, 22.10.1599.

**B.Bl. Blosci, Francesco** (*fl.* 1588). From Bergamo, son of the late Graziano. Mentioned in a deed of 5.4.1588 as a “leutario in Urbe.”

Source: ASR: Ss. Annunziata, 390, of. 86r.

**B.Bo. Bonaiuto delli leuti (Bonaiuto leutario hebreo)** (*fl* 1545). 11.9.1545: “Marcus Antonius de Mosellaro abitan. apud pontem fictum” undertakes to “Bonaiuto leutario hebreo” to hand over all the “cordae grossas ad battare la bambace” he will produce up to the next Carnival, at the price of one scudo per hundred pieces; 9.10.1545: again a negotiation for Bonaiuto’s strings with “Marco Antonio e Domenico de Cola de Mosello,” in the Parione district; 3.7.1545: “Bernardinus et Angelus eius frater q<sup>m</sup> Jacobi fontañ. de Mosedera [= Musellaro] in Abruzio cordarij” sell to “Bonaiuto leutario” 24 hundred “cordarum grossarum da battere la bambace,” at the price of 1.20 scudi per hundred pieces, for a total of 28 scudi. About Bonaiuto no activity has emerged however in the lute-making sector besides strings; only in trading fabrics and spices: see the following documentary references for the same year.

Sources: T-31-5, f. 127r, 11.9.1545; id., f. 148v, 9.10.1545; id., f. 99, 3.7.1545; id., f. 41, 15.4.1545; id., f. 114v, 13.8.1545.

**B.Bu. Buchenberg, Matteo** (*b* 1566–70; *d* after 11.12.1627). “German,” son of Gaspare. Appears for the first time in 1591, when he marries Virginia, daughter of Pietro Alberti, “romana” (*B.AIP*). With her he has many children: Tomaso (*b* 21.2.1594; godfather: Stefano Chelz), Francesco (*b* 19.2.1596), Vittoria (*b* 7.2.1598), Elisabetta (*bt* 10.10.1599; in 1618 she marries one of her father’s workmen, Giovanni Cristoforo Fux; on 14.1.1626 she remarries a German), Cecilia (*bt* 1.2.1602), Andrea Patrizio (*b* 16.3.1604; *d* 24.8.1626, buried in Campo Santo), Margherita (*b* 15.1.1607), Elena (*b* 21.5.1609), Veronica (*bt* 15.7.1612), Gioseffo (*b*

17.12.1616; godfather: Orazio Michi “di Monte Varchi”). Matteo stands as godfather to the children of two gut-string-makers: Caterina, daughter of Orazio di Paolo (12.10.1593) and Marino, son of Lorenzo Valenti, (29.9.1604). 12.3.1605: *Declaratio* from which we learn that Matteo has ongoing legal proceedings in Naples against “D. Georgio Anastasio in Magna Curia Vicariae Civitatis Neapolis.” In 1606 he is present at the will of Stefano Chelz, a deed from which we learn that Matteo, classified as “tedesco,” is the son “of the late Gaspare” (*B.Ch.*). 10.5.1610: he rents premises; one of the witnesses is “Georgio Bernerio q. Antonij filio Tridentino,” probably the harpsichord-maker Giorgio Bernieri. 11.12.1627: “Mattheo Bergumberg” is recorded as being in prison “in Curia de Sabellis” for a debt of forty scudi to one Sigismondo Olivieri, of Civita Castellana; Angelo Priuli, Olivieri’s proxy, gives his *consensus* for his liberation.

Sources: Lb; Lm; T-23-93, f. 251, 12.3.1605; T-30-64, f. 692, 10.5.1610; T-9-183, f. 486, 11.12.1627.

*B.Ca. Cappella, Cesare* (fl1566). “Magister leutarius”, from Piombino. On 25 May 1566 he was a witness at the marriage of Antonina, daughter of the lute-maker Giovanni Antonio Lauro.

ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 372, f. 44v.

*B.Car. Carboncini, Giovanni* (b ca. 1566; d 29.11.1612). A native of Pisa, the son of Lorenzo. 20.9.1593: he marries Faustina Della Rocca, a servant of the lute-maker Bartolomeo Lauro (also a witness at the marriage). 24.8.1610: Carboncini, “liutaio Pisano,” rents two rooms close to the house of his landlord, the “Ill.<sup>mus</sup> Dominicus Leo Gallus.” 9.2.1613: baptism of Margherita, “figlia di Gio. Carboncino da Pisa et di donna Faustina già sua moglie.”

Sources: Lm; Lb; T-25-20, f. 978, 24.8.1610.

*B.Ce. Cerruti, Giovanni Battista* (fl 1598–1624). 25.1.1598: his son Sebastiano is baptized, born on 21 January to his wife Mitia (= Artemisia); the godmother is Caterina, the wife of the lute-maker Stefano Chelz. Artemisia dies a few months later. Cerruti remarries with a certain “Catarina, romana,” who, on 21 December 1609, bears Thomassa, at whose baptism the lute-maker Cristoforo Del Forno acts as godfather. 11.4.1619: death of “Caterina, daughter of the liutaro Gio. Battista Cerruti, in front of the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso.” 1.11.1620: Angela, his third wife, bears Carlo Santi, who is baptized four days later, with another lute-maker, Giovanni Battista Conelli, as his godfather.

Sources: Lb; Ld.

**B.Ch. Chelz, Stefano** (*b* 1537–38; *d* 19.8.1606). Son of Girolamo, German “della diocesi di Brescia.” 26.2.1581: carries out a financial investment (“societas”) for fifty scudi. Another similar investment, dated 8.1.1593, shows that he is married to Caterina Guidotti, very probably a relative of the bookseller Antonio Maria Guidotti; the guarantors are the printer from the Veneto, Bartolomeo Bonfadini, and the bookseller from Cremona, Giorgio de Ferrari. 10.6.1602. Toward the end of his activity, “Stephanus q<sup>m</sup> Hieronimi Chels” sells his workshop on Via dei Leutari to Giorgio Alberti (“D. Georgio fil. D. Ioannis Alberti Theutonicus in Alemania commorantis”); the assessors are named as Leonardo alias Nardo Tucci (for Stefano) and Matteo Buchenberg (for Giorgio); it is stated that the sale also includes the dwelling and all the workshop equipment: “omnes et singulos leutos, thiorbas, guitarras, burdellettos, et omnia et singula alia stilia et bona quecunque ad usum leutarij in eius apotheca ad signum dell’Alfieri Todesco . . . ac totus domus qua de presenti ipsi inhabitat”; on this occasion, an advance of 300 scudi is paid. 21.6.1602: Chelz purchases a house on Campo Marzio, “in loco dicto la Torretta,” for 815 scudi, where he will retire for his old age; see also the notarial document dated 4.8.1603, in which the *cordaro* Matteo De Matteis is among the witnesses. 17.8.1606: bedridden, “Stephanus q<sup>m</sup> Hieronimi Chelz Brixiensis diocesis theutonicus” drafts his first will, in which he requests to be buried in “Ecclesia Campi Sancti de Urbe”; as his sole heir, he appoints Elisabetta, the daughter of his present wife Maria Battè. The day after, he dictates his last will, in which he appoints as his sole heirs Cristoforo and Elisabetta, the children of his wife Maria Battè (who dies that same day); among the witnesses is his colleague “Mattheo q<sup>m</sup> Gasparis Boccamberg theutonico leutario.” This will is drafted at his new home on Via Margutta, in the Campo Marzio district, where Stefano dies the next day. 29.8.1606: at the request of the heirs, an inventory of his goods is drafted, which includes no musical instrument, a confirmation that they had all been sold to Giorgio Alberti.

Sources: ASAC-1705, f. 399, 26.2.1581; ASAC-1218, f. 82, 8.1.1593; ASAC-16, f. 187r, 10.7.1602; ASR, Not. Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 32, f. 346, 21.6.1602; T-19-60, f. 828, 4.8.1603; T-19-70, f. 803, 17.8.1606; *Ibid.*, f. 806, 18.8.1606; *Ibid.*, f. 910, 29.8.1606.

**B.Col. Coluzzi (Colucci), Domenico** (*fl* 1569–71). *Leutarius* with workshop near S. Lorenzo in Damaso. Married to Camilla, daughter of the *citerarius* Bartolomeo Contegiacomo di Visso (*B.Cong.*). 29.8.1569: a dispute is reported between him and a certain Giovanni Antonio, also a lute-maker; as witness appears one “Rodulphus q<sup>m</sup> Petri de Augusta musicus.” See also the deed dated 31.8.1569, in which Alessandro, the son of Giovanni Antonio, a workman at the “Pietro Alberti’s workshop at San Lorenzo in Damaso,” is also involved in the dispute; the



deed also names Tiberio, another son of Giovanni Antonio. In 1571 a dispute is recorded between Domenico and his wife Camilla, who does not mention him in her will (*B.Cong.* 3.3.1571: his workshop is inventoried in the name of Camilla, who has just died (*D.1571*); he regains his goods only after returning to Bartolomeo Contegiacomo the fifty-three scudi of his wife's dowry (*D.1571*).

Sources: ASR, Tribunale criminale del Governatore, Investigazioni, vol. 100, f. 140v, 29.8.1569; *Ibid.*, f. 146, 31.8.1569.

*B.Con. Conelli, Giovanni Battista* (*b* 1592–96; *d* 28.9.1681). A native of Asti, the son of Antonio. 16.2.1621: he is betrothed to Antonia, a Roman widow, the daughter of Giulia Mascherchi, with a dowry of 200 scudi. 11.5.1621: the marriage is celebrated; among the witnesses is the lute-maker Cristoforo Del Forno. 1.3.1625: the baptism is recorded of Antonio, his son born of “Antonia d’Arighi dell’Anguillara.” 3.8.1652: “Ioannes Baptista Conellus q<sup>m</sup> Antonij de Aste,” *chittarrarius* at the Fontana di Trevi, promises the hand of his daughter Francesca, born of Antonia, to “Iosepho Capanna filius qm Desiderij de Hortazzano in Piceno”; the latter receives a dowry of 235 scudi and is made a partner in the workshop. 18.1.1653: the marriage contract of Clarice—another of his daughters, now a widow—with “Mag.<sup>cus</sup> Ioannes Angler [= Ankeler] filius q<sup>m</sup> alterius Ioannis, Theutonicum de Statu Ser.<sup>mi</sup> Ducis Bavariae,” another lute-maker, who receives a dowry of 100 scudi and is also made a partner in the workshop, located near the Trevi fountain.

Sources: Lb; T-33-96, f. 482, 16.2.1621; *Ibid.*, f. 483, 11.5.1621; T-23-209, f. 405, 3.8.1652; 18.1.1653.

*B.Cong. Contegiacomo, Bartolomeo* (*b ca.*1495; *d* 10.3.1575). Maker of citterns, a native of Visso (Macerata). In the documents he appears as “magister Bartholomeus Comitatus Iacobi de Castro Sancti Angeli Comitatus Vissij citherarius inter Catinarios,” with a workshop near the church of S. Carlo ai Catinari, where he also produces clogs. 2.3.1571: will of his daughter Camilla, wife of the *leutarius* Domenico Coluzzi, bedridden. She does not mention her husband, but appoints as her sole heir her nephew Giovanni Battista, the son of her sister Maria; the witnesses include the *maestri liutari*: Pietro Alberti, Andrea q<sup>m</sup> Guidi de Cappellis, Stefano Chelz “de Insbruch,” and a Tuscan clog-maker; Camilla dies the day after: see the inventory in *D.1571*. 4.4.1571: Domenico Coluzi returns to Bartolomeo the fifty-three scudi of the dowry and in exchange re-obtains all the goods mentioned in the inventory. 17.6.1574: agreement between him and his *nipote* Luca on a dispute over the price of a piece of land. 22.12.1574: Bartolomeo is recorded as married to a certain Concordia. 10.3.1575: he dies, at the age of 80 (see fn 129). 15.3.1575: the related inventory records, besides more than 100

*citere*, 1,400 pairs of clogs (*D.1575*); 1.9.1575: “Magister Sebastianus filius magistri Andreae de Contis de Urbino citerarius in Urbe” acquires from Concordia 62 *citere*, at 0.70 scudi each, for a total of 43.40 scudi; 21.2.1576: Concordia receives from Sebastiano 26.5 scudi as the final balance of the said sale. Concordia dies less than one month later, on 15.3.1576. [f. 161r] Agnese Coluzi sublets the workshop of the deceased Bartolomeo, her father, to a clog-maker from Visso.

Sources: T-33-20, f. 151r, 2.3.1571; *Ibid.*, f. 249r, 4.4.1571; T-2-5, f. 286v, 17.6.1574; T-2-5, f. 533, 22.12.1574; T-2-6, f. 294, 1.9.1575; T-2-7, f.104, 21.2.1576.

*B.Cont. Contis, Sebastiano de*; (*fl* 1575-76). See *B.Cong.*

*B.Cor. Corradi, Ottaviano* (*fl* 1579). “Octavianus q. Nicolai Corradi de Palermo leutarius in Urbe” is recorded in a deed dated 22.8.1579, relating to a loan of nineteen scudi. 26.8.1580: again qualified as “leutaro in Roma,” he is bedridden at the house of an employee of the Campidoglio, Nicola Lamberti, whose daughter Maddalena he has married; an inventory is drafted of the goods that the latter brought as a dowry, and which Ottaviano had pawned, it appears, at Monte di Pietà. No musical instrument is recorded.

Sources: ASR, Collegio Notai Capitolini, vol. 1202, f. 107, 22.8.1579; *Ibid.*, vol. 1203, f. 657, 26.8.1580.

*B.Cr. Croce (della Croce), Bartolomeo* (*fl* 1555–75). A native of Cordoba (Spain), with workshop on Via della Scrofa, near the church of S. Agostino or, according to the documents, at the nearby church of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi. 23.4.1555: receives seven scudi *d'oro* from a banker in the Parione district. 9.5.1561: he accepts a certain Vincenzo as apprentice, for five years (“*Positio ad discendum artem leutarij*”); the youth—whose duties are unstated, except that he must not leave without a legitimate reason—is entrusted to him by his mother (Ersilia, a widow) and by another guardian. 16.7.1561: purchase of fifteen barrels of wine, apparently from Spain, made by Bartolomeo for 22½ scudi. 20.1.1563: recorded as godfather at the baptism of a daughter of Pietro Alberti, Clementia (*B.AIP*) The following year, during a quarrel, he injures the head of one “*Menica q<sup>m</sup> Simeonis*,” of Ancona: on 3.11.1564 a *pax* is signed, in which he undertakes not to molest her again, under penalty of 100 scudi (among the witnesses appears a certain “*Bartholomeo q<sup>m</sup> Iuliani Vincentij*,” a Florentine musician). 14.5.1575: Bartolomeo and his wife—the Roman Laura Coluzzi, probably kin to the homonymous lute-maker (*B.Cong*; *B.Col*)—give their daughter Isabella to be married to the “young Sig. Luca Sturm, son of Leonardo Sturm, also a Spanish lute-maker in Rome, on Via della Scrofa,” with a dowry of 250 scudi. On the following 24

May Luca publishes the banns and marries Isabella, in the parish of S. Trifone; in the related deed, “magister Lucas” is not called “spagnolo,” but “di Bologna” (“bononiensis”, twice repeated).

Sources: T-31-12, f. 144v, 23.4.1555; T-6-1bis, f. 142v, 9.5.1561; T-31-18, parte II, unnumbered folios, 16.7.1561; ASR, Not. Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 3, parte II, f. 154v, 3.11.1564; T-13-29, f. 727v, 23.12.1567; ASR, Not. Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 6, parte II, f. 146v, 28.4.1571; id., vol. 9, f. 361r, 25.9.1574; id., vol. 10, f. 217r, 14.5.1575; Ibid., f. 233v, 24.5.1575.

*B.DeC. De Cancellari, Cesare Battista* (fl 1578). Lute-maker from the Veneto region. See *B.Pas.*

*B.DeI. De Incoronatis, Girolamo* (fl 1585). “Romanus leutarius.” See *B.AIP.*

*B.DelC. Del Forno, Cristoforo* (b 1577–80; d 15.10.1650). A native of Asti (Piedmont), son of Secondo, married to a certain Giacoma. The following children are recorded: Paolo (b 10.1.1605; godmother: Virginia, wife of Matteo Buchenberg); Giovanni (bt 20.8.1606), Secondo (b 21.4.1608), Francesca (b 4.10.1612; godmother: Clarice, wife of Giorgio Alberti), Carlo (b 11.6.1615; godfather: Tiburzio Tuzi, gut-string-maker). 27.6.1620: with Giovanni Battista Conelli, also from Asti, he sets up a company for making lutes, valid for three years; each pays in 100 scudi: Conelli will receive five-sixths of the earnings, since he will manage the workshop, which he will also use as a dwelling. 31.10.1626: Cristoforo signs a rental contract for an apartment over his workshop, “in Via Leutariorum;” among the witnesses appears the *cordaro* Giovanni Battista Ricco, son of Bernardino, from Bolognana. 20.6.1650: now an old man, Cristoforo sells his shop to his workman Lorenzo Filzer; the two of them calculate what is owing to Filzer for his work up to that time at 300 scudi, and 368 scudi for the value of the tools and existing instruments in the shop (D. 1649a). 10.5.1649: from a rental agreement we can deduce that, even after this transfer, Cristoforo, together with his son Carlo, will continue to live in an apartment adjoining the workshop, again on Via dei Leutari.

Apart from lute-making, his activity in the trade of gut strings must have been considerable, beginning as early as 1620. 1.2.1630: with the *cordaro* Lorenzo Valente he sets up a company, for a three-year duration, for shipping “in partibus Alemagniae” strings for lutes and violins; they were to be dispatched “in Alemagna” to “Giorgio Felle del q<sup>m</sup> Andrea, della diocesi di Baviera,” present at the drafting of the deed, who will see to their distribution. Dated 12 August of that year is, in this connection, a receipt from Giorgio Felle for nine boxes of strings sold at “Leipzic,” shipped via Venice. In that same year, Cristoforo extends his activities to France, in partnership with Antonio Blavet, a merchant from Montpellier

operating in Rome together with his compatriot Gabriele Sologne; on 22.6.1633 this company also includes the Roman string-maker Tommaso Tedeschi, who is able to procure strings also from the Kingdom of Naples. On 11.3.1644 Cristoforo appoints two proxies (“Baldassarrem et Zaccariam de Valtraix de Civitate Augustae”) to receive payment owed to him by the said Giorgio Felle, who in the meantime has moved to Füssen. From 20.3.1647 we find that Cristoforo, now an old man, utilizes the collaboration of his son Paolo; on 19.2.1650, the latter is replaced by Carlo, his other son (on 2.7.1651 Paolo is registered as deceased).

Sources: Lb; T-33-93, f. 1090, 27.6.1620 (see also T-33-96, f. 486); T-25-104, f. 905, 31.10.1626; T-25-238, f. 155, 10.5.1649; *Ibid.*, f.581, 20.6.1650. On his gut-string trade: T-25-127, f. 585, 1.2.1630; T-25-130, f. 129, 11.7.1630; *Ibid.*, f. 370, 12.8.1630; T-25-143, f. 404, 4.10.1632; T-25-147, f. 606, 22.6.1633; T-25-212, f. 492, 11.3.1644; T-25-227, f. 254, 20.3.1647; T-25-233, f. 74, 6.3.1648; T-25-246, f. 582, 19.2.1650; *Ibid.*, f. 603, 26.2.1650; T-25-244, f. 51, 6.5.1650; T-25-251, March-April 1651; T-25-249, f. 11, 2.7.1651.

**B.DelGB. Del Forno, Giovanni Battista.** Brother of Cristoforo. 1621: marries Cecilia, daughter of the lute-maker Ludovico Vigand (*B.Vig*). 23.1.1629: he declares he was employed by his brother Cristoforo as a servant (“pro famulo”), that he had received all that was due to him and that he consequently had nothing else to claim. He then started work on his own account.

