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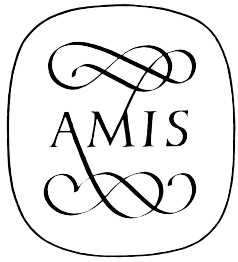