Source: T-25-121, f. 408, 23.1.1629.

**Della Croce, Bartolomeo.** See Croce.

**De Robertis, Orazio.** See Roberti.

**De Rossetti, Francesco.** See Rossetti.

**B.Dist. Di Stefano, Orazio** (*b ca.1544; fl 1599*). A native of Pinaco, near Amatrice (Rieti). He starts being mentioned in 1582, when he becomes a partner of the lute-maker Bartolomeo Lauro. In about the same year, his son Antonio is born (*d* 10.8.1593). Married to “Angela,” with whom he has the following children: Felicita (*bt* 22.7.1589; godfather Bartolomeo Lauro), Anna (*b* 1.8.1591), Francesco (*bt* 24.10.1593), Antonio jr (*bt* 7.3.1597), Paolo (*bt* 31.1.1599).

Sources: Lb; Ld.

**B.Ech. Echmen, Christoforo** (*fl 1596*). 9.12.1596: the *Conventiones* are registered between “Dominus Ioannis q<sup>m</sup> Marci Ioannis mediolanensis miles levis armaturae ex una et Magister Christophorus qm Iacobi Echmen de lacu Constantiae

Theutonicus faber leutorum.” Cristoforo “promette al detto *mastro* Giovanni in lavorare et fabricare leuti, chitarre, tiorbe e altri instrumenti che esso m<sup>o</sup> Cristoforo è solito a lavorare, e promette servirlo per anni tre.” Giovanni provides him with the workshop on Via dei Leutari or elsewhere in Rome, all its related expenses, board and lodging, plus four scudi per month. Cristoforo obtains permission to put “il suo nome e il suo segno in tutti li lavori che farrà a suo beneplacito, ma che tutto il lavoro se intenda del detto ms. Giovanni non obstante che ce sia il nome di detto Cristoforo.”

Source: ASAC-1577, f. 564, 9.12.1596.

**B.En. Endras Magnus** (*b* 1630–36; *d* 27.7.1700). 18.1.1650: “Magnus Endras fil. q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis de Riede [= Ried im Innkreis] Augustanae diocesis,” sells to Giorgio Giauna some of the shares he has inherited from “his friend” Martino Ama, for whom he had worked. The deed includes the surety of the lute-maker “Michael Stadler q<sup>m</sup> Iacobi Neapolitanus,” his new employer; the agreed price is 60 scudi, 10 of which will be paid by Giauna in cash and the remaining 50 in materials for lute-making, consisting of 450 soundboards for guitar (worth 25.50 scudi) and 80 bunches of gut strings (worth 24.50 scudi). 16.11.1671: the marriage agreement between Endras and “Margherita q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis Burde romana” is registered.

Sources: T-32-144, f. 246–48, 18.1.1650; T-32-230, f. 492, 16.11.1671.

**B.Fa. Fattorini, Orazio** (*fl* 1597). A native of Pesaro, son of Tibaldo. 24.2.1597: *Conventiones*, valid for five years, between “Ioannes q<sup>m</sup> Marci Ioannis Mediolanensis” (see *B.Ech*) and “Horatius filius Tibaldi Fattorini Pisauriensis faber leutorum.” As with Echmen, Giovanni provides timber, *forme* for the instruments, strings and workshop rent, whereas Orazio provides the labor, consisting of producing “leuti, chitarre, tyorbe.” The work is to be done on Via dei Leutari, where Giovanni lives, or elsewhere. Orazio is explicitly forbidden to lend to others the *forme* for the manufacture of the instruments. Earnings from sales will be equally divided between them.

Source: ASAC-1578, f. 860, 24.2.1597.

**B.Fi. Filippo, “leutaro perugino.”** 22.10.1590: “Filippo leutaro perusino”, i.e., from Perugia, is buried at “Trinità di Ponte Sisto” [= Ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini]. Source: ASV, S. Agnese in Agone, Liber defunctorum, at the date.

**B.Fil. Filzer, Lorenzo** (*b* 1597–1605; *d* 22.5.1657). A native of Sfangau (diocese of Augsburg), son of Giovanni. A workman for Cristoforo Del Forno, in 1650 he succeeds him and takes over the workshop (*B.C*). 7.10.1655: Giovanni Domenico Rapucci undertakes to stay with him for three years, as an apprentice. Little

more than one year later, however, Filzer dies of the plague, after drafting his will (20.5.1657).

Sources: T-25-272, f. 311, 7.10.1655; T-25-286, f. 177, 20.5.1657.

**B.Fre. Fredi, Giacomo** (*fl* 1583; *d* 23.9.1595). A native of Florence. 19.2.1583: he becomes a partner of Leonardo Tucci and Bartolomeo Lauro (*B.LaB*). 5.9.1595: at his dwelling on Via dei Leutari are registered the *Pacta sponsalia* for his marriage to Maddalena Bentivoglio, widow, of Asti; among the witnesses appears Paolo Petriagnani, a cake-seller on the same street. Giacomo is bedridden, and the marriage is celebrated at his dwelling, with special license, on the following day. On the same day he drafts his will: (1) he wishes to be buried at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, “in a wooden case Roman style”; (2) he bequeaths many scudi to various charities; (3) he leaves all his tools to Annibale Paganucci, his workman; (4) he states that he is owed about 18 scudi by Marco Lauro, living in Naples, for 18 lutes sent to him in about 1594; (5) he must be paid circa 5 scudi by “Iacobi Frans. leutarij in Civitate Venetia” for gut strings sent to him; (6) he must be paid 3.60 scudi from Marco Antonio Botti for a guitar sold to him; (7) he appoints as his sole heir Maddalena Bentivoglio, his “dilectissima uxor.” Among the seven witnesses appears the lute-maker Pietro Alberti “q<sup>m</sup> Georgij de Albertis.” He dies at his wife’s home, and a few days later the inventory of his goods is drafted (*D.1595a*).

Sources: Lm; T-12-9, fs. 597r–601r, 5.9, 6.9, 23.9, 28.9.1595.

**B.Frez. Frezza, Bartolomeo** (*b ca.* 1583; *d* 21.7.1649). A native of Castel Garda (= Castelnuovo del Garda, Brescia), the son of Giovanni Battista; formerly a workman for Giovanni Carboncini, in 1613 he opens his own shop on Via dei Leutari. 30.1.1613: “Bartholomeus fil. q<sup>m</sup> Io. Baptistae Frezza de Castro Garde Brixiensis diocesis leutarius in Urbe” appoints as his proxy the parish priest of the church of S. Lorenzo di Castel Garda, as manager of some land of his. 4.4.1613: he gives up the rent of his workshop “in viculo leutariorum subtus Palatium ubi inhabitat familia Ill.<sup>mi</sup> et Ecc.<sup>mi</sup> D. Principis Peretti prope portam domus D. Equitis Horatij Ricci,” which he held together with the “Florentine harpsichord-maker Camillo Sacchi,” having already another workshop “in Regione Parionis” (the witnesses include the lute-maker Giovanni Battista Cerruti). 19.5.1617: with a contract of *obligatio inserviendi* he hires Vincenzo Maggi, the son of Andrea, “de Malga Mediolanensis diocesis,” still a minor. 16.12.1618: he engages, as assistant lute-maker, Pietro Galbani, of Valle Farina (diocese of Milan); duration six years, at two scudi per month, plus board, clothing, shoes and teaching of the trade. 28.12.1618: baptism of Cecilia, daughter of Bartolomeo and Caterina, his first wife, Roman. 1.6.1620: Bartolomeo sublets to the cobbler Antonio Ceci a workshop “in front of the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso,” with the clause that Antonio must hang

from the ceiling a dozen guitars which will be given to him and, in a display outside the shop, two guitars and “un colacione.” 24.2.1624: the Milanese “Paulus q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis Manzoni,” the manager of a tavern at nearby Campo dei Fiori, gives him custody of his *nipote* Giovanni for four years, “ad discendum exercitium et artem leutarij.” 24.4.1624: Bartolomeo sublets a workshop, again just behind the church of S. Lorenzo, to the above-mentioned cobbler Antonio Ceci. 8.3.1625: he hires as an apprentice—for six years, with “victum et vestitum” as recompense—the “German” Pietro Antonio Heck, son of the deceased lute-maker Giovanni; Pietro Antonio is presented by the Milanese *tabernarius* Antonio Sillanus, who—should Heck leave without just cause before the six years are up—undertakes to pay Frezza 1.5 scudi for every month spent by the pupil at the shop; the witness is the lute-maker Giovanni Cheller, a native of Füssen. 6.5.1625: baptism of Giorgio Giacomo, son of his second wife, the Roman Ginevra Battistini. 12.5.1628: *Obligatio inserviendi* by Giovanni Manzoni, son of the deceased Giovanni, a native of Moggio (diocese of Milan), who undertakes to serve Bartolomeo for two years *in exercitio leutarij* in exchange for board, lodging, clothes, teaching of the trade, and five scudi at the end of the contract. 12.5.1628: hiring for six years of another Milanese, “Carolus q<sup>m</sup> Petri Antonj,” of Treda; he shall have lodging, board, clothes and shoes, but no monetary compensation. 18.6.1630: his son Giorgio dies, aged six years. 25.4.1635: Angelo Fierretti, of La Spezia, gives him custody, for six years, of his son Giovanni Antonio with a contract of *accommodatio pueri ad artem*; no monetary recompense, but just board, lodging and clothes; Bartolomeo is also required to teach him the trade (“omni charitate paterna docere artem”). 28.1.1637: Pancrazio Cortelli, aged twelve years, son of Domenico, of Isola, is accepted “ad effectum discendi artem leutarij per annos quinque;” compensation: board and lodging, plus one suit at the end of five years. 18.7.1639: he rents out a workshop adjacent to his own on Via dei Leutari. 17.10.1641: Bartolomeo owes forty-one scudi to the gut-string-maker Sante De Sanctis jr, son of Orazio, as the price “of a barrel of guitar and lute soundboards” (witness Tiburzio Tuzi, another *cordaro*).

Sources: Lb; Lm; ASAC-5736, f. 286, 30.1.1613; T-32-32, f. 692, 4.4.1613; T-25-52, f. 427, 19.5.1617; T-25-61, f. 668, 16.12.1618; T-25-69, f. 749, 1.6.1620; T-25-91, f. 663, 24.2.1624; T-25-93, f. 846, 24.4.1624; T-25-99, f. 109, 8.3.1625; T-25-118, f. 160, 12.5.1628; *Ibid.*, f. 161, 12.5.1628; T-25-159, f. 735, 25.4.1635; T-8-92, f. 318, 28.1.1637; T-25-184, f. 213, 18.7.1639; T-25-197, f. 247, 17.10.1641.

**B.Fu. Fuchs (Fux), Giovanni Cristoforo** (*b ca.*1600; *fl* 1626). “German,” the son of Giovanni, married to Elisabetta, the daughter of Matteo Buchenberg. 20.3.1626: deed concerning his wife’s dowry, in which he is named as “Ioannes

Christophorus filius Ioannis Phox teutonicus leutarius in Urbe maritus D. Elisabettae fil. D. Matthei Buchembergh teutonicus”; the marriage is celebrated in 1618, at S. Lorenzo in Damaso.

Sources: Lm; T-28-134, f. 408, 20.3.1626.

*B.Gia. Giardini, Girolamo* (fl. 1622). From Florence, “leutarius in Urbe”; son of Michelangelo. On 31 March 1622 he buys gut strings from Cristoforo Del Forno. Ten days later he rents a workshop at the “arco di Parma.”

Sources: T-25-80, f. 510r, 31.3.1622; T-28-119, f. 112r, 10.4.1622.

*B.GiD. Giauna, Domenico* (fl 1686). 1686: recorded as a *chitarraro* in the parish of S. Maria in Via Lata, together with his wife, Maria Felice, and sons: Giuseppe, one year old, and Ferdinando, aged seven.

Source: ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Status anumarum.

*B.GiG. Giauna, Giorgio* (b ca.1600 –d 19.8.1665). Son of Biagio (also recorded as “filium q<sup>m</sup> Losij”); although said to be “of Genoa,” he was more accurately a native of Terra Trioli (or Priora, Albiganensis diocesis = Albenga). 1.4.1622: recorded as “leutarius in Urbe in Vico leutariorum,” on which date he gives his consent to the marriage of his sister Battistina to a certain Agostino Verardo, also from Terra Trioli; the lute-maker Giovanni Heck, whose workshop is on the same street, appears as witness. 27.1.1625: Battista Giauna, a kinsman managing a hotel in Rome, donates to him all his premises located in the city of Trioli. 16-17.7.1629: Giorgio is renting a barber’s shop on Via dei Liutari (“barberia alli liutari”), which he sublets, completely equipped, to the barber Francesco Mancini (and later to other barbers: see deeds 1.3.1631 and 7.2.1632); 21.5.1635: his betrothal to the Roman Caterina Alberti, daughter of the lute-maker Andrea, with a dowry of 400 scudi (witnesses: Cristoforo Del Forno and Giorgio Felle, German, a former workman of Andrea’s). 26.8.1636: “Franciscus q<sup>m</sup> Francisci Giovanne,” a Roman orphan just six years old, enters Giauna’s service for six years as an apprentice: only board, lodging and clothes as recompense. From 1634 to 1654 Giauna is recorded as intensely active in various commercial sectors, especially with gut strings, for which he has contacts with the string-makers Michele Perchi, Clemente De Palma q<sup>m</sup> Marino (from Salle), Giuseppe Alfonso (son of Giovanni Bernardino, from Salle), Sante q<sup>m</sup> Marino Battista (from Salle), (Giovanni) Carlo Valenti, Bernardino Tofani q<sup>m</sup> Giovanni Andrea, and Domenico Valenti; he also deals however in fabrics, wool, thread, scented leather, and whalebone. 17.12.1656: together with his family, he is spared by the plague epidemic, undergoing a simple quarantine (see the section entitled “Via dei Liutari”). 25.10.1661: “Georgio Giauna fil. q<sup>m</sup> Blasij Ianuensis” rents out a vineyard.



Sources: T-25-80, f. 530, 1.4.1622; T-25-98, f. 319, 27.1.1625; TNT-15-121, f. 148r, 16.7.1629; Id., f. 152r, 17.7.1629; T-15-127, f. 649r, 1.3.1631; T-15-131, f. 491r, 7.2.1632; T-32-99, f. 240, 21.5.1635; T-32-102, f. 881, 26.8.1636; T-32-171, f. 136, 17.12.1656; T-32-191, f. 238, 25.10.1661. On his various deals: T-25-151, f. 578, 16.2.1634; T-32-102/103/104, years 1636-7; T-32-106, Sept-Nov. 1637; T-32-108, various fs., June-August 1638; T-32-110, f. 510, 23.2.1639; *Ibid.*, f. 773, 28.3.1639; *Ibid.*, f. 966, 18.4.1639; T-32-111, f. 185, 20.5.1639; T-32-112, f. 344, 12.10.1639; T-32-114, f. 525, 26.6.1640; T-32-116, f. 7, 29.12.1640; T-32-119, f. 1047, 5.4.1642; T-32-130, f. 187, 19.9.1645; T-32-134, fs. 1188 and 1290, 5-12.4.1647; T-25-232, f. 257, 21.5.1648; T-32-139/140, years 1648-49; T-32-148, f. 815, 5.3.1651; T-32-155, f. 475, 18.11.1652; T-32-157, f. 10, 1.4.1653; T-25-261, f. 6, 2.7.1653; T-32-160, f. 280, 24.1.1654

**B.Gra. Grail, Pietro** (*b* 1614-18 –*buried* 9.4.1649). A native of the diocese of Augsburg; he is the son of Giorgio, a brother of the better-known Magno. 11.8.1642: *Pacta sponsalia* for his marriage to Virginia Moglia. 6.9.1642: Pietro appoints as his proxy Michele Cucchumos (Cuchamos), one of his workmen. Buried on 9.4.1649; on the 27 of the same month, Silvia Benincasa, mother and guardian of their daughter Maddalena, has the inventory drafted for the workshop and dwelling, located on Via dei Leutari; witness: “Gallo q<sup>m</sup> Matthei Caiser theutonico.” (*d* 13.11.1655) (*D.1649*). 26.7.1649: the heirs sell the whole contents of the workshop to two other lute-makers, who are also “Germans:” Gallo Caiser (the same one who drafted the inventory) and Stedano Mielich. It is known that Pietro, who from as early as 1633 collaborated with his uncle Magno, in 1642 inherited the workshop; it is therefore highly probable that many of the assets inventoried there in 1649 were those left to him by the latter.

Sources: T-33-167, f. 486, 11.8.1642; *Ibid.*, f. 768, 6.9.1642; T-5-186, f. 292, 27.4.1649; T-5-187, f. 264, 26.7.1649.

**B.Gri. Grima, Cristoforo de** (*fl* 1557). He appears only on 14.6.1557, on the occasion of the marriage contract of his daughter Livia with a cobbler: she is indicated as “filia Magistri Christophori de Grima de Paccera leutarius.” The deed was drafted at the dwelling of “Magister Iohannes Helmier Theutonicus leutarius,” located in the Parione district.

Sources: ASR, Collegio Notai Capitolini, vol. 50, f. 346, 14.6.1557

**Haim, Francesco** (*fl* 1574). See *B.Art.*

**B.Haim. Haim, Sebastiano** (*b ca.*1633; *d* 11.5.1688). German, son of Luca. 4.2.1659: marriage contract between Barbara Trupini, widow, and “Sebastiano

Haim q<sup>m</sup> Luca alemanno leutario in Urbe,” with a dowry of 300 scudi. 12.9.1689: on 11.5.1688 “Sebastianus Haim Germanus” dies, aged fifty-five, and is buried at the parish church of S. Tommaso in Parione (up to 1661 at least, he is however recorded on Via dei Leutari). The document also tells us that from his marriage with Barbara Trupini he has a son, Giovanni Antonio; on Barbara’s death, Sebastiano remarries with Elena (Chiara Francesca) Tremanini, with a dowry of 400 scudi (23.2.1672); from this marriage are born Nicola, Pietr’Antonio, and Giovanni Battista; a judicial dispute immediately arises among the heirs, especially between Elena and her step-son Giovanni Antonio, which is concluded on 12.9.1689, when the inventory of goods left by Sebastiano is filed (*D.1689*). 24.3.1709: Elena, who did not remarry, is buried at the Church of the Agonizzanti.

Source: *D.1689*; Ld; T-23-248, f. 43r, 4.2.1659; T-30-302, f. 35r, 12.9.1689; ASV, S. Tommaso in Parione, Liber defunctorum, 11.5.1688, 24.3.1709.

*B.Hait. Haitert, Magnus* (*fl* 1601–03). This is the “German” lute-maker who in 1602 becomes a partner of Cristoforo Del Forno. On 10.2.1603 he marries the German Lavinia, “filia q<sup>m</sup> Nicolai Arpi” (in the document Magno is said to be “filius qm Ioannis”); witnesses: Giovanni Battista de Olphis (who in the following July marries Elisabetta, daughter of Pietro Alberti) and Matteo Buchenberg.

Source: Lm.

*B.Hec. Hec, Giovanni* (*b* 1574–79; *d* 10.7.1622). 19.4.1607: baptism of Dario, “son of Giovanni Ecchio, German *leutaro*, and of his wife Menica.” 6.2.1619: “Ioannes q<sup>m</sup> Georgij Hec Theutonicus leutarius in Urbe” receives as a loan twenty-four scudi from the lute-maker Bartolomeo Frezza. 12.4.1619: the latter gives him the management (“sublocazione e concessione”) of a workshop with cellar, located on Piazza S. Lorenzo in Damaso, in front of the church. Conditions: (1) nine scudi annual rent; (2) in the said shop Giovanni may sell only the gut strings provided by Bartolomeo; (3) the earnings from this activity, i.e., the sale of strings and repair of musical instruments, shall be divided equally between them; (4) Giovanni undertakes to perform all the lute-making works entrusted to him by Bartolomeo, and is responsible for daily management.

Sources: Lb; T-25-62, f. 629, 6.2.1619; T-25-63, f. 759, 12.4.1619.

*B.Hel. Helmier, Iohannes* (*fl.* 1557). “Theutonicus leutarius.” See *B.Gri*.

*B.Her. Herel (Herlé), Giorgio* (*b ca.*1631; *d* 3 October 1671). See *B.InGB*.

*B.InGB. Indelang [Hindelang], Giovanni Battista* (*d* 1653). From Genoa (“Ianuensis”), son of Martino, *nipote* of Stefano (see *B.InS*); he signs as “Hindelang.” 13.7.1653: *Pacta inserviendi* between “Georgius filius q<sup>m</sup> Michaelis Herel de Fiesso [= Füssen] Status Imperij” and G.B. Indelang, with whom Giorgio takes up service as a lute-maker, for three years; salary: thirty scudi per year, plus board, lodging, and laundry (“imbiancarli le camiscie”). 26.8.1653: survey by the notary of Indelang’s dwelling and workshop on Via dei Leutari; the house is found in poor condition, with door lock and bars missing, stairs broken, roof warped and partly without tiles, windows without frames, etc.; present is the said “Georgius Erle filius q<sup>m</sup> Michaelis germanico.” 4.10.1653: Indelang dictates his will on his deathbed; he appoints his children Antonio Maria and Anna Felice, of whom his wife Camilla Rapucci is guardian and testamentary trustee; among the witnesses appears again the unfortunate “Georgio qm Michaelis Erilo theutonico status Serenissimi Ducis Bavariae.” Giovanni Battista dies shortly afterwards, and on 13.11.1653 the inventory of his goods is drafted (*D.1653*).

Sources: T-25-261, f. 123, 13.7.1653; *Ibid.*, f. 523, 26.8.1653; T-25-260, f. 268, 4.10.1653; T-25-259, f. 122, 13.11.1653.

*B.InS. Indelang, Stefano* (*b ca.*1600; *d* 20.10.1651). Former workman for Adamo Acciarini, he then becomes his partner; indeed, according to a notarial deed dated 8.6.1638 Cristoforo del Forno rents a workshop on Via dei Leutari, with two rooms and a cellar, to “Adamo [Accialini] filio q<sup>m</sup> Christophori Senensis leutario, et Stephano Indelang filio q<sup>m</sup> Michaelis . . . leutario in via leutariorum Urbis.” 21.1.1646: Stefano is indicated as “husband and legitimate administrator” of Maria, whose vineyard he looks after at Porta Portese. 14.5.1646: he pays 117 scudi to the *cordaro* Tiburzio Tuzi as the balance for gut strings delivered. 20.10.1651: Stefano dies intestate; three days later, the inventory of his goods is drafted (*D.1651*), followed by their valuation (*D.1651a*).

Sources: T-25-177, f. 552, 8.6.1638; T-32-131, f. 208, 21.1.1646; T-28-218, f. 373, 14.5.1646; T-25-248, f. 535, 23.10.1651.

*B.Jo. Johannes de Tingel* (*fl* 1491). “Magister leutorum,” on 25.5.1491 he hires for one year a German for “working at the lutes”; his workshop is in the Parione district, where he is recorded with another *magister*, also German. This we learn from the following document, which is difficult to read: “Johannes Johannis de Căpituneñ alias de Chenteñ almanus sponte locavit se et operas suas ad laborandum leutos per uno anno . . . [from 22 May for 12 *ducati*] de carlenis . . . [to the] Magistro Johanni de Tingel Spiul. Magistro leutorum . . . Teste Magistro Johanne de Chiaramonte teutonico in dicta domo. / Actum Romae in Regione Parionis videlicet in domo Antonij de Minutulis solitae abitationis dicti Magistri Johannis

de leuti.”

Source: ASR, Collegio Notai Capitolini, vol. 1229 (notaio Lorenzo Paluzzelli De Rubeis), f. 428r, 25.5.1491.

*B.La. Landes, Bastiano* (*b* 1579–80; *fl* 1648). “German,” son of Sebastiano. In 1607 he marries Margherita Bersi, a Roman of the parish of S. Nicola a Cesarini. Their children: Andrea (*b* 24.11.1610), Isabella (*b* 16.1.1612), Giorgio (*b* 8.4.1613). In 1635–48 he is recorded as being in the parish of S. Maria in Via, with Margherita and his son Giovanni Paolo (*b ca.*1617).

Sources: Lb; ASV, S. Maria in Via, Status animarum, 1635–1648; ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 417, f. 48r.

*B.LaB. Lauro, Bartolomeo* (*b ca.*1544; *d after* 6.9.1610). “Roman,” son of Giovanni Antonio. 22.5.1576: on reaching the age of twenty, “Marco Bartolomeo Ottavio Lauro” frees himself (“*si emancipa*”) from his father, “Io. Antonius Laurus romanus regionis Parionis leutarius.” “Bartolomeo,” as he will be simply called in the documents, intends to go on living with his father, who donates everything to him. 8.2.1582: he purchases 350 dozen “*cordarum subtilium leuti cioè canti sottane e mezzane*” for 19.26 scudi from Sartorio Tuzi. 10.9.1582: “Bartholomeus Laurus romanus” sets up a company with the lute-maker Orazio di Stefano; the latter is bound to “exercise his art in a workshop located in Rome near the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso beneath another workshop where ms. Bartholomeo is.” The latter’s duty, on the other hand, is to provide him with materials and tools for the making of “lutes and guitars”; earnings will be divided equally between them. 19.12.1583: Bartolomeo signs a similar contract with Giacomo Fredi and Leonardo Tucci, who will manage the workshop, the earnings will be shared: 50 percent to Bartolomeo, with the other half divided between Giacomo and Leonardo; the latter is allowed to complete seventy lute roses that he had previously undertaken to produce for Orazio di Stefano (which roses will be delivered to Orazio by Bartolomeo); for the occasion the workshop inventory is also drafted (*D.1584*). 8.6.1584: his first will, from which we deduce that his father Giovanni Antonio is still alive. 12.11.1592: the Florentine Giulio di Raffaello Lapucci is hired by Bartolomeo for one year as a workman, for a total salary of eighteen scudi. 31.5.1593: Antonio—son of the late Ottavio Lauro, Bartolomeo’s brother—wishes to marry, but has no money, so he becomes a partner—for six years, at 50 percent—of Bartolomeo, who transfers his assets at that date. Antonio, with his wife, undertakes to live together with his uncle. If the company should break up, Bartolomeo is entitled to take back all his assets, which include a vineyard and houses for a total of 1,460 scudi, plus linen, furniture, etc.; the content of the workshop is indicated in *D.1593*. 28.3.1594: the fishmonger “Matthia

q<sup>m</sup> Sanctis” gives him custody of his son Domenico for five years, as apprentice; after six months Mattia will give Bartolomeo ten scudi as reimbursement for the initial expenses of board and lodging. For the first two years Domenico’s work will be unpaid; he will subsequently receive six scudi per year, which will later rise to eight per year. 13.3.1595: Bartolomeo donates to his nephew Antonio half of his workshop and half of the tools listed in an attached inventory (*D. 1595*). 16.3.1602: his second will, which shows that at that date Giovanni Antonio was already dead: (1) he wishes to be buried at S. Lorenzo in Damaso; (2) besides bequests to various religious *arciconfraternite*, he mentions his sister Ortensia, his nephew Antonio, and Berardino (son of Antonio and his wife Giovanna); (3) he appoints as his sole heir Anna Doria da Bassignano, his “dilettissima moglie” (*d* 3.8.1604); (4) he names Mario Lauro, his brother; among the testamentary executors are Angelo Ruffinelli, probably the well-known bookseller. July 1608: the fourteen-year-old Giacomo, son of Domenico Bazzaroli from the Valtellina, joins the workshop for five years as apprentice; Bartolomeo undertakes to feed him, shoe him, and have his clothes washed. 6.9.1610: a Fleming living in Rome entrusts Giovanni Battista, the orphan of the Burgundian Pietro Taddei, to “Bartolomeo Lauro romano leutario in Urbe in loco detto alla Torretta”; the apprenticeship will last three years. Beside the trade of lute-maker, between 1577 and 1600 Bartolomeo also carried out much activity in the real estate sector.

Sources: Ld; ASR, Collegio Notai Capitolini, vol. 1545, f. 458, 22.5.1576; ASAC-387, f. 556, 8.2.1582; ASAC-386, f. 500r, 10.9.1582; T-22-5, f. 763r, 19.12.1583, T-22-6, f. 227, 8.6.1584; T-30-46, f. 841, 12.11.1592; T-1-44, f. 768, 31.5.1593; T-30-48, f. 160, 28.3.1594; T-30-49, f. 186, 13.3.1595; T-27-36, f. 395, 16.3.1602; T-27-36, f. 395, 16.3.1602; T-25-13, f. 942, 6.7.1608; T-19-82, f. 814, 6.9.1610. Relating to his real estate activity, see: T-22-5, f. 138v, 4.3.1583; *Ibid.*, f. 173r, 4.3.1583; *Ibid.*, f. 765v, 19.12.1583; T-23-75, parte I, f. 122, 15.6.1590; T-28-50, f. 160, 30.8.1600; T-9-37, f. 369, 9.11.1600.

**B.LaGA. Lauro, Giovanni Antonio** (*fl* 1555; *d* 1584–1602). A native of “Bassignano Papiensis diocesis” (Pavia), but also called “Roman.” Already mentioned in a notarial deed, dated 3.8.1555, regarding his son Bartolomeo. Another deed, dated 1566, indicates the marriage of his daughter Antonia (see also *B.Ca*). 2.7.1568: “Antonius Laurus Papiensis leutarius” undertakes to deliver to the Most Illustrious D. Sciarra Colonna, within the following August, “quinque instrumenta vulgariter dicta viole cum ipsarum capsula pro pretio scutorum viginti unius.” 14.2.1576: return of a dowry of 200 scudi that Giovanni Antonio had given to the confectioner Pietro Loyali, by deed notarised on 9.6.1566 and another one on 7.9.1563 (notary Cesaris Quintilij, Auditor Camerae). 14.2.1587: inventory of the goods of the late Antonio Lauro of “Bassignano Papiensis diocesis” at the house of

Bartolomeo Lauro, his son and heir, “near the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso”; it includes furniture, 200 scudi, and “lutes including used and new ones totalling ten amongst which are two inlaid with ivory, which belonged to the late Octavio Lauro his son and the brother of ms. Bartholomeo himself” (Ottavio had died—murdered—in 1582). Giovanni Antonio appears to have died between 1584 and 1602 (see Bartolomeo Lauro).

Sources: ASR, Collegio Notai capitolini, vol. 30, f. 274r, 3.8.1555; T-33-15, year 1566 (from the *rubricella*, the sheet with the deed is missing from the volume); T-30-23, f. 353r, 2.7.1568; T-33-25, f. 182v, 14.2.1576; T-30-41, f. 132, 14.2.1587.

**B.LuD. Ludovici, Dionisio de** (*fl* 1610–15). Roman, with workshop on Via dei Leutari. 25.11.1610: marriage of “Dionisius de Ludovicis romanus leutarius” to “Agnese q<sup>m</sup> Ottaviano Cecioni romana.” 26.1.1612: in a notarial deed he is mentioned as a workman on Via dei Leutari (“Dionisius q<sup>m</sup> Antonij de Ludovicis romanus leutarius ad leutarios.”) 19.12.1612: at the parish of S. Lorenzo in Damaso the baptism is recorded of “Eugenia, of the *leutaro* Dionisio di Ludovici and *donna* Agnese, his wife,” both Romans. “Dionisio liutaro” and Agnese are in 1615 however registered near the basilica of St. Peter’s.

Sources: Lb; Lm; T-13-158, f. 201, 26.1.1612; ASR, Stato civile, vol. 375, Parrocchia di S. Pietro, Status animarum, year 1615.

**B.LuL. Ludovici, Ludovico** (*fl* 1564). A native of Lucca, son of Michele. 1.8.1564: “Ludovicus filius Michaelis Ludovici Lucensis leutarius in Urbe et ad cloacam Sanctae Luciae” pardons a *molendinarius* (miller) who had without intent wounded his right hand during a procession at S. Maria dell’Orto.

Source: T-7-10, f. 417r, 1.8.1864.

**B.Ma. Martini, Andrea** (*fl* 1553). 12.6.1553: “Andreas Martini teutonicus leutarius apud Sanctum Laurentium in Damaso” receives as a loan twenty-one scudi from the Jew Benedetto Rabbi; he undertakes to pay it back within the following March.

Source: T-31-10, f. 225, 12.6.1553.

**B.NoMG. Noll, Magno** (*b ca.* 1611; *d* 14.9.1646). 19.10.1636: at her house on Via dei Leutari dies his wife Maddalena Alberti, daughter of the lute-maker Giorgio. [May] 1637: Magno is betrothed, with no other details. 2.6.1638: deed of sale of financial shares, concerning the former estate of Pietro Alberti, in which are mentioned: (1) Apollonia, daughter of the late Giorgio Alberti and wife of Pietro Perchimiglier; (2) Martino Noll, son of the late Giovanni; (3) as heir of Maddale-

na appears Magno Noll, who is indicated as “brother of Martino.” 23.10.1639: Magno remarries, with Maria, daughter of the late Paolo Nanni, Florentine.

Sources: Ld; Lm; T-32-105, from the *rubricella* (page of doc. missing), [May] 1637; T-32-108, f. 220, 2.6.1638.

*B.NoMT.* **Noll, Martino** (*b* 1600–06; *d* 31.8.1644). 26.8.1644: Will of “Martinus Nol q<sup>m</sup> Ioannis teutonicus leutarius in Urbe,” bedridden at home on Via del Leutari: (1) he wishes to be buried “in Ecclesia Campi Sancti de Urbe;” (2) his wife Anna, daughter of Giorgio Alberti, has to draft the inventory of goods and workshop for her sons, who are still minors (inventory currently not found); (3) sole heirs are the said sons, Domenico and Pietro, of whom Anna is the guardian. Witness: “Ludovico q<sup>m</sup> Enrichi Vigaridi Elveta,” i.e. Swiss. His brother, Magno Nol, neither appears nor is mentioned.

Source: T-32-126, f. 879, 26.8.1644.

*B.Pag.* **Paganucci, Annibale** (*fl* 1586–1607). A native of Cagli (Urbino). 15.12.1586: he enters as an apprentice in the workshop of Giovanni Fermo Pasetti (*B.Pas*). In 1595 he is recorded as a workman at the workshop of Giacomo Fredi, who dies in that year, leaving to him the tools of the trade. In the same year, he purchases from the widow the entire contents of the said workshop (*D.1595a*).

*B.Pas.* **Pasetti, Giovanni Fermo (Firmus de Pace)** (*fl* 1564–90). A native of Caravaggio (Bergamo), son of Giorgio; workshop on Via della Scrofa, near the church of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi. 18.10.1564: contract for his marriage to Imperia Viscopi, of Mantua, daughter of Ludovico. 22.2.1570: he is recorded as “leutarius in platea Scrofae,” in relation to a debt he owes of 9.50 scudi; 9.6.1574–2.8.1575: he provides a dowry for his sister Angela, who is to marry Defendino Del Moro, a turner at Tor Sanguigna. 31.5.1578: his mother, Francesca, in her will appoints him as her sole heir; among the witnesses appear two lute-makers: “Franciscus filius Gratiani de Blonis bergomensis et Cesar Baptista de Cancellarij venetus.” 2.11.1581: he purchases ribs for lutes and guitars together with Pietro Pfanzelt (*B.PfM*). 1.9.1584: he consents to the marriage of his daughter Camilla to a saddle-maker of the district, with a dowry of 300 scudi. 1.6.1585: Dario and Modesto Pandolfini, of Pisa, give him custody for three years of their brother Giulio Francesco as an apprentice; Fermo must treat and feed him correctly (“bene tractare et alere”), and give him fifteen scudi at the end of the three years, but nothing if he goes away after one year. 15.12.1586: Francesco Paganucci, of Cagli (Urbino), gives him custody for five years of his son Annibale to learn the art of the lute-maker, with a total recompense of twenty scudi, plus shirts (Annibale in turn became a lute-maker: *B.Pag*). 28.4.1587: bedridden, he dictates his will: (1)

he wishes to be buried at S. Agostino; (2) he names as his heirs: his wife Imperia (whom he calls “domina et patrona et ut dicitur Donna et Madonna”), his three unmarried daughters (Francesca, Margherita and Ottavia) and two married ones (Vittoria and Camilla). 27.2.1588: he gives his daughter Margherita in marriage to Giovanni Maria Francarezzi, a carriage-maker, with a dowry of 370 scudi. He is recorded for the last time on 14.4.1590, when he sells to a hotelier some barrels of “Vinus Romanescus” from his vineyard at S. Saturnino. 3.12.1598: one of his vineyards is sold by his heirs.

Sources: ASAC-3926, f. 202r, 18.10.1564; T-33-19, f. 165, 22.2.1570; ASR, Notai Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 9, f. 200r, 9.6.1574; *ibid.*, vol. 10, f. 333v, 2.8.1575; ASR, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, vol. 1335, f. 533r, 31.5.1578; ASR, Not. Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 16, parte I, f. 343, 1.9.1584; *Ibid.*, vol. 16, parte II, f. 206, 1.6.1585; *ibid.*, vol. 17, f. 630, 15.12.1586; *Ibid.*, vol. 18, f. 214, 28.4.1587; *Ibid.*, vol. 19, f. 111, 27.2.1588; *Ibid.*, vol. 21, f. 192, 14.4.1590; T-13-103, f. 544, 3.12.1598.

**B.Pe. Perchi, Filippo** (*fl* 1626). Probably of the family of string-makers with the same name. Parish of S. Maria in Via Lata. 1626: the lute-makers Filippo Perchi and Nicolò Soriano are recorded; 1629–30: only Filippo Perchi remains, together with his widowed sister Faustina.

Source: ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Status animarum.

**B.Per. Perchimiglier (Pergamini, alias Bergmüller), Pietro** (*b ca.*1594–96; *fl* 1631). Born ca.1596, “German,” son of Stefano. 12.11.1624: he marries Apollonia, daughter of the lute-maker Giorgio Alberti, with whom he has two daughters: Maria (*bt* 15.8.1625) and Caterina (*bt* 28.11.1627; godfather Giovanni Battista Conelli, lute-maker). In 1631 he is registered in the parish of S. Maria in Via Lata, with Apollonia, Caterina, and Giorgio Felti (Felle), a German aged sixteen. Sources: Lm; Lb; ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Status animarum, 1631.

**B.Perez. Perez (Peri), Claudio** (*b ca.*1595; *d* 25.6.1645, murdered). Son of Giovanni; “a Spanish from the diocese of Arles, city of Perpignan, lute-maker in Via Ferratina,” in 1613 marries Vittoria Volante.

Source: ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 422, f. 18r.

**B.PfM. Pfanzelt, Martino** (*fl* 1595–1614). A native of the diocese of Augsburg, son of Giorgio. 28.9.1595: he takes part, together with Pietro Alberti and Stefano Chelz, in the valuation of the workshop of Giacomo Fredi. 21.6.1597: he marries “Prudentia filia Petri Loiali”; witnesses: Matteo Buchenberg and Geremia Mesmer. Of the marriage are born Pietro (*b* 3.3.1598; godmother Agnese, wife



of Stefano Felle, German) and Fabio (*bt* 16.8.1599; godmother: Lucrezia, wife of the string-maker Matteo [De Matteis]). 16.1.1602: Prudenzia dies. 24.6.1608: one “Antonius q<sup>m</sup> Bartholomei” gives Martino the hand of his sister Laura, still a minor (“puelle penes”). 1609: he however is recorded as being the husband of Giacoma Chiarizi. 16.1.1612: with Giacoma he has a son, Giovanni, baptized on 16 January.

Sources: Lm; Lb; *D.1595a*; Ld; T-33-57, f. 826, 24.6.1608; ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 416, f. 129v.

*B.PfP. Pfanzelt [Fansele], Pietro* (*fl* 1578; *d* 20.10.1582). 2.5.1578: “Petrus Fransele theutonicus sardus leutarius in Urbe ad leutarios” promises to marry “Hortensia de m<sup>o</sup> Cesare de Monte,” of Siena; Pietro is qualified as “leutaro alla strada di S. Lorenzo,” probably identifiable with Via dei Leutari; among the witnesses is Stefano Chelz. 2.11.1581: “Octavianus q<sup>m</sup> Stephani Cole de Amatrice secator” receives fifteen scudi from “Petro Fanzel teutonico leutario apud Sanctum Laurentium in Damaso” and from “magistro Firmo Pasetto de Caravaggio leutario ad Scrofam,” undertaking to deliver “migliara dua de stecche de leuto et un migliaro de stecche de chitarra bone et recipienti ad uso del arte del leutaro.”

Source: T-30-33, f. 407v, 2.5.1578; ASR, Notai del Tribunale acque e strade, vol. 14, protocollo II, f. 566, 2.11.1581.

*B.PG. Pier, Gentile* (*fl* 1554). Year 1554: In the list of *Taxae viarum* are also registered the taxes paid by “Pier Gentile citararo alli Catinari.”

Source: ASR, Presidenza delle strade, vol. 5, f. 27.

*B.Po. Portoghese, Francesco* (*b* 1575–78; *d* after 1636). A native of Siracusa, Sicily; son of Simone. Married to “Paola,” with whom he has the following children: Caterina (*bt* 5.9.1603; godmother: Clarice, wife of Giorgio Alberti), Lorenzo (*b* 8.5.1606), Giuseppe Andrea (*b* 3.12.1619; godfather: Silvio Valenti, gut-string-maker), Maria Elisabetta (*b* 1623–24). 31.5.1621: marriage of his daughter Caterina (as witness appears “Ludovico Vigando leutario germano”). Still mentioned in a deed of 15.2.1636.

Sources: Lb; Lm; ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 423, f. 348v; ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 438, f. 207v.

*B.ReA. Rethausen (Rethauzer), Andrea* (*fl* 1551). 28.10.1551: “Andreas Rethauzer Theutonicus Augustensis diocesis Civitatis leutarius apud Sanctum Laurentium in Damaso” and “Gasperinus filius quondam Alexandrini bergomensis faber lignarius in platea Cathinaria” receive as a loan twenty scudi from Benedetto Rabbi, Jewish banker.

Source: T-31-9, f. 406r, 28.10.1551.

*B.ReP. Rethausen (Retauxer), Pietro Paolo* (fl 1581). The son of Martino, the lute-maker, whose tombstone remains at the German Cemetery. 19.8.1581, *facta fidantiae*: “Magister Petrum Paulum q<sup>m</sup> Martini Retauxer romanum leutarium in Urbe prope viam balestrariorum et Hersiliam q<sup>m</sup> Io. Mariae Sauli coniuges” grant the hand of their daughter Anna in marriage to Alexander de Missoricchi, son of Marco Antonio, clothes merchant in the city, on Via dei Giubbonari. Pietro Paolo also has another son, Gaspare. 17.2.1614: death of “Anna Retauser.”

Source: Ld; ASAC-1153, f. 433, 19.8.1581.

*B.Rob. Roberti (De Robertis), Orazio* (fl 1576–90). A native of La Spezia, Republic of Genoa. 29.11.1576: the “Ill.<sup>ma</sup> Fulvia Mattei de Mignanellis” rents out a house with workshop, on Via dei Leutari, to “Magister Horatio de Robertis Ianuensi leutarium in Urbe”. 2.9.1590: the transfer of a house is recorded to “Magistro Horatio Roberti leutarium in Urbe in viculo Sancti Laurentij in Damaso.” 19.10.1595: he buys a house, near Via dei Leutari.

Sources: ASAC-3998, f. 695, 29.11.1576; T-33-39, f. 1200, 2.9.1590; ASR, Ss. Annunziata, 398, f. 24r.

*B.Ros. Rossetti Francesco* (fl 1567). A native of Ferrara. 3.9.1567: “D. Franciscus de Rossetis Ferrariensis leutarium in Urbe in via Panici apud Montem Iordanum” rents for one year, from the cobbler Giovanni Antonio Righi, a workshop located in that district.

Source: ASAC-2258, f. 652, 3.9.1567.

*B.Rossi. Rossi, Giuseppe de* (fl 1628–29). One “Gioseppe de Rossi leutarium” is recorded in 1628–29 in the parish of S. Maria in Via Lata.

Source: ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Status animarum, 1628–29.

*B.Ro. Rotondi, Teodoro* (fl 1695–97). Parish of S. Maria in Via Lata, 1695: the workshop is recorded of the *chitarraro* Teodoro Rotondo (adjacent to Palazzo Vitelleschi-Verospì), where there also appear his wife Felice and his children Giacinto (aged twenty), Caterina, and Giovanna. The workshop is recorded up to 1697. Giacinto in turn becomes a lute-maker, as well as composer and instrumentalist for Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj.

Sources: ASV, S. Maria in Via Lata, Status animarum, 1695–97.

*B.Sc. Scattola, Paolo* (fl 1620). Mentioned in a notarial deed: “D. Paulus q<sup>m</sup> Baptistae Scattolae Neapolitanus leutarium in Via Cursus prope Platea Sancti Marci.”

Source: T-13-202, f. XIr, 5.4.1620.

*B.So. Soriano, Nicolò* (*fl* 1626). Recorded together with Filippo Perchi: see *B.Pe.*

*B.Sp. Spix, Magnus* (*b ca.*1571–77; *d* 7.11.1610). German, son of Giovanni; a former workman of Pietro Alberti's. 3.1.1603: Deed relating to the dowry of Caterina Rivolti, daughter of a Genoese cowherd, recorded as his wife as early as 1593. 16.7.1605: birth of his son Giovanni Domenico. 28.9.1610: death of Caterina. 16.10.1610: bedridden at his home on Via dei Leutari, he dictates his will, after invoking the Blessed Virgin, he mentions his debts, amounting to scudi: 15 to "Georgi Errighi" and 28 to "Hippoliti Teutonic" (i.e. Ippolito Tedeschi), both string-makers; 9½ to Cristoforo del Forno and 17 to Giorgio Alberti, both lute-makers. He then appoints as his sole heir his son Giovanni Domenico, still a minor. He also mentions his daughters: Margherita, Maddalena, and Virginia. Among the witnesses: Martino q<sup>m</sup> Michele Indelang and the *cordaro* Cesare q<sup>m</sup> Mariano Marini, of Urbino. 7.11.1610: the inventory of his goods is drafted on the same day of his death (*D.1610*); at the dwelling, fairly modest, only 16.05 scudi are found, given in custody to Giorgio Alberti.

Sources: Lb; Ld; T-13-119 (ex. 120), f. 209, 3.1.1603; T-25-18, f. 150, 16.10.1610; T-25-18, f. 434, 7.11.1610.

*B.St. Sturm, Luca* (*fl* 1575). Spanish lute-maker. See *B.Cr.*

*B.Te. Tellini, Giacomo* (*fl.* 1612). German; "leutarius" in Via dei leutari. On 27.6.1612 he is wounded in the head, but "sine periculo."

Source: ASR, Tribunale del Governo, Visite dei chirurghi e relazioni dei barbieri, vol. 43, f. 54v.

*B.To. Toller, Michael* (*b ca.*1658–59; *fl* 1727)). In 1684–5 and 1691 he is recorded in the parish of S. Stefano del Cacco as a workman for Alberto Platner.

Source: ASV, S. Stefano del Cacco, Status animarum.

*B.Tu. Tucci, Leonardo (Nardo)* (*b* 1564–66; *d* 31.7.1605). 26.12.1593: he marries Domitilla Vannini, daughter of Orazio, a cobbler. Of the marriage are born: Maria (*b* 21.8.1596; godfather: "l'Ecc.<sup>mo</sup> Marchese Peretti," represented by "S.<sup>r</sup> Cavaliere Perino;" godmother: "la Ill.<sup>ma</sup> Sig.<sup>ra</sup> Contessa Maria Anna") and Giovanni Francesco (*b* 19.1.1605). 27.8.1605: Less than a month after the death of her husband, Domitilla—as guardian of their children—has an inventory drafted of the goods in their workshop and dwelling on Via dei Leutari (*D.1605*). She marries soon afterwards with Bruto Vischi, also a lute-maker (see).

Sources: Lm; Lb; Ld.

*B.Vig. Vigand, Ludovico* (*b* 1574–81; *d* 1657?). “German.” With his wife, the Roman Felice, he has the following children: Bona (*b* 19.1.1608), Matteo (*b* 3.7.1609), Clarice (*bt* 17.12.1617; godmother: Clarice Alberti, wife of the lute-maker Giorgio), Francesca (*b* 31.5.1622), Mattia (*b* 6.8.1625; godmother: Giacinta Del Forno, from the Marche region). 4.11.1621: another of their daughters, Cecilia, marries with Giovanni Battista Del Forno, “liutaio,” son of the late Secondo and brother of Cristoforo (see *B.GB*). 3.8.1657: “Fidantiae inter D. Hieronima de Angelis q. Scipionis et Ludovicum q. Henrigi Vigandi firhergens. theutonicum;” Girolama advances twenty-two scudi of her dowry.

Sources: Lb; Lm; T-25-285, f. 208, 3.8.1657.

*B.Vis. Visco (Veschi), Bruto* (*b* 1581; *fl* 1613–15). A native of “Piperno” (today Priverno, Latina), son of Giovanni. 7.1.1606: he marries “Dimitilla q<sup>m</sup> Horatij Vannini;” witness: “Ioanne Georgij Hec Venetiano leutario.” Of the marriage are born: Petronilla (*bt* 25.8.1606) and Lorenzo (*b* 9.8.1608).

Sources: Lb; Lm.

## APPENDIX 2

### Workshop Inventories (D Sigla)

As in Appendix 1, the following documents are hitherto unpublished. They are arranged here by date.

*D.1571. T-33-20, f. 155, 3.3.1571.* Inventory of goods of the late Camilla, wife of the *magister leutarius* Menico (Domenico) Coluzzi, at the request of Giovanni Battista Schiavoni, her nephew and sole heir. Drafted at the family home, close to the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. In the workshop, the following goods are found.

“. . . Item 15 forme de leuto; It. corpi de leuti 12; It. 15 fondi de chitarre; . . . It. 13 chitarre et leuti non forniti; It. 400 stecche da far leuti; It. sette corpi de leuti cominciati; It. doi pianozze da lavorare; It. tre cassetine con molti ferri da lavorare; It. quattro brache da leuti; It. cinque forme de chitarre; . . . [f. 155v] It. tre tavole da incatenare; It. 14 chitarre nove; It. doi leuti; It. diece chitarre alla spagnola; It. una viola grande; It. cinque violini; . . . It. doi banchi da lavorare; It. una piana grande; It. una cassa da arpa; It. quattro secche; It. rasciatori 18; It. otto forme da chitarre da leuti; It. un ceppo da lavorare; It. diece pianozzi; It. tre tenarelli [tenanelli?]; It. una sgurbia; It. cinque tavole da informare; It. doi ferri da piana; It. un cortello ad lavorare; It. una cassa d'arpa; It. una raspa; It. un scomarello de ro... da tener colla; It. un mastellino; . . . [f. 156r] Una raspa; It. scalpelli tenarelli fra grandi et piccoli pezzi venti; It. una piana mezzana; It. una tavola da spianare un corpo de leuto; It. mastro Menico asserisce esser in pegno in mano del ms. Gio. Portuguese doi cocchiari doi anelli per scudi quattro.”

The goods are all closed in two crates. Pompeus Baptista de Castro S. Angeli de Visso will stay in the house, as guarantor for the said Menico.

*D.1572. ASAC-6218, f. 711, 2.4.1572.* Inventory of the strings contained at the haberdashery shop of Fabrizio Tombani, located on Via del Pellegrino “sub signo solis.”

“[f. 711r] N° once otto de corde de cithara manumesse [= bulk]; [f. 712r] Once 5 corde di acciaio milanese da busi sei; Once 9 corde gialle simile de busi 5; Once 8 dette simili de busi 4; Once 22 simili da busi 3 . . . ; [f. 712v] n° 4 martellini da gravicembalo milanesi . . . ; [f. 713r] libre 171/2 filo d'ottone nero sottile e grosso.

[Valuation of the same.] [f. 719r] Libbre 1 once 10 corde di citera a b. [aiocchi] 45 la libbra, scudi 0.80; [f. 720r] Libbre 1 once 1 corde d'aciaro milanese de busj 6 a b. 60 la libbra, sc. 0.65; Libbra mezza corde simile da busj 4 a b. 40 la libbra, sc. 0.20; Libbre 3 once 3 corde gialde simili da busj 5 a b. 50 la libbra, sc. 1.62;

Libbre 2 once 4 similj da busj 4 a b. 40 la libbra, sc. 0.93; Once 2 similj da busj 3 a b. 35 la libbra, sc. 0.06; [f. 720v] n° 1 martellino da gravicimbalo . . . , sc. 0.6; [f. 721v] Libbre 1½ filo di ottone nero sottile e grosso a b. 17 la libbra, sc. 0.25½.”

**D.1575. T-2-6, f. 80r, 15.3.1575.** Inventory of the goods of “q<sup>m</sup> Bartolomei Comitis Jacobi de Castro Sancti Angeli de Vissio,” drafted at the request of his daughter Agnese. Drafted by a hatter, in the presence of two *catinari*, at the dwelling and workshop of Bartolomeo, located in the Arenula district.

“[f. 80v] . . . cinquantadoi citere inverniciate; Venti citere bianche; . . . Decinove citere incavate; Diece citere smarrate . . . ; [f. 81r] Mille e quattrocento paia di zoccoli; . . . Otto scarpelli da citere; Undeci pezzi di citere a modo di mezza forbice; Doi raspe, una lima, un quadro di cose; Un ferro da fare le rose da citere; Un paro di forbice da mezzare l’ottone; Doi martelli da zoccoli; Doi serchiette da far li tasti; Un paro di tenaglie da schiodare; . . . Doi asce da citera; . . . Un compasso di ferro; [f. 81v] Un subietto da frivoli da citere; Doi sechette dell’arte delle copelle; . . . Tre tavole polite da tamburro; Cinque banchi da lavorare, Una rota con il ferro et banco; Un tamburro finito; Una cassa tornita da tamburro; . . . Un cortello da librarro; . . . Novanta pezzi da tastature; . . . Forme e stampe da zoccoli; . . .”

**D.1584. T-22-6, f. 550v, 15.12.1584.** Inventory of the workshop of Bartolomeo Lauro, “in regione Parionis,” consigned to Leonardo Tuzi and Giacomo Fredi. On that occasion, the three lute-makers formed a company (*B.Lauro*).

“. . . Nella bottegha un bancone de noce con li suoi piedi, et il tiratore sotto, et una tavola sotto per tenere li piedi, un banco mezzano [f. 551r] de frassino con un solaro; Item doi pianozzi da denti con tre ferri de denti; Item doi altri pianozzi con li suoi ferri da lisciare; Item doi altri pianozzetti per far corpi con li soi ferri; Item una pietra da olio piccola; Item diece vite da metter prache con le sue corde, et ferri; Item quattro tavole da incatenare, et fondare, et una d’albuccio da giustare; Item doi scomarelli de metallo per colla uno con tre piedi et l’altro senza, tre ferri da foco, un focone da tener in bottegha, un puntarolo da foco; Item doi tavole da spianare stecche con le sue vite; Item una canestra longha col manico con zeppe da fondare, et morse da metter servelle; Item una mezza canna da allargar busi; Item doi compassi de ferro piccolli; Item tre tenarelli, doi cortelli da doi mano, un pontarolo da busare, un trapano co’ il suo archetto da busar’ testicciole; [f. 551v] Item doi raspe una grande, et una piccola, doi scrofine, sei raschiatori quadri, et tre longhi con la sua scatola, un’accretola piccola, doi seghe da una mano una grande, et una piccola con li soi finimenti; Item doi pettaroli per tirar manichi, un zocco per tagliar sù, et sgrossar manichi, una tavola per tener ferri, una riga, un’acciarino da dar filo alli raschiatori, una scatola da tener

corde, doi altri pianozzetti piccoli per far corpi, una piana grande, doi martelli un grande, et un piccolo, tre banchetti tondi con tre piedi da sedere; Item sessanta calcule da incatenare, quarantaquattro altre calcule da metter [f. 552r] ponticelli de abeto, un paro de forbice; Item tre pianozzi per aggiustare con li soi ferri; Item una ruota da rotare con li soi finimenti per arrotare; . . .”

*D.1593. T-1-44, f. 768, 31.5.1593.* Goods found at the workshop of Bartolomeo Lauro, on the occasion of entering into partnership with his nephew Antonio (*B.LaB*):

“[f. 771v] Leuti novi furniti, n° 94; Leuti d’avolio et d’ebano con un vecchio, n° 5; Chitarre leutate, n° 162; Item chitarre alla spagnola, n° 45; Violini, n° 8; Lire da braccio, n° 6; Lire da gamba nove, n° 2; Chitarroni, n° 3; Chitarre d’ebano, n° 1; Violoni novi da gamba, n° 2; Guitarre travisate in ossi, n° 7; il Ciciliano ha finito chitarre gobbutte n° 8; Legname compri hoggi monta sc. 16.20; . . . Un bancone di noce a lavorare; . . . Item una cassa dentro vi sono fondi di leuto; . . . [f. 772v] Item una spinetta di [blank space] piccola; Item una spinetta grandicella; . . . [f. 773r] Item dui banconi da lavorare et uno con 3 cassetini; . . . Item corde di leuto 300 dozzene sottile altre 300 de grosse; . . . [f. 774v] Casse di liuto n° 22; Casse da chitarra n° 1.”

*D.1595. T-30-49, f. 186, 13.3.1595.* Bartolomeo Lauro donates to his nephew Antonio half of his workshop and half of the tools listed in the attached inventory. Also mentioned in the donation: 200 soundboards for lute and 12 for guitar.

“[f. 191r]. . . Chitare aliutate quarantotto, N° 48; Chitarre alla spagniola venticinque, N° 25; Tiorboni quattro, N° 4; Tiorbone alla napoletana uno, N° 1; Lire da bracio sette, N° 7; Liuti da volio [= d’avorio] doi, uno con casa et l’altro senza, N° 2; Liuto con i trofei uno, N° 1; Liuto uno di tormeto con cassa, N° 1; Liuto uno di nasso et fusano con cassa, N° 1; Casse n[u]ove, cop.te [= coperte] nove, N° 9; Casse da citera una, N° 1; Liuto vecio debno [= d’ebano] con cassa uno, N° 1; Liuti novi in botega setantaotto, N° 78; Lire da gamba quattro, N° 4; Violoni nove, N° 9; Mandora d’ebano nova una, N° 1; Un violino fatto a mandola uno, N° 1; Arghetti [= archetti] novi dodici, N° 12; Un banco di noce con cortello di 2 mane; Doi pianozzi. [f.192v] [Hand-written, in fine handwriting:] Io Bartolomeo Lauro sopradetto dono cedo et afermo quanto di sopra.”

*D.1595a. T-12-9, f. 657r, 28.9.1595.* Maddalena Bentivoglio, wife and heir of Giacomo Fredi, requests the drafting of the inventory of goods of her husband. In the workshop, the following is found.

“[f. 660r] In primis sessant’otto leuti novi fra piccoli, et grandi; It. 44 chitarre nove; It. 10 leuti vecchi; It. doi cetere vecchie; It. doi chitarre alla Napolitana

grande; It. una arpa; It. un violone; It. 5 chitarre alla spagnola; It. un'altra cetera vecchia; It. 14 leuti fra acconci, et da acconciare d'altri; It. un altro leuto vecchio, et una chitarra alla spagnola, un violino; It. 2 chitarre nove alla spagnola; It. una cetera in pegno per 4 iulij; It. una chitarra vecchia d'acconciare; It. una cassa vecchia con legnami d'acconciare leuti; It. 2 banchi per lavorare; It. una cassa di chitarra alla spagnola, It. 58 rose di chitarre alla spagnola; It. un altro leuto vecchio; It. 2 altre chitarre alla spagnola; It. 12 corpi di chitarre; It. 4 chitarre alla spagnola, cioè una senza fondo; It. un credenzone con ossi, et stecchi da lavorare, et acconciare leuti; It. legno tento [= tinto] da far tastiere, cioè pezzi tre; It. una borsa in pegno per b. 25; It. un'altra chitarra vecchia alla spagnola; [f. 660v] It. un corpo di leuto novo con lettone dentro; It. un altro corpo di leuto novo con retagli di busso da far piroli; It. un altro corpo di leuto con retagli di ebbeno, et altre retaglie; It. un altro corpo di leuto novo et testicchiole di leuto dentro cioè cinque et altre retaglie; It. una scatola, et un corpo di chitarra vecchia senza niente dentro; It. una cassetta con diverse retaglie et ferracci; It. 8 pianozze; It. 2 altre pianozze; It. una banca et un banchetto da sedere; It. una accetta et un cioccho da tagliare; It. 4 tavole con suo legno di sopra da incatenare; It. 2 piane larghe, et 2 tavole da spianare; It. 2 altre pianozze; It. 3 seghe; It. un'altra pianozza, et un cortello; It. doi scomarelli dalla colla; It. 3 pontaroli da frio; It. un altro cortello; It. il focone con li soi ferri dentro; It. trivelli, cortelli, compassi et altre cosette da lavorare; It. una scattola con 275 piroli dentro da leuto; It. un mazzetto di corde da leuto; It. una cassetta con molti ferracci dentro; It. doi altri mazzi di corde diverse; [f. 661r] It. doi corpi di leuto novi uno con le zeppe da zeppar dentro, et l'altro con le morse; It. un altro fondo di leuto novo con corde di leuto, vecchio et piroli, et [blank space]; It. un cassetto di ponticelli de leuto; It. una cassetta da serrare sotto il banco; It. una scattola con ferri, et raschiatori, It. un'altra pure del medesimo; It. doi corolle di corda; It. un'altra cassetta; It. una scattola con ponticelli di leuto dentro; It. un ciufolo vecchio; It. un panno vecchio da metter alla bottegha; It. un panno vecchio davanti al credenzone; It. una coda da scopettare li leuti; It. un fondo di chitarra; It. 8 forme di leuto; It. sei forme di chitarra; It. 100 manichi di chitarra et leuti novi; It. un'altra forma di leuto; It. molti pezzi di legnami; It. un mazzo di stecchi di noce; It. un legno grosso d'acero; It. un altro legno d'albucio; It. doi pezzi di legno d'acero; It. un'altra chitarraccia vecchia; It. 18 tavole da mettere dentro il corpo per aggiostare; [f. 661v] It. doi botte piccole, et un barile; It. 3 pezzi di legname grosso; It. certi pezzi di legna; It. una ruota; It. una cassa vecchia; It. 7 pezzi di legnami lunghi; It. molti pezzi da lavorare leuti, et chitarre; It. una cassetta piccola con diverse scritturacce; . . . It. due martelli da gravicembali; It. un castello da tener il carbone; It. 2 pianozze; It. un'altra cassetta con retagli dentro; It. un palchetto con molti ferracci dentro.

In camera



. . . It. 237 fondi di leuto; [f. 674r] It. 126 fondi di chitarra; It. 19 chitarre alla spagnola cominciate; It. 72 corpi di leuto; It. 92 testiccioli di chitarra; It. 17 cervelli di chitarra; It. una cassetta di colla; It. 27 mazzi di stecchi di fusaine; It. 15 fondi di bandurie; It. 26 mazzi di stecchi di leuto spianate; It. 18 mazzi di stecchi da far chitarre; It. un mazzo di stecchi di noce da far chitarre; It. un fascio grande di stecco, It. un fascio di stecche grosse da far testiccioli; It. tre testiccioli di leuto, et 4 di chitarra; It. 5 fo.[ndi] di chitarra che non son tagliati; It. 9 tavole da mettere al corpo; . . . ”

[f. 665r] 30.9.1595: List of the goods sold by Maddalena Bentivoglio to Anibale Paganucci, former workman of her husband, valued by Pietro Alberti and Stefano Chelz.

“Colla cervona libre 25, sc. 2.25; Liuti attaccati al solaro n° 59, sc. 41.30; Leuti bianchi profilati n° 9, sc. 8.-; Chitarre n° 45, sc. 13.50; Corpi di chitarre alla spagnola con li manichi n° 16, sc. 7.20; Stecche de chitarra de fusaglia n° 500, sc. 2.-; Stecche spianate n° 700, sc. 5.60; Corpi di leuti n° 68, sc. 9.60; Stecche di chitarra n° 1130, sc. 4.50; Stecche di testicciola n° 136, sc. 1.-; Corpi di chitarra n° 10, sc. 0.80; Rose de chitarra alla spagnola n° 57, sc. 4.-; Testicciole de chitarre n° 94, sc. 1.-; Stecche de chitarra rustiche n° 230, sc. 0.90; Stecche refudaglia n° 250, sc. 0.50; Piroli da leuti n° 248, sc. 0.40; Manichi de chitarre d’antano n° 100, sc. 0.40; Manichi d’acero n° 75, sc. 0.60; Ponticelli da chitarra n° 204, sc. 2.-; Stecche de noce da chitarra alla spagnola n° 28, sc. 0.30; Fondi da leuti n° 237, sc. 23.70; Fondi da chitarre n° 126, sc. 8.75; [f. 661v] Fondi da mandola n° 15, sc. 0.30; Una cassa de chitarra alla spagnola, sc. 0.70; Un basso violone, sc. 0.30; Arpa, lire et liuti vecchi n° 11, sc. 1.00; Liuti vecchi di bottega n° 6, sc. 1.80; Cetera vecchie n° 3, sc. 0.70; Liuti vecchi de più persone d’acconciare n° 14, sc. -; Chitarre doi vecchie alla spagnola, sc. 0.30; Stecche tinte n° 15, sc. 0.15; Doi pezzi d’acero grossi, sc. 0.50; Un pezzo d’albuccio, sc. 0.10.

In tutto sc. 158.30 + 5.85 = 164.15 scudi.

Io Pietro Alberto perito per parte di madonna Madalena a stimare dete robe stanno come de sopra cioè scudi cento seasenta quatro b. 15 [written in a shaky hand]; Io Stefano Chelz perito per Anibale stimo ancora quanto di sopra; Io Martino Phanzelt perito chiamato per terzo riferisco come di sopra.”

*D.1598. T-32-4, f. 809, 5.11.1598.* Inventory of the workshop of the late Pietro Alberti, drafted in the presence of Matteo Buchenberg and Stefano Chelz.

“[f. 809r] . . . Item un libro intitolato libro de censi della Casa; It. un altro libro di ricevute, et ricordi, et un testamento del suo fratello; It. un libro delli lavoratori, et un libro de diversi conti, It. un altro libro de ricevute, et una sacchetta con diverse scritte; It. un altro libro de conti della fabrica della Casa; It. un altro libro

di ricordi delle corde mandate fora; It un altro libro del dare et del havere, et una raspa; It. un altro libro di conti con Geronimo Castellino;

. . . .

[f. 900r] Item nella bottega da basso sonno l'infrascritte robbe de bottega  
 In primis ottanta leuti profilati, et novantacinque leuti de nassa; It. leuti ducento-settanta novi ordinarij et sette tiorbe ordinarie; It. otto tiorbe di nassa, et ducen-totrentacinque chitarre ordinarie; It. diciotto chitarre alla Napolitana, et tredici chitarre de nassa; It. cinquantacinque casse de leuti et tiorbe, et quattro casse de bordelletto; It. dui credenzoni, et cinque banchi dove se lavora, et sette scabelli di legno; It. da 50 forme tra chitarre leuti et tiorbe in circa con diece tavole d'infon-dare; It. dui leuti, uno d'avolio et l'altro d'ebano, et 50 cavoli de corpi in circa; It. trenta pianozze tra grande et picciole de legno, et cinque de ferro picciole; It. dieci vite da mettere le braghe alli leuti, et sei raspe tra bone et cattive; It. dui cortelli da dui mano, et dodeci cortelli tra grandi et piccoli da lavorare; It. otto seghe fra grande et picciole, et quattro martelli tra grandi et piccoli, et una morsa de ferro; [f. 900v] It. tre accette et un par de tenaglie, tre tavole da spianare vecchie; It. dui zocche da tagliare, et quattro pietre da oglio et aqua; It. un a pietra rotta da rotar ferri, et una cassetta piena de ferracci; It. un martello da batter la rota, et tre trivelli tra grandi et picciole; It. dui sgrubie, et compassi otto tra grandi et picciole; It. dicinove ferri da raschiare, et una cassetta con zeppi da catenare; It. ducento-cinquanta in circa de ponticelle de leuti chitarre et tiorbe; It. dui fornelli de ferro, et tre pignatte da colle de metallo; It. una vita de ferro dentro a una morsa, et altre bagaglie pertinenti a l'arte.

Item una stanzia a tetto de sopra sonno l'infrascritte robbe

In primis 1315 fondi de leuti; It. 475 fondi de chitarre; It. 60 libre de colla; It. 30000 piroli et vinti casse, et 40 stanghe in circa da späder leuti; It. dui milia man-nichi de leuti in circa, et 55 corpi de leuti; It. mezza soma de steche de far casse, et dieci libre de vernice roscia; It. otto migliara de steche de chitarra d'acera, et 2500 steche de leuti simile; It. dui some de fusarena, et un migliaro de steche in circa; It. un fascio de legname d'abeto per catena, et un terzarolo da tener aceto; It. un banchetto da vernic[i]are; It. venti libre de vernice bianca; It. 700 stecche de nassa in circa et 22 serrature de casse da leuto.

Item in una stanzia di sopra . . . : [f. 901r] It un retratto della Madonna del pianto . . . Item nella altra stanzia de sopra . . . : [f. 901v] It. nove leuti Padovani. Item in un altra camera de sopra . . . : una campana de piombo da stillare acqua. Item nella medesima camera un scaldabagno de rame; [f. 1006r] It. dui banchi d'abeto et un altra cassa dove stanno li piroli; It. tre fiaschi de latte dove dentro ce la vernice; Nella cucina . . . : It. una secchietta da tener acqua benedetta de rame; . . . doi scaldaletti; . . . [f. 1006v] It. dissero havere una casa libera attaccata al Oratorio della Trinità de Ponte Sisto dove habita Horatio cordaro.”

*D.1602. T-32-9, f. 200, 28.6.1602.* Valuation of the workshop of the late Pietro Alberti, drafted by Leonardo Tucci and Giorgio Alberti on 19 March 1602 (deeds by the same notary, attached).

“[f. 205r] . . . Nella sala prima alla strada, quattro quadri, uno del Salvatore, una Lucretia, uno San Francesco et un altro del q. ms. Pietro, tutti quattro sc. 4.-. [f. 207r] Nota delle masseritie et stigli delle robbe della bottegha del leutaro stimate et valutate da ms. Leonardo et Giorgio leutari il dì 29 de Marzo passato come nelli atti, scudi settecentoventinove et b. 65 de quali per pagare molti debiti et per governar la cassa . . . [there remain 101.- scudi]; Et in prima de sopra detta casa nella logia pertiche da stendere li leuti n° 25, sc.1.-; Settecento ponticelli de leuti e guitarre cioè 600 de guitarre et cento de leuti, sc. 14.-; Tre tavole da inverniciare li piroli, sc. 0.50; Un banco da inverniciare, sc. 0.20. Nella stantia a par della logia legni de fusagna sonni pezzi n° 50, sc. 0.50; Sette rete vecchie da levar la colla, sc. 0.10; Stecche de testicciola n° 250, sc. 2.50; Stecche negre de profile n° 25, sc. 0.30; Maniche de leuti et guitarre n° 65, sc. 0.50; Una cassetta senza coperchio de abeto con libre 17.- de colla stimate sc. 2.15, n’è levata libre quattro restano libre 13 fanno sc. 1.55; Uno scabelletto da sedere, sc. 0.05; Una credensetta con quattro baratti da tener vernicie voti sc. 0.60; Un barattolo de terra con vernice rossa in tutto lib. 16.-, barattoli e vernice sc. 2.75. In la cammera de garzoni doi letti senza lenzole con banchi e tavole un pagliericcio per letto un matarazzo per letto, una schiavona per letto doi coperte de lana vecchie per letto et un capezzale per letto tutto doi li letti sc. 6.-; Un cassone grande de abeto con trecentotrentaquattro fondi de leuti et centocinquanta fondi de chitarra et diece libre de colla se stimato: [f. 207v] la cassa se stimata sc. 1.-, le libre diece de colla sc. 1.50; Cinque casse diverse dove li garzoni tencono le robbe vecchie, sc. 2.-. Nella stantia sotto al tetto alla scala dove sono quindici corpi de casse de leuti, undici corpi de nasse de leuti, trentanove corpi de nasse de chitarre, se stimano: li quindici corpi de cassa de leuti sc. 2.30, li undici corpi de nassa de leuti sc. 3.50, li trentanove corpi de nassa de chitarre sc. 7.50; Item corpi de chitarre profilate de acera n° ottantacinque, sc. 12.-; Corpi de guitarre ordinarie n° trecentoventi, sc. 32.-; Libre n° 54 de piroli bianchi inverniciati fatti al torno in una cassetta vecchia de abeto con detta cassetta, sc. 15.-; Dodici rote vecchie da levar la colla, sc. 0.30; Una cassa de abeto vecchia con libre n° 61 de piroli torniti bianchi senza vernicie, sc. 7.50; Stecche cinquecento di leuti et guitarre, sc. 2.50; Stecche cioè refusaglie de detti liuti et guitarre mille e cinquecento, sc. 5.-; Stecche de acera et faggio spaccate n° 500, sc. 2.-; Cinque casse de leuti vecchie senza teste, sc. 1.-; Sette guitarre sfasciate, sc. 0.70; Una cassetta piena di zeppette da metter nelli leuti e guitarre, sc. 1.-. Nella sala de sopra in una cassa d’abeto piena de fondi de leuti n° 661, sc. 60.-; Una scatola con ponticelli de leuti n° 70 e ponticelli de guitarre n° 150, sc. 4.50; La sopradetta cassa stimata sc. 1.50; Doi testiere scavate de leuti,

sc. 0.60; [f. 208r] Sette serrature de casse de leuti, sc. 1.-; Tre stanche de serrature simili, sc. 0.20; Casse de leuti tra vecchie e nove n° 22, sc. 14.-; Un leuto d'ebano con la cassa bianca, sc. 7.-. Nella bottega alla strada novantadoi guitarre profilate stimate sc. 41.- de quali ne son vendute 56 restate trentasei, fanno sc. 14.40; Tiorbe de nasso n° cinque scudi decisetete ne son vendute tre rimaste doi valute à sc. tre ba. 40 per tiorba sonno sc. 6.80; Otto tiorbe de acera profilate scudi quindici ne è venduta una rimaste sette che valutate fanno le sette sc. 13.12½; Leuti de acera profilati n° 25 stimati scudi ventidoi ne son venduti decinove remasti sei, che valutati al prezzo di sc. 22.- restano per li sei leuti restanti sc. 5.40; Leuti ordinarij n° centotrentaquattro, sc. 94.-; Leuti de nassa cinque, sc. 3.30; Doi facciate parate de corami vecchie et un pezzetto al muro, sc. 3.-; Un credenzone grande de abeto, sc. 4.-; Doi banchi dove se lavora, sc. 1.-; Un tappeto vecchio alla mostra, sc. 0.10; Doi banchetti vecchi da sedere, sc. 0.20; La mostra indorata con l'aquila indorata con il ferro, sc. 2.50; Un'altra mostra vecchia con l'aquila, sc. 0.20; Quattro leuti vecchi da tenere alla mostra, sc. 0.40; Una guitarra alla spagnola vecchia, sc. 0.10; Una cassetta con otto libre de pirolì diversi, sc. 1.50; Una cassetta da tener corde con il tiratore, sc. 0.40. Nella prima stantia attaccata alla bottega. [f. 208v] Leuti ordinarij n° ottantadoi stimati scudi settanta, venduti settantasette e rimasti cinque quali valutati del prezzo de sc. 70.- fanno sc. 4.70; Diece leuti de nassa, sc. 12.-; Un credenzone de albuccio, sc. 3.50; Una scala a pirolì, sc. 0.15; Tre banchi da lavorare, sc. 3.-; Una vite de ferro da lavorare attaccata ad un banco, sc. 0.65; Un pezzetto de tavolone de pero, sc. 0.15; Una scatola piena de ponticelli non finiti, sc. 1.20; Ponticelli bianchi e negri finiti n° 208, sc. 4.-; Testicciole de guitarre n° 400, sc. 4.-; Un focone de ferro con tre ferri da lavorare, sc. 1.-; Un credenzino da tener li ferri, sc. 0.50. Nel assido della strada decidotto casse de leuto, sc. 12.-; Quattro casse de guitarre, sc. 2.-; Tre casse de tiorbe scudi tre, venduta una e rimaste doi valutate sc. 2.-; Una picca con il ferro et una labarda, sc. 0.60. Nella stantia dove se lavoran forme de leuti et tiorbe n° 29 a . . . tavole de guitarra, sc. 12.-; Trentatre forme de guitarre con sue tavole da guitarra, sc. 7.-; Pianozze longhe quattro de legno, sc. 1.60; Pianozze tra piccole et grande de legno con ferri n° 27, sc. 6.-; Quattro pianozze tutte de ferro, sc. 2.-; Quattro raspe, sc. 1.-; Sette seche tra grande et piccole da una mano, sc. 2.-; Doi castelli ad [una] mano, sc. 0.50; [f. 209r] Tre accette vecchie, sc. 0.50; Quattro martelli piccoli, sc. 0.20; Nove cortelli ad una mano per lavorare, sc. 0.40; Cinque altri cortelli medesimi, sc. 0.20; Tre mezze canne da mettere alli pirolì, sc. 0.15; Quattro pietre da arrotare, sc. 2.-; Doi compassi a vite, sc. 0.60; Tre compassi de ferro et uno de ottone, sc. 0.15; Sette scarpelli vecchi, sc. 0.20; Una trivella da botta, sc. 0.20; Cinque trivelli, sc. 0.10; Un acciarino, sc. 0.10; Otto pontaroli, sc. 0.20; Venticinque ferri da raschiare, sc. 1.-; Doi merchi de ferro, sc. 0.40; Tavole da spianare n° 3, sc. 0.60; Undeci tavole da fondare tutte con le sue traverse, sc.

3.-; Tre righe da giustare, sc. 0.80; Diece vite con le corde, sc. 2.50; Tre banchi da lavorare, sc. 3.50; Tre vasi de metallo da tener le colle, sc. 1.50; Cinque banchi da lavorare, sc. 0.50; Tre cassette con [mettore] de cervello con zeppe da incatenare et infondare, sc. 0.70; Sei corpi de nassa de leuto, sc. 2.70; Otto corpi de leuti de acero, sc. 1.20; [f. 209v] Corpi tredici de guitarre de nasso, sc. 2.40; Dodici corpi de guitarre ordinarie, sc. 1.20; Doi millia e quattrocento stecche de acera per leuti et guitarre spianate et mescolate, sc. 12.-; Quattrocento stecche de nassa da leuto, sc. 3.60; Cinquecento stecche de nassa de guitarra, sc. 2.50; Cento cose de leuti et guitarre, sc. 0.30; Una cassetta con venticinque cervelli, sc. 0.10; Doi casse vote vecchie, sc. 0.45; Una scansia da metter ferri, sc. 0.20; Doi concoline piccole de rame, sc. 0.30; Un credenzone vecchio, sc. 0.60; Doi ciocchi da tagliare, sc. 0.20; Doi pezzi de legno, sc. 0.10; Doi tavole de abeto, sc. 0.20; Un mazzetto de profili de leuti, sc. 0.30; Decidotto stecche negre de profili, sc. 0.25; Un mazzetto de profili de legno bianchi, sc. 0.10; Un soffietto, sc. 0.10; Una rota da arrotare con il suo cavalletto, sc. 1.20.

[Total:] fanno la somma de sc. 501.-

[f. 210r] Se sonno presi et venduti delle massaritie et stigli della bottega de leuti de quelli non tenevano nel inventario per pagare li debbiti tutti li infrascritti cioè: In prima libre 4 de colla levata delle libre decisette, sc. 0.60; Li fondi de leuto n° 334, sc. 27.-; Li fondi de chitarra n° 150, sc. 7.-; Libre diece de piroli negri inverniciati de leuti et tiorbe, sc. 1.90; Libre otto de piroli diversi de refutaglia, sc. 1.50; Venti due de arbore de abeto, sc. 0.20. Nella bottega alla strada delle novantadoi guitarre profilate de quali ne sono state vendute 56 et remaste 36, le 56 vendute sonno sc. 26.60; Guitarre travisate cioè ordinarie n° 28, sc. 9.30; Guitarre de nassa n° 4, sc. 1.60; Guitarre ordinarie n° 12, sc. 3.60; Tiorbe de nassa del n° 5 a scudi 17 venduta le 4 [tre?] cavati sc. 10.40; Otto tiorbe de acera profilate valutate sc. 15 venduta una sc. 1.87; Leuti de acero profilati de n° 25 stimati sc. 22 vendute 19, sc. 16.60. Nella prima stantia attaccata alla bottega leuti de profilo n° 34, sc. 36.-; Leuti ordinarij n° ottantadoi stimati scudi settanta venduti settantasette e remasti cinque, cavati delli settantasette leuti sc. 65.30; Una tiorba, sc. 1.-; Leuti otto de nassa, sc. 8.80; Tredici leuti ordinarij, sc. 9.50.

[Total:] fanno la somma de sc. 228.50”.

[f. 212r-v] There follow: debts (to Pompeo *cordaro*, Orinthio *cordaro*, Magno in Venetia . . .). “Un leuto d’avolio, sc. 12.-. . . Ci sonno doi case una posta nella strada de leutari dove habitano essi heredi et se esercita bottega stimata come se vede nella stima sc. 1431.22; Item un altra casa posta vicino al Oratorio della Trinità de Ponte Sisto stimata come se vede nella stima sc. 696.55.”

[f. 226v] 28.6.1602. Expenses relating to the company belonging to Vendelio, Giorgio and Pietro junior Alberti, registered at the workshop on Via dei Leutari

[f. 226v]: “Per abeti compri per la botega da far cattene, sc. 4.-; . . . Per corde da infondare e chiodi e brochette, sc. 2.-; . . . Per quattrocento fondi di chitarra compri da Bastiano lavorante, sc. 24.-; Per due giupponi e due para di calsette, e scarpe per li sopradetti Giorgino e Pedrino, sc. 4.-; Per vernici, sc. 2.-; . . . Per comprare più corde . . .”

*D.1605. T-15-37, f. 240r, 27.8.1605.* Inventory of the workshop of the late Leonardo Tucci, drafted by his widow, Domitilla Vannini.

“[f. 240r] Robbe che stavano nella bottega. In primis leuti d’acero numero ventidue; Diciassette chitarre d’acero; Quattro chitarre d’acero vecchie; Quattro leuti da naso; Sei chitarre da naso; Undeci chitarre alla spagnola nove dozzinale; Cinque chitarre alla spagnola gobbe; Sei violini; Sei archetti da violino; Una tiorba; Una chitarra vecchia; Una chitarra nova; Una lira vecchia; Due casse de chitarre vecchie; Doi sponconi; Due legni da pianozza senza ferri vecchie grande; [f. 240v] Vintitrè pianozze fra mezzane, et piccole; Una ascia; Sei fondi da tiorbe sei; Ottantatre fondi da chitarra spagnola; Centonovantaquattro fondi di leuto; Centosessanta fondi de chitarra ordinaria; Vinti mazzi di stecche de chitarra d’acera non lisciate; Trentaquattro mazzi de stecche de chitarra delle medesime; Una cassa d’antano con cassetino, et serratura quale era piena di stecche da naso da leuto et da chitarra; Vintitre mazzi de stecche da leuto; Una tavoletta di busso; Sei mazzi de stecche di fusaina; Trentadue forme de chitarra, leuto et tiorbe; Quarantadue tavole da avitare in tutto; Nove tavole da affondare, Cinque forme di chitarra spagnola; Otto vite da allacciare le branche; Vintinove corpi de leuto; Una credenza; Una cassa grande vecchia, et un’altra piccola, et un’altra mezzana vecchie; Un’ banco da lavorare; Dui scabelli; Una botte da tener bagaglie; Un’ tavolino vecchio; Una accetta; Sei seghe tra grandi et piccole; [f. 241r] Una chiave da arpa; Trenta ferri da intagliare le rose; Trentacinque raschiatori; Un’ borione da tener’ il foco; Quindici ferri da intagliare; Dieci lime, et raspe fra grandi et piccole; Quattro compassi; Una morsa piccola; Doi pignattelle da colla; Diece ferri da incavare; Doi cortelli da aggiustare li cori; Tre ferri da foco; Sei puntaroli; Una pietra da olio; Quattro ferri da stampare; Una tenaglia; Quaranta rose ordinarie; Due serrature da casse di leuto; Doi corpi de chitarra; Cento in circa de piroli da chitarra; Quattrocento in circa de piroli de più sorte; Cento in circa piroli rossi de più sorte; Una stecca di noce; Una insegna; Panni verdi attaccati al muro tutti rotti n° doi; Dodici pelle d’oro attaccate al muro; Sei tavole da far’ violini. [f.241v] Nella stantia al piano della bottega. . . . Dieci libre de colla in circa. . . . In cantina. . . . Una rota da arrotare; Un bariletto con un poco di guernice; . . . [f. 242r] Nella loggia; . . . Quaranta mazzi de stecche d’acera di più sorte; Manichi da far chitarre; Otto stecche sottili da far le [hole in the paper]; Undici corpi de leuto; Sette forme; Un’ vaso della guernice di rame; [f. 242v] Cinque pertiche;

Un pezzo di legno negro per stecche.”

*D.1610. T-25-18, f. 434, 7.11.1610.* Inventory of the workshop of the late Magnus Spix, on Via dei Leutari. Drafted by “Iohanne Fisaro teutonico et Martino Indelan teutonico leutarij.”

“[f. 434r] Nella camera dove dormiva detto Magno: . . . [f. 435v] Un libretto sopra il quale si scrivono li mesi delli lavoranti; . . . [f. 436r] 14 mazzetti di corde di liuto, et altre corde grosse; . . . [f. 436v] Un ritratto di detto Magno; . . . Tre tiorbe profilate d’ebano e d’avolio; Otto tiorbe profilate di legno bianco; Tre tiorbe di nassa; Doi chitarre spagnole, una profilata d’avolio et l’altra di nassa; [f. 451r] Cinque chitarre di nassa; Un leuto profilato; . . . Cinque serrature da cassa di liuto; Rose di chitarra spagnola n° 44 diverse; . . . Mezza cassetta di piroli in circa. In una stanza dove stanno li lavoranti: [mattresses, beds, etc.]; 6 migliara di stechi in circa; Diversi manichi di chitarre; . . . Nove corpi di leuto fini, 20 corpi di leuto ordinarij; Un mazo di stecche di 30 in circa; 40 stechi da fare profili; 4 tiorbe di nassa. Nella loggetta: 11 chitarre di nassa; Una chitarra profilata d’avolio longa; 2 chitarre alla spagnola; Diversi manichi di liuto e otto travicelletti; 17 forme di liuto e tiorbe; . . . [f. 451v] Una botte con certi legni d’abeto; Una cassetta con dentro diversi piroli neri; . . . Diversi fondi di leuto, di chitarra. In sala: Chitarre 80 diverse; Leuti 55; Una chitarra spagnola; Un leuto bello profilato d’avolio; Nove tiorbe diverse. Sopra il palchetto: Diversi stechi di nassa di liuto, di tiorba, et chitara; . . . [f.452r] In bottega: Doi tiorbe lavorate di bianco con legname nero; Tre altre tiorbe diverse; Leuti 32 novi mesticati diversi; 4 chitarre alla spagnola; Chitarre nove diverse n° 136; Chitarre non finite n° 9; 6 chitarre cominciate a coprire di nassa; Un bancho nella loggia con il casettino; 2 credenzete, tre padelle per fare la colla; 12 pianoze di legnami con li ferri; 3 altre pianoze tutte di ferro; Una tenaglia, un cortello da tagliare il profilo, certi ferri vechij, doi banchi, certi stechi; 2 seghe, 3 raspe, un accialino, 18 rasciatori lunghi e corti, 2 scorpj, 23 forme di chitarra, tre cortelli con doi manichi l’uno, 7 vite con le corde; una ruota con li suoi legnaci, 5 cortelli; Un fornello di ferro con doi ferri. Nel cortiletto: [well, bucket, 7 pigeons, 5 hens and a cock]; Sette tavole da infondare li leuti; . . . In cantina: Un barilino con vernice dentro.”

*D.1614. T-20-53, f. 691r, 3.4.1614.* Inventory of the workshop of the late Giovanni Carboncini. Drafted by the lute-makers Matteo Buchenberg and Giovanni Heck.

“In bottega

Chitarre fine n° 12 con il manico coperto, sc. 9.60; Chitarre di nasso et profilate n° 51, sc. 24.50; Chitarre ordinarie n° 46, sc. 13.88; Leuti n° 9 tra nasso e profilati, et ordinarij, sc. 6.30; Cetera nove n° 3, sc. 3.00; Leuti vecchi n° 7 et

15 chitarre vecchie et 2 violini vecchi rotti in tutto scudi quattro, con quattro altri pezzi di sfasciame, sc. 4.00; Cetera vecchie e rotte n° otto, sc. 1.80; L'insegna con 2 leuti di mostra et un colascione, sc. 1.50; Dui banchi grossi da lavorare et un altro piccolo con una morsetta di legno et un cioccho con tre tavole a scanziette da metter ferri con quattro cassetini a tiratori, in tutto sc. 7.00; Tre pezzi di corame et un pezzo di spalliera vecchi et rotti bene con corde et bastoni che sono tirate, sc. 2.00; Chitarre di nasso senza vernice n° 30 non finite, sc. 10.50; [f. 691v] Chitarre ordinarie senza vernice n° 32, sc. 8.80; Stecche di nasso da leuto n° 1500, sc. 13.50; Stecche di nasso da chitarra n° 5050, sc. 23.80; Stecche di acero de terra tudese n° 650, sc. 3.00; Stecche d'acero Ro. non spianate da chitarra n° 800, sc. 3.20; Corpi di leuto ordinarij n° 13, sc. 2.60; Corpi di chitarra di nasso n° 74, sc. 11.50; Corpi di chitarra ordinarij n° 230 in tutto sc. 17.25; Piroli fatti a torno n° 5600 senza vernice, sc. 7.20; Piroli fatti a mano et a torno di variate sorti negri e bianchi in tutto n° 6000, sc. 6.00; Stecche grande da far profili, sc. 0.60; Ponticelli da chitarra bianchi n° 1630, sc. 11.50; Rose n° 12 ordinarie da chitarra alla spagnola et 8 piane da cetera tra quali molte guaste, sc. 0.60; [f. 694r] Una libra et 8 onces di corde di cetera, sc. 0.75; Fondi di leuto n° 141, sc. 12.50; Fondi di chitarra n° 776, sc. 38.00; Fondi di chitarra alla spagnola n° 27, sc. 1.60; Forme di leuto et di chitarra con le sue tavole n° 12 di leuto et n° 27 di chitarra, sc. 7.00; Tavole da fondare n° 12 con cinque traverse et una tavola da spianare le stecche con la sua vita, sc. 2.00; Pianozze di legno con li suoi ferri n° 15 tra grande e mezzane, sc. 4.50; Pianozzette di ferro n° 4, et 4 di legno da far corpi, sc. 3.50; Raspe n° 4 vecchie, un cortello a dui mano, un compasso, 2 cortelletti, un verletto di ferro, 12 raschiatori tra grandi e piccoli, un acciarino et un paro di forbice et un trivello, sc. 2.40; Una pietra da olio, una rota con il suo cavaletto et il suo ferro, sc. 1.20; [f. 694v] Pignatte da colla di ottone tra grande e piccole, un schiumarello di rame d'acqua, un focone con 2 ferri vecchi bene et una fornacella nova, sc. 3.20; Vite da metter braghe n° 7 con le sue code a cal[uele?] da catena e ponticelle, et un setaccio da colla, 4 pignatte da colla di terra con casette n° 4, et un scabello a tre piedi, dui rete da colla et una bussola da Giovanna Riffa, sc. 1.60; Piroli tra bianchi e neri n° 400 incirca, sc. 0.40; Doi seghe vecchie, sc. 0.30; Quattro tavole d'abetto fatte d'un arboro di galera con dui altre tavole d'abetto ordinarie, sc. 1.40; Un pezzo di noce con 2 travicelli d'antano un piccolo e un grosso, un pezzo di tavolloncello d'acero, un pezzo di tiglio et uno di fusaglia, un pezzo d'abetto grosso da far catene, sc. 1.60; Stecche e pezzi di stecche di noce, fondi di barili et altri pezzi d'abetto, faggio, et altri pezzi di stecche mes[tagliate?] bone e cattive, sc. 1.70; Quattro travicelletti vecchi per palchetto et tavole tra grande e piccole, sc. 1.50; [f. 692r] Un tavolino vecchio con dui scanziette, un pezzo de abbetto, quattro casse d'abetto et una d'antano vecchie, un'altra cassetina d'abetto da pirola con certi pezzetti d'acero segati da far pirola, sc. 3.40; Una mezza botta, un



caratello et un imbottatore vecchi e rotti, sc. 0.40.

[Total] sc. 282.58

[Signatures, in the authors' own handwriting]

Io Matteo Bucchenberg elletto perito per parte di Mad.na Faustina Polidori già moglie del quondam Giovanni Carboncini ho stimate le soprad.e robbe come di sopra.

Io Giõ. Hec elletto perito per parte di M. Bartolomeo Frizza ho stimato come di sopra mano propria.”

*D.1618. T-30-89, f. 518r, 28.7.1618.* Inventory of the workshop of Angelo Lisi, “Verulani leutarij,” who died on the same day; it was located in the Parione district, near the church of S. Andrea della Valle. The inventory, drafted at the request of his brother Giovanni Battista, was compiled in the presence of Bartolomeo Frezza and a tailor (f. 541r).

“Quindici chitarre Italiane non finite de nasso; Trantaquattro chitarre de nasso finite inverniciate all’italiana; Quattro chitarre ateorba [sic] col manico longo lavorate; Cinque chitarre miniate alla taliana; Ventotto chitarre ordinarie all’Italiana; Trentanove corpi de chitarra all’Italiana de nasso; Cinquantacinque corpi di chitarre italiane ordinarie; Ventisei pezzi di ferri da lavorare l’arte del liutaro; Una pianozza de ferro, et un cortello da tagliare perfile; Tre seghette; Item un altra chitarra fina; Cinque mazzi de stecche; Una pignatta de rame da colla, una graticola, spiedo, paletta e scaldaletto; Sei vite da metter le brache; Sette forme de chitarra et tre de liuto; [f. 518v] Cinque tavole da fondare [= for soundboards]; Una tavola da spianar stecche; . . . Un banco da lavorare; . . . Ventisette fondi de chitarra; 53 crolle de corda in una scatola.”

*D.1638. T-32-108, f. 586, 18.7.1638.* Inventory of the workshop of the late Adamo Accialini and Stefano Indelang in partnership, on Via dei Leutari, made at the latter’s request, as heir of Adamo.

“In primis dodeci fondi di tiorba; Cento sessanta fondi di leuti tra grandi, et piccoli; Quattrocento cinquanta fondi di chitarrini italiani; Doicento sessanta fondi di chitarra spagnola; Cento dodici chitarrini al italiana; Sette chitarre alla spagnola tra le quali vi è una chitarra di hebbano; Tre arcileuti ordinarij; [f. 107r] Un arcileuto con la cassa lavorato; Tre thiorbe nove; Quattro thiorbe vecchie; Sei dozzine di rose di chitarra spagnola; Quattro dozzine di rose piane ordinarie; Otto rose di cipresso piane; Nove rose di cipresso alzate; Cento quaranta corpi di chitarrini in circa al italiana; Sei chitarre spagnole piane cominciate; Una credenza usata; Un leuto vecchio; . . . [f. 609r] Quattro mila pirolì; Sedici forme di chitarra spagnola tra grandi et piccole; . . . Quattro leuti usati accommodati, Tremila cinquecento stecche di nasse; Duicento manichi di chitarrino; Quattro

pianozzi di ferro; Alcuni ferramemnti di bottegha; . . . .”

*D.1649. T-5-186, f. 292, 27.4.1649.* Inventory of the workshop and dwelling of the late Pietro Grail, on Via dei Leutari, at the request of Silvia Benincasa, mother and guardian of their daughter Maddalena; witness: “Gallo q<sup>m</sup> Matthei Caaiser theutonico,” lute-maker, probable drafter of the inventory.

“[f. 293r] In primis nella bottegha

Guitarre piane cuperte di noce, n° 23, sc. 23.-; E più ghitarre ordinarie di noce, n° 33, sc. 23.10; E più ghitarrini alla quarta ordinarie, n° 15, sc. 07.50; E più una sopra detta, n° 01, sc. 00.50; E più ghitarre di noce profilate di osso però il manico, n° 05, sc. 07.50; E più thiorbe ordinarie n° 04, sc. 07.20; E più una thiorba con il manico di ebbano n° 01, sc. 03.00; E più un liuto ordinario con cartoccio n° 01, sc. 01.80; E più liuti corti ordinarij n° 09, sc. 05.40; E più ghitarrini cuperti n° 11, sc. 05.50; E più ghitarrini ordinarij n° 05, sc. 01.00; E più ghitarrini cominciati et non finiti, n° 15, sc. 01.50; E più mandole n° 04, sc. 00.80; E più un armadio usato per uso della bottegha n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più dui banchi da lavorare n° 02, sc. 00.-; E più il tavolato in terra piano per uso della medema bottegha n° 0.1, sc. 00.-; E più una insegna della bottegha n° 01, sc. 00.-; [f. 293v] E più pianozze di legnio per uso della bottegha n° 10, sc. 00.-; E più pianozze di ferro per uso di detta n° 04, sc. 00.-; E più scarpelli con manichi di legnio per uso di detta n° 04, sc. 00.-; E più pile di bronzo da colla per uso di detta n° 04, sc. 00.-; E più fornello di ferro con suoi ferri per uso di detta n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più vite di legnio per uso di detta n° 08, sc. 00.-; E più altri stili necessarij alla bottegha in uso di essa.

Diritto alla bottegha succede il cortile [with a well]. E più seguita diritto al cortile in una stanza, il quale ci sta il legniam et altri stili appartenenti alla bottegha le quali aranno qui sotto nominate . . .

E più travicelli di noce n° 04, sc. 04.-; E più duecento libre d’ebban a raggione di baiocchi quattordici la libra n° 200, sc. 28.-; E più tavoloni d’arcipresso n° 02, sc. 14.-; E più diversi pezzi di fico d’India segato prezzato n° 00, sc. 10.-; E più diverse stecche d’avolio prezzate n° 00, sc. 04.-; E più forme con le sue tavole per uso di bottegha n° 30, sc. 00.-; E più tavole con suoi archi per uso di detta n° 12, sc. 00.-; E più la rota da rotare lograta n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più seghe tanto grandi quanto piccole per uso di detta n° 06, sc. 00.-; E più una vita grande con dui vite piccole di legnio per uso di detta n° 03, sc. 00.-; [f. 294r] E più vite per l’imbarghe n° 04, sc. 00.-; E più verlette per uso di bottegha n° 02, sc. 00.-; E più una scala a pioli per uso di detta n° 01, sc. 00.-; . . . E più diverzo cipresso et noce segata prezzati scudi n° 00, sc. 10.-; E più un scarpello d’incavare le casse per uso di bottegha n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più dui casse cioè eccettuata una senza coperchio usate e cattive n° 02, sc. 00.-; E più un ciocco con la sua accetta per uso di bottegha n° 01, sc. 00.-. E più seguita . . . nella cantina . . .

E più colonnelle d'antano per uso della bottegha n° 03, sc. 00.70; E più tavola di legno nero per uso di detta n° 01, sc. 00.10; . . . E più un banco piccolo da lavorate per uso di bottegha n° 01, sc. 00.-.

. . . [f. 294v] . . . in stanza del secondo piano . . .

E più ghitarre cuperte di noce n° 10, sc. 12.-; E più ghitarre di fico d'India rigate d'osso n° 03, sc. 06.-; E più ghitarra di noce rigata d'osso n° 01, sc. 01.50; E più ghitarre ordinarie con il corpo n° 04, sc. 02.40; E più liuti d'acero alla francese n° 06, sc. 18.-; E più arciliuti rigati d'osso n° 14, sc. 56.-; E più thiorbe cuperte liscie n° 04, sc. 16.-; E più una thiorba ordinaria n° 01, sc. 02.-; E più liuti ordinarj n° 02, sc. 04.-; E più un'arciliuto con dui ponticelli n° 01, sc. 03.-; E più liuti corti lisci n° 02, sc. 01.50; E più un' ghitarrino cuperto n° 01, sc. 00.60; E più un buf-fetto di fico d'India n° 01, sc. 00.-; . . . E più un forziere usato per uso di casa n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più mazzi di corde nel sopradetto forziere cioè grosse forastiere n° 15, sc. 04.50; E più altri mazzi di corde sottile romane assortite n° 64, sc. 26.80; E più una scatola usata con limette di rifiuto per uso della bottega n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più rose di cipresso per uso della bottegha n° 09, sc. 03.60; E più libre trenta di carta per uso di bottegha lib. 30, sc. 01.-.

[f. 295r] . . . E più seguita il vicino stanziolino appresso alla cucina . . .

Cucina

. . . e più un' ritratto della bona anima di mastro Magnio con cornice nera fiorata d'oro n° 01, sc. 00.-; [f. 295v] . . . E più fonni di chitarrini n° 700, sc. 35.-; E più fonni di ghitarra n° 200, sc. 10.-;

. . . Nella sala . . .

[f. 296r] [many pictures, clothes, jewellery]

[f. 297v] . . . Nella cammera dove si dorme . . .

. . . dui scatole una piccola la quale si conteneva di dentro mazzi di corde romane sottile assortite et di liuto, n° 91, sc. 36.-; E più nella altra scatola grande si conteneva di dentro mazzi di corde romane di liuto assortite n° 165, sc. 70.-.

[f. 299r] . . . il terzo appartamento dove dormono i lavoranti nella prima stanza appresso la scala . . .

[beds, blankets, etc.]; E più fonni di liuto et di thiorba n° 291, sc. 30.-; E più sei casse usate le quali servono per metterci le ghitarre dentro n° 6, sc. 00.-; E più ghitarre d'ebano quindici n° 15, sc. 45.-; E più ghitarre di fico d'India otto n° 8, sc. 16.-; E più ghitarrini cominciati et non finiti cinquantacinque n° 55, sc. 05.50; E più corpetti di detti cinquanta n° 50, sc. 02.50; E più diversi strumenti attaccati usati per la medema stanza et per non saper' totalmente di chi sonno parte ne sonno di bottegha et parte de patroni 00, sc. 00.-; E più piroli di ghitarra quali sonno in una cassetta, dove sono migliara cinque prezzati migliara 05, sc. 03.-; E più sei barattoli di vernice per uso della bottegha rossa e bianca ma non tutti pieni prezzata n° 6, sc. 04.-.

E più seguita la seconda stanza del terzo appartamento dove anco ci stanno a dormire li lavoranti . . .

E più thiorbe ordinarie dui, n° 2, sc. 04.-; [f. 299v] E più liuti ordinarij sei, n° 06, sc. 09.-; E più nove thiorbe vecchie n° 09, sc. 09.-; E più cinque liuti alla francese usati n° 05, sc. 09.-; E più cinque liutini usati n° 05, sc. 05.-; E più ducidotto corpi di liuti n° 18, sc. 05.40; E più dui ghitarrini novi di ebbano con sue casse n° 02, sc. 10.-; E più una cassetta con le rose drento di ghitarra ordinarie n° 49, sc. 01.50; E più diversi pezzi di cipresso segati prezzati sc. 05.-; E più artefizio da voltare l'arrosto di ferro n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più un banco da lavorare per uso di botteggha n° 01, sc. 00.-; E più una scatola con pezzetti d'ebbanco prezzata n° 01, sc. 00.30; [letti, coperte].

. . . nel soffitto . . .

E più forme di thiorba et de liuto trentacinque n° 35, sc. 00.-; E più stecche di nasso migliara quindici, migl. 15, sc. 30.-; E più libre di colla sessanta, lib. 60, sc. 02.40; E più piroli migliara quattro migl. 04, sc. 02.40; E più una cassa vecchia con coste di bufale n° 01, sc. 02.-; E più cento e trenta corpetti di ghitarrino n° 130, sc. 06.50; [f. 300r] E più altre bagaglie però fondi vecchi casse di thiorbe et di leuti stati prezzati 00, sc. 01.50; E più dui tavole di abbetto n° 02, sc. 02.-; E più dodici rete da sciuccare la colla n° 12, sc. 00.-.

. . . nella loggetta coperta . . .

E più manichi di ghitarra e ghitarrini prezzati 00, sc. 04.-; E più un tummolo di stecche di faggio n° 01, sc. 03.-; E più stecche di acero n° 30, sc. 03.-; E più stecche di faggio nere n° cinquanta n° 50, sc. 01.25; E più una cassetta con segatura d'ebbanco n° 01, sc. 01.-; E più diversi pezzi d'abbeto prezzati 00, sc. 00.50; . . . E più sopra alla loggia ci sono pertiche da stendere l'istrumenti da sonare usate per uso della botteggha n° 12, sc. 00.-.

[f. 300v] E più scudi cinquecento che si devono avere dal Sig. Marco Antonio Benincasa . . .”

*D.1649a. T-25-236, f. 45, 6.9.1649.* Cristoforo Del Forno sells to Lorenzo Filzer all the tools of his workshop and the tenancy of the workshop itself (“inquilinatus”), i.e., “workshop with a small room, n° three rooms above, with a cellar.” Consultants for the parties: Giorgio Giauna, for Del Forno, and Stefano Indelang, for Filzer; both illiterate, they sign with a cross.

“[f. 47r] Inventario e stima delle robbe, stigli e massartie della botega di leutaro del Sig.r Cristoforo del Forno venduti al Sig.r Lorenzo Filzar, stimati da noi infrascritti periti eletti rispettivamente dalle sudette parti in questo giorno 7 settembre 1649 in Roma, e prima

L'insegna di detta bottega che è un lione in piedi giuli dieci, scudi 1; Fondi di chitarra all'Italiana n° 1273 in tutto sc. 41.-; Fondi da colascione n° 64 in tutto sc.

27.-; Fondi da chitarre alla spagnuola n° 218 in tutto sc. 13.-; Chitarrini all'Italiana n° 490 in tutto sc. 88.80; Chitarrini coperti senza tastiera n° 34 in tutto sc. 10.20; Chitarrini coperti con tastiera nove in tutto sc. 3.60; Colascioni di faggio n° 18 in tutto sc. 2.70; Colascioni di nasso n° 8, in tutto sc. 1.60; Colascioni tiorbati n° 2 in tutto sc. 1.-; Chitarre spagnuole di noce con fiori e tastiere n° 29 in tutto, sc. 17.40; Chitarre spagnuole di fico d'India con manichi e giri d'osso profilati n° quattro in tutto sc. 8.-; Una chitarra alla spagnuola alla quarta d'hebano con manico coperto del medemo sc. 1.50; Chitarre alla spagnuola di fico d'India alla quarta con manico coperto del medemo n° tre in tutto sc. 4.50; Chitarre alla spagnuola di noce coperte di osso con manico coperto del medemo n° cinque in tutto sc. 5.-; Chitarre spagnuole tra gobbe, e piane, grandi e piccole di nasso n° sessanta in tutto sc. 24.-; Una viola da braccio, sc.1.50; [f. 47v] Violini di Pesaro n° 20 in tutto sc. 20.-; Violini di Roma n° 18 in tutto sc. 5.40; Una chitarra alla spagnuola di legname rosso gobba con manico coperto, e fiori, sc. 1.-; Corpi di chitarre all'Italiana di nasso n° 241 in tutto sc. 13.-; Una sega a due mani et altre diverse in tutto sc. 1.20; Stecche di noce in tutto n° 36, sc. 0.50; Tavole di testicciole di faggio, sc. 1.-; Stecche di faggio di scatoriccio n° 70, sc. 0.70; Stecche di cipresso segate, sc. 3.-; Un tavolone di noce non segato, sc. 0.90; Ceteri di Pesaro n° 19 in tutto sc. 19.-; Due casse una con dentro dette ceteri e un'altra compagna, sc. 2.40; Piroli migliara sei, sc. 4.20; Verletti di ferro n° 2 libbre 17, sc. 0.40; Mozzature di legname come manichi di colascioni e d'abeto disfatti, sc. 2.-; Pianozze, accette, ascie, martelli, tenaglie, trivelli et altri ferri per uso di bottega, sc. 2.-; Stecche tutte diverse, sc. 0.30; Tavole da fondare et incatenare n° 18, sc. 3.-; Forme diverse per uso di bottega n° 60, sc. 4.-; Un focone di ferro con tre pile di bronzo, schiumarello di rame con suoi ferri da lavorare per detto focone, sc. 3.50; [f. 58r] Un rota con suo cavalletto da arrotar ferri, sc. 1.-; Un credenzone grande et uno piccolo in bottega, sc. 3.-; Un credenzino al caposcala della cantina e due altri nella stanza appresso, sc. 1.30; Due banchi per uso di bottega, sc. 1.50; Colla libbre 80, sc. 4.-; Stecche di nasso migliara n° otto in tutto, sc. 16.-; Vite e molinello per corde di cetera, sc. 0.40; Corami d'oro vecchi in bottega attaccati al muro, sc. 1.20.

Somma in tutto la detta stima sc. 367.60. Item per manichi 250 di chitarrino sc. uno, sc. 1. Somma in tutto la medema stima sc. 368.60.”

*D.1651. T-25-248, f. 450, 21.10.1651.* Inventory of goods of the late Stefano Indelang found in his house *ad leutarios*, in favor of his heirs, his *nipoti* Giovanni Battista and Felice. The witnesses include the Roman luthier Antonio Cardarelli, son of the late Stefano, probable author of the inventory of goods concerning musical instruments.

“[f. 452r] Una cassa di albuccio vecchia, dipinta da fuori dentro la quale vi

sono tre viole nove; Un'altra cassa simile con due chitarre spagnole di fico d'India nove dentro; . . . Due barili di fondi di chitarre, e liuti novi, et un altro [f. 452v] barile simile voto; Dieci chitarre spagnole di noce nove; Un liuto tiorbato piccolo con la sua cassa; Una tiorba vecchia; [f. 453r] Corde da violino, liuto, e viola mazze venti forastiere; Corde da chitarre mazze doicentoeuno forastiere; Una scatola tonda grande nella quale vi sono mazze quaranta di corde Romanesche; Una scatoletta quadra con venti mazze di canne [sic] da violino Romanesche, e sette mazze forastiere; Un'altra scatola simile con mazze sessantaquattro di corde forastiere; Un'altra simile con mazze settantaquattro delle medeme; [f. 453v] Un'altra con mazze venticinque delle medeme; [there follow many clothes, also women's, pearls, etc.]; [f. 456r] Una cassetta piccolina piena di fiori di chitarre; . . . Una cassetta con sette rose da chitarra indorate, e tre ordinarie; Dodici lettere dirette a Stefano Indelang [many other follow]; Copia del testamento del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Adamo Acciarini; [f. 456v] . . . Un conto del q. Adamo Acciarino fatto sotto il dì 5 aprile 1639; [Many cash books and memoranda]; [f. 457r] Settantotto rose di chitarra piane cioè trentacinque dorate e l'altre senz'oro esistenti in una scatola; Cinque rose piane argentate, e due alzate a un giro; Trentasette rose di chitarra piane inargentate; Ventisette rose piane senza argento; . . . Un liuto alla francese vecchio; Quattro corpi di tiorba novi; Un canestro dove vi sono cinquant'otto rose di chitarra indorate tra grandi e piccole; [f. 461v] Cinque liuti novi; Una tiorba nova; Due corpi di liuto novi; . . . Un canestro con il suo coperchio pieno di rose di chitarra vecchie; [f. 462r] Cento fondi di liuto novi; Due chitarre spagnole di noce ordinarie nove; Doicento fondi di chitarra spagnola novi; Doicentocinquanta stecche di nasso da far corpi di liuto novi; Dodici tavolette di granatiglia segate; . . . Un liuto vecchio, e rotto con il manico corto; [f. 462v] . . . Quindici fette di faggio tinte nove; Tredici tavole di fico d'India nove; Sei tavole di granatiglia segate; Cinque fasci di stecche di nasso; Due mazze d'acera secati; [f. 463r] . . . Coste cento di bufola tra bone e cattive; . . . [f. 463v] Un sacco grande pieno fino a mezzo di colla romanesca; Un bariletto mezzo pieno di biscotti da chitarra novi; . . . Una campana da stillare di vetro; Tredici tiorbe vecchie rotte; Due arcileuti vecchi; Due liuti con il manico corto vecchi; [f. 464r] Un liuto vecchio senza testicciola; Quattordici corpi di mandola piccoli; . . . Due cassette di albuccio vecchio dove li lavoranti di bottega mettono le sue robbe; . . . Un banchetto da ingavettare vecchio; Nove corpi di chitarra Italiana novi.

Nella cucina attaccata alla bottega

. . . Quattro chitarrini Italiani novi; Quattro chitarre spagnole due di noce, e due di nasso novi; Un basso di violino novo, et un violino piccolo novo; Una cassa di chitarra vecchia; Dieci fondi di liuto vecchi; [f. 464v] Quattrocentocinquanta stecche di nocie segate nove; Tre migliara e trecentosessantacinque stecche di nasso nove; Tre code di volpe da crollare la polvere; Due scatolette piene di polvere d'ebano;

. . . Un morzo di legno usato; Una rotella di ferro da torcere le corde di chitarra usata; Un legno d'ebano grosso negro; Sei manichi vecchi di tiorba, et arcileuto vecchi; Cinque chitarrini da ragazzo novi; Una sega grande di dui manichi usata; Cinque tavole con le sue traverse da fondare; [Tre] tavole con le vite da pianare usate; Quattro forme di liuti usate; Una forma di tiorba usata; Dieci forme di chitarrino usate; Dieci tavole di cipresso corte segate per far fondi di chitarre spagnola; Cinque fondi di chitarra spagnola vecchi tarmati; Un manico di chitarra spagnola vecchio ossato; Dui code di cavallo, et una brocca di terra usata; Una sporta di morsetti di legno da accomodare [f. 465r] li violini; Un fascetto di retagli di cipressi, e noce per rappezzare.

In bottega

Sei liuti con il manico corto alla taliana senza tratta novi; Venticinque chitarre Italiane con il manico inossato novi; Chitarre spagnole piccole di noce nove, num.º nove; Una chitarra spagnola con il corpo di nazzo ordinaria nova; Un colascione tiorbato novo, Una viola vecchia; Quindici corpi di liuto vecchi; Cinque tiorbe vecchie; Dui arcileuti vecchi; Un arpa vecchia piccola; Una chitarra tiorbata di faggio nova; Dodici chitarre spagnole di noce nove non finite; Sei chitarre spagnole di faggio mezzane nove; Dui pezzi di legno giallo grossi; Sei mandole non finite nove; Dui mandole nove di nazzo; Un soffietto ordinario novo; Una chitarra vecchia di faggio tinto negro; Una viola grande vecchia; Dui chitarre Italiane nove: [f. 465v] Un insegna da mettere fora con l'imp.[ront]a dell'Aquila; Una tavoletta da metter fuera dove ci è scritto [che] si vendono corde di liuto di tutte le sorte; Un liuto, et una tiorba vecchi e senza fondo da tenere in mostra; Dui banchi da lavorare vecchi, uno grande, et uno piccolo, con suoi tiratori, dentro al tiratore del banco grande vi è il peso dell'oro, una scudella di legno da tener denari, un compasso d'ottone, una raspetta, et una limetta usate; Nel tiratore del banco piccolo vi sono sei libre e mezzo di ferraccio; Sei raspe grandi usate; Dui compassi di ferro usati; Otto raspette mezze tonde usate; Dui tagliaperfili usati di ferro; Num.º cinque tra scarpelli, e gorbie usati; N° cinque coltelli boni usati; N° quattro coltelli rotti; Dui coltelli a due mano; Un paro di tenaglie vecchie di ferro; Quattro martelli usati; Tre limette a tre angoli vecchie; Dui seghette piccole usate; [f. 466r] Cinque seghette mezzane usate; Un fornello di ferro da focho con due pile da colla di metallo; Sei ferri da foco; Un pontarolo da foco; Dui mezze canne da allargare li busci per mettere li pirolì; Un pontarolo di ferro usato; Una seghetta piccola di ferro con il manico di legno usata; Dui bastoni d'appoggio d'ebano; Una accetta di ferro usata con il suo ceppo da battere sopra di legno; Una rota con sua cassa usata; Sei banchetti da sedere usati; Sei pianozzi tutti di ferro da spianare usati; Novi pianozzi di ferro con la sua tasca di legno da spianare usati; Una piana grande usata; Un pezzo di tavola da tagliarci sopra li profili usata; Num.º venticinque vite per mettere l'imbrache a chitarre italiane; Venti quattro

stampe di fiori di legno usate; Dui corpi di liuto vecchio senza fondo; [f. 466v] Otto spaghi da infondare le chitarre; Un quadro con sua cornice nera, e dorata usato con l'impronta della Madonna; Una statera usata; Sette raschiatori di ferro usati da raschiare le chitarre; Num.º quindici raschiatori piccolini usati per raschiar chitarre; Un mazzo di porfilio di faggio tinto negro; Un tiratoro pieno di pezzetti di noce; Dui bachette d'osso di balena; Un acciarino da dare il filo alli ferri usato; Un bollo di ferro da imbollare le chitarre usato; Un panno negro da tenere la mostra in bottega.

Nella cantina

[f.467r] . . . Libre centosettantacinque libre di osso di balena segato; Un altra mezza porta vecchia sopra la quale vi sono dui ale d'osso di balena non segate, et un fascetto di detti ossi segati; . . . Trenta tavolette per mettere li corpi di chitarre Italiane e liuti in forma, usate; Tre pezzi di tavole vecchie dove stanno l'ossi di balena sudetta.

In una stanzola . . .

. . . Quattro pezzi d'ebano doi grandi, e doi piccoli; Dui tavoloni di cipresso; Un pezzo di tavolone di pero; Dui pezzi di tavoloni di noce, un altro pezzo di tavolone di noce; Un pezzo di tavola d'albuccio; Un pezzo di legno da fiume; . . .

Nella loggia esistente avanti a detta casa . . .

. . . Manichi di liuti e tiorbe n° cinquantatre; Manichi di liuto piccoli n° quaranta; Manichi di chitarre Italiane n° trecentocinquantadui; Otto manichi di colascioni et un barattolo da tenere la vernice.”

*D.1651a. T-25-247, f. 512r, 21.11.1651.* Valuation of the goods of the late Stefano Indelang (*d* 20.10.1651), at the request of his *nipoti* Giovanni Battista and Felice.

“Stima delle robbe mobili rimaste nell'heredità del q. Stefano Indelang facta per noi sottoscritti periti communemente eletti dal Sig.re Gio. Batta Indelang da una parte e la Sig.ra Maria Indelang ved.[ova] rel.[itta] del q. Stefano Indelang dal altra parte.

. . . [f. 512v] Tre barili dui pieni et uno mezzo di fondo di chitarre, sc. 40.-; Dieci chitarre di noce spagnole nove, sc. 3.-; Un liuto tiorbato piccolo con la sua cassa, sc. 2.-; Una tiorba vecchia, sc. 1.-; . . . [f. 513r] Corde violino, liuto e viola forastiere mazzi 20, sc. 4.-; Corde da chitarre mazzi doicento forastiere, sc. 40.-; Mazzi quaranta di corde Romanesche, sc. 15.-; Mazzi sette di corde forastiere da violino, sc. 1.40; Venti mazzi da violino Romanesche, sc. 8.-; Mazzi settantaquattro di corde forastiere, sc. 14.60; Mazzi sessanta delle medeme, sc. 12.-; Mazzi venticinque delle med.e, sc. 5.-; . . . [f. 514v] Settanta rose da chitarre, sc. 1.70; Settant'una rose di chitarre tra inargentate e senza argento, sc. 1.70; . . . Un liuto alla franzese, sc. 0.20; Quattro corpi di tiorba novi, sc. 2.-; . . . Cinquantotto



rose di chitarra indorate tra grandi e piccole, sc. 1.40; . . . [f. 515v] Cinque liuti novi, sc. 5.50; Una tiorba e dui corpi di liuto, sc. 1.50; . . . Un canestro di rose da chitarra vechie di n° venti, sc. 0.50; . . . Cento fondi di liuto novi, sc.6.-; Dui chitarre di noce nove, sc. 0.70; Doicento fondi di chitarra spagnole, sc. 10.-; Doicentocinquanta steche di nazzo da far corpi di liuto novi, sc. 1.-; Dodici tavolette di granatiglia segate, sc. 0.50; [f. 516r] Quindici fette di faggio tinte nove, sc. 0.20; . . . Tredici tavole di fico d'india nove, sc. 2.-; Sei tavole di granatiglia segate, sc. 0.60; Cinque fasci di steche di nazzo, sc. 1.20; Dieci mazzi di acera segati, sc. 1.50; . . . Coste cento di bufole tra buone e cattive, sc. 0.40; . . . [f. 516v] Un sacco grande pieno sino à mezzo di colla romanesca, sc. 2.50; Un bariletto mezzo pieno di biscoli di chitarra novi, sc. 1.20; . . . Tredici tiorbe vechie da bottega rotte, sc. 3.-; Dui arcileuti vechi, sc. 0.50; Dui liuti con il manico corto rotti e vecchi, sc. 0.20; Quattordici corpi di mandola, sc. 0.30; . . . Dui cassette di albuccio vechie da tenere li panni per li lavoranti, sc. 0.40; . . . Nove corpi di chitarra Italiane novi, sc. 0.50; . . . Quattro chitarre Italiane nove, sc. 0.80; Quattro chitarre nove doi di noce e doi di nasso spagnole, sc. 1.20; [unnumbered folios] Un basso da violino usato, sc. 0.40; Un violino novo piccolo, sc. 0.30; Quattrocentocinquanta steche di noce nove, sc. 4.-; Tre migliara, e trecentosettantacinque steche di nazzo nove, sc. 4.50; Una rotella di ferro da torcere le corde, sc. 0.10; Un legno d'ebano grosso nero, sc. 10.-; Cinque chitarrini da ragazzi novi, sc. 0.30; Una sega grande di dui manichi, sc. 0.30; Cinque tavole con le sue traverse da fondare, sc. 0.50; Tre tavole con le vite da spianare, sc. 0.30; Quattro forme di liuto usate, sc. 0.20; Dieci tavole di cipresso da far fondi di chitarre, sc. 0.20; Dieci fonni di chitarrino usate, sc. 0.20; Sei liuti con il manico corto alla taliana, sc. 2.-; Venticinque chitarre Italiane con il manico ossato nove, sc. 7.-; Nove chitarre spagnole di noce piccole novi, sc. 2.50; Una chitarra spagnola con il corpo di nazzo, sc. 0.30; Un colascione tiorbato novo, sc. 0.20; Una viola vechia, sc. 0.30; Quindici corpi di liuto vechi, sc. 0.50; Cinque tiorbe vechie, sc. 0.50; Due arcileuti vechi, sc. 0.30; Un arpa vechia piccola, sc. 0.30; Una chitarra tiorbata di faggio vechia, sc. 0.30; Dodici chitarre spagnole non finite, sc. 2.-; Sei chitarre spagnole di faggio mezzane, sc. 0.60; Dui pezzi di legno gialli grossi, sc. 5.-; Sei mandole non finite nove, sc. 0.30; Dui mandole nove di nazzo, sc. 0.40; Dui chitarre Italiane nove, sc. 0.40; Dui banchi da lavorare in bottega, sc. 1.-; Sei raspe grandi usate, sc. 0.60; Otto raspette mezze tonde usate, sc. 0.30; Cinque seghette mezzane usate, sc. 0.30; Doi bastoni d'appoggio d'ebano, sc. 0.60; Sei pianozzi di ferro da spianare usati, sc. 1.-; Novi pianozzi da spianare usati, sc. 1.50; Una piana grande usata, sc. 0.50; Venticinque vite da mettere l'imbrache à chitarre, sc. 1.-; [...] Un panno nero da tenere la mostra in bottega, sc. 0.50; . . . Libre centosettantacinque osso di balena, sc. 7.50; Dui ale di osso di balena non segate, sc. 1.-; Quattro pezzi di ebano doi grandi e doi piccoli, sc. 20.-; Dui tavoloni di cipresso, sc. 2.-; Dui pezzi di tavolone

di noce, et uno di pero, sc. 1.50; Un pezzo di noce, sc. 0.30; Manichi di liuto, e tiorba n° 53, sc. 0.50; Manichi di liuto piccoli n° quaranta, sc. 0.30; Manichi di chitarre Italiane n° 352, sc. 0.70; Otto manichi di colascioni, sc. 0.10.

[Total:] sc. 432.80

[Signed by two junk dealers]

Io Maria Indelang afermo quanto di sopra si contiene mano propria

Io Gio. Battã Hindelang afermo quanto di sopra si contiene mano propria”

*D.1653. T-25-259, f. 122, 13.11.1653.* Inventory of the goods of the late Giovanni Battista Indelang, *nipote* of Stefano.

“[f. 126r] Chitarre n° 12, e n° 4 di hebbano alla spagnola giulij x l’una, sc. 19.20; Chitarre n° 4 coperte il manico di legno giulij sei l’una, sc. 2.40; Chitarre n° 5 coperte di osso giulij nove l’una, sc. 0.90 [*sic*]; Chitarre nove alla Taliana giulij 2 l’una n° 83, sc. 16.60; Chitarre n° 8 ordinarie giulij quattro, e mezzo l’una, sc. 3.60; Chitarre n° 17 gobbe inverniciate di nasso giulij 4 l’una, sc. 6.80; Chitarrini n° 9 coperte di legno giulij quattro l’una, sc. 2.70; Chitarrini n° dieci inosati giulij quattro l’una, sc. 4.-; Violini n° 16 a giulij cinque con suo archetto senza pirole e con le cordiere, sc. 8.-; Tiorbe n° 4 che sono fornite giulij dieci l’una, sc. 4.-; Arcileuti n° 5 senza tastiera e due tiorbe a giulij nove l’una, sc. 6.30; [Un] liuto n° 1 inossato il manico con il manico dritto giulij sei, sc. 0.60; Dui altri liutini uno fornito, e l’altro no giulij cinque l’uno, sc. 1.-; Liuti n° 3 novi alla Franzese, e una cascia vechia uno scudo l’uno, sc. 3.-; Tiorbe n° 44 compreso liuti, e arciliuti compreso uno con la cascia giulij tre l’uno, sc. 13.20; Dui liuti uno di fico d’India l’altro di ebano coperto il manico d’ebano alla francese giulij trenta in tutto, sc. 3.-; Dui liuti vechi alla francese giulij dieci, uno con profili di stagno, e l’altro d’acera, sc. 1.-; Quattro liuti alla francese vechi giulij x tutti quattro, sc. 1.-; Una cassa di liuto a forma di pero giulij dui, sc. 0.20; Corpi di liuto n° 14 senza fondo, e uno col fondo compreso otto altri di nasso sette senza fondo, et uno col fondo tutti giulij trenta, sc. 3.-; [f. 126v] Dui corpi senza fondo uno di ebano e avolio, e l’altro d’ebano rotto giulij venti in tutto, sc. 2.-; Li piroli giulij cinque il migliaro; Violino vechio grande assai giulij sette, sc. 0.70; Quattro pianozze di ferro giulij cinque l’una, sc. 2.-; Una seghetta con l’arco di ferro giulij cinque, sc. 0.50; Una sega grande con la sua chiave giulij sei, sc. 0.60; Una sega da stroncare giulij tre, sc. 0.30; Dui taglia profili giulij dui l’uno, sc. 0.40; Una cassetta piena di punte da polire, e sgorbie, e tenaglie . . . un trapano, e un puntarolo, e sei sgorbie, dui compassi, dui trivelli con un acciarino, e un cortello e quattro raspe dui larghe, e dui mezze tonde grandi e 15 raspe e lime usate assai, una cortella a dui mani giulij dodici, sc. 1.20; Tre seghette piccole giulij tre, sc. 0.30; Fonnelle con dui ferri, et una scudella per mettere acqua e tre pile di bronzo giulij venti, sc. 2.-; Dui vite di ferro giulij uno l’una, sc. 0.20; Dui banchi giulij otto tutti dui, sc. 0.80; Dui vite con un

verletto di ferro giulij sei tutte due, sc. 0.60, Tre tavole da spianare con una pianozza grande, e quattro altre pianozze di legno con suoi ferri giulij otto tutte, sc. 0.80; Quattro tavole da batter sa.. con le sue traverse; [f. 137r] Forme di chitarre, e chitarrini, e di liuti, e tiorbe con le loro contratavole le quali ci farà a tutto giulij cinquanta, sc. 5.-; La credenza grande di bottega giulij dieci, sc. 1.-; Pezzi tredici di . . . giulij cinquanta, sc. 5.-; Molti tompagni vecchi, e tre cascie di chitarre e liuto vecchie, e quindici vite di legno con sua corda per mettere le brache giulij x, sc. 1.-; Manichi di chitarre Italiane di galascione e tiorbe, e liuto, chitarra spagnola giulij dui il cento sottosopra —; Sei viole grande, e piccole, quattro inverniciate, e due senza vernice giulij quarantacinque, sc. 4.5; Una chitarra di cipresso giulij tre, sc. 0.30; Chitarrini da ragazzo tondi a usanza di . . . dui b. l'uno n° 108, sc. 2.60; Dieci tavolette di cipresso sopra . . .cero d'abeto, et un tavolone palmi dodici alto di cipresso, e largo quattro dita e sette tavole d'altano, tutto giulij venticinque, sc. 3.- [sic]; Corde di citara la lib. giulij sei, tutte sc. 4.20; Mazzi cinquanta di corde sottosopra e un poco di sligate scudi dieci e mezzo, sc. 10.50; Due insegne, et il marco giulij sei, sc. 0.60; Rose di cipresso fonde dentro una canestra dui carlini l'una n° 18, sc. 2.70; [f. 137v] Madre perle, e fiore di fiannelle e dui mollette per seghetta giulij quattro, sc. 0.40.

Totale sc. 157.10.

Io Michele Stadler come perito eletto da Honofrio Caramanica affermo quanto di sopra . . .

[Mark by Lorenzo Filzer, consultant for Camilla Rapucci]. [There follows the inventory of the house furnishings, which are very modest].”

*D.1689. T-30-302, f. 37r, 12.9.1689.* Inventory of the goods belonging to the late “Sebastiano Haijm, found in his dwelling and in his workshop, in the month of May 1688,” immediately after his death.

“Merci della bottega

[Many ivory items: combs, crucifixes, pearls, crowns, ornaments, boxes, telescopes, and also:] [f. 38v] 2 flauti di busso da due pezzi, sc. 1.20; 5 flautini d'avorio con fodera di busso, sc. 3.-; . . . Scatole di legno di Germania; [f. 39r] . . . 4 tabacchiere d'osso di Germania piccole, sc. 0.30; . . . 34 libre corde di cetera, sc. 13.-; [f. 39v] . . . 12 libre di saltaleone, sc. 2.40; [f. 40r] . . . 8 D.e flauti grandi, sc. 3.-; . . . 208 D.e [scatole] fischetti da ragazzi, sc. 3.-; 6 D.e flautini, sc. 1.20; [f. 41v] 10 D.e sonarelli per creature, sc. 0.80; [f. 42v] 2½ flauti grandi, sc. 1.- [= toys]; [...] 42 trombette, sc. 1.50 [= toys]; ½ D.e trombettine di bufola, sc. 0.50.

[f. 44r] Stromenti da sonare, et altro

26 arcileuti, sc. 52.-; 10 leuti alla francese, sc. 22.-; 4 violini, sc. 4.-; 2 viole da gamba, sc. 5.-; 14 violini da Pesaro, sc. 12.-; 60 violini di Germania, sc. 60.-; 10 mandole, d'ebano, serpentario, e cipresso di Candia, sc. 9.-; 12 mandole

di cipresso ordinario, sc. 8.-; 5 chitarre, di cipresso di Candia, à coriste, coperte d'ebbano, sc. 12.-; 1 lira all'inglese, sc. 1.50; 1 viola d'amore, sc. 1.-; 45 chitarre di cipresso con il manico coperto d'ebbano, sc. 30.-; 9 chitarre coriste di noce coperte, sc. 9.-; 150 chitarre coriste alla 4a, e sotto allatt.<sup>a</sup> [= all'ottava?], sc. 50.-; 40 mazzi di giri di noce per chitarre, sc. 18.-; 25 migliaia di steche di nasso, sc. 40.-; 8 chitarre coriste ordinarie, sc. 4.-; 5 casse vecchie foderate da arcileuto, sc. 2.50; [f. 44v] 230 manichi di chitarra, sc. 2.-; 3 casse vecchie foderate da chitarra, sc. 2.-; 2 dette da mandola, sc. 0.60; 3 tronbe marine, sc. 3.-; 1 cassa da leuto, sc. 0.90, 1 cassa da violone, sc. +; 30 libre di serpentario, sc. 3.-; 241 libre di ebbano, sc. 15.-; 100 libre colla cervione, sc. 5.-; 2 tavoloni di cipresso ordinario, sc. 4.-; 1 tavolone di cipresso di Candia lungo palmi 5 e largo palmi 3, sc. 2.-; 2 pianozze di ferro, sc. 1.50; 10 pianozze di legno, sc. 1.-; 2 seg[h]e di più sorti, sc. 0.50; 60 lime assortite appartenenti a carte [sic], sc. 3.-; 3 acciette per lavorare, sc. +; 4 martelli, sc. 0.40; 8 vite di ferro, sc. 2.-; 2 pianozze grandi da giusto, sc. 0.20; [f. 45r] 1 tavola di fico d'India lunga palmi 3 e larga palmi 2, sc. 2.-; 3 violini cominci, cioè manico, fondi e giri, sc. 1.-; 100 bacchette di licino per far archi, sc. 0.50; 50 chitarrini italiani, sc. 7.-; 2 arpe, una grande, e una piccola, sc. 1.50; 2 mute di sgurbie, sc. 3.-; 6000 fondi grandi piccoli e mezzani, sc. 100.-; 1 leuto di serpentario intersiato d'avorio, sc. 9.-; 10 cetere, sc. 8.-.

[f. 46r] Mobili di casa

. . . Candelieri di Germania, grandi, sc. 1.-; . . . 1 cimbalo, sc. 0.50; [f. 47r] . . . Ritratto d'un giovine, che sona la mandola, in tela imperatore con la cornice color di noce a' oro, sc. 2.-.

[f. 50r] Crediti del detto Sebastiano Haim

Domenico Manzi deve dare, sc. 6.-; Stefano Ginotti deve dare, sc. 2.-; Giuseppe liutaro deve dare, sc. 0.75; Domenico Salviati deve dare, sc. 2.26; Francesco Rodinundi deve dare, sc. 2.90; Benedetto Resta à dare, sc. 0.45; . . . Carlo Ricca deve dare, sc. 6.-; Antonio Godi deve dare, sc. 1.56; Gio. Battista Bonsi deve dare, sc. 3.09.

[f. 51r] Debiti del q<sup>m</sup> Sebastiano Haim che si devono pagare dalla sua eredità

Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Adamo Ilger di Berlessaden sc. 200.- per tanta robba havuta per bottega; Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Marcello cordaro per tante corde datemi, sc. 100.-; . . . Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Gio. Tichtel [Tichsel?] di Fiesene debito fatto dal detto Sebastiano, sc. 35.-; Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Belardin Fortuna cordaro per tante corde date al detto Sebastiano, sc. 3.-; Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Bernardo Milanese di Venetia, sc. 29.30; Si deve dare alli Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Guidi [di] Pesaro per spedizione fatte, sc. 34.26; Si deve dare alli Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Piatti di Verona per sue spese, et altre spedizioni, sc. 38.45; Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Sela d'Ancona per una chitarra di serpentario intersiata d'avorio, e madre perla, [blank space]; Si deve dare al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Domenico Antonio Fortuna per tante corde date al detto, sc. 2.15.

[f. 52r] Spese fatte per la morte del q<sup>m</sup> Sebastiano Haim, e debiti hereditarij del med.o pagati doppo la sua morte

Per cera presa per il mortorio del detto . . . ; E più per accompagnare il morto a S. Tomasso, sc. 1.-; Per la Compagnia delli Stimmati, sc. 3.90; E più per messe celebrate nella parrocchia di S. Tomasso, sc. 5.80; . . . E più per la Compagnia di Composanto, sc. —; [for more masses in other churches]; E più per il cordaro per haver dato corde al detto, sc. 1.50; . . . [f. 52v] E più per una [lettera] di cambio pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Lorenzo Galuppi per roba venuta di fuora al detto, sc. 142.25; . . . E più per il maestro di canto per haver dato lettione al ragazzo avanti la morte del detto Sebastiano per quattro mesi di e di, sc. 3.50; . . . [f. 53r] E più per una di cambio pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Massimiliano Bianchini per speditione fatte al detto, sc. 52.52½; E più per 1 di cambio pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Saleno per speditione delli Guidi di Pesaro, sc. 10.71; E più per il S.<sup>r</sup> Francesco Guti[coz] per caparra data per una chitarra, sc. 0.30; . . . E più per una di cambio per il Sig.<sup>c</sup> Piatti e Malduras, sc. 10.33; E più per una di cambio pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Agostino Scalfi, sc. 7.-; E più per una di cambio pagata per ordine del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Michele Haich per far, sc. 25.-; E più per una detta pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Grissoni, sc. 20.60; E più per una pagata al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Azzani, sc. 10.-; . . . E più per quattro speditioni al Sig.<sup>r</sup> Salem diedi, sc. 20.90; [f. 53v] E più per un cassaccino per ordine del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Aiaperger, sc. 1.66; E più per il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Salem per vitture, sc. 8.-; E più per il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Marcello cordaro in più volte pagato per corde havute, sc. 110.-; E più per violini venuti da Pesaro, sc. 45.60; E più alli Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Antonio e Domenico Guidi da Pesaro, sc. 38.89". [Total:] sc. 1176.82½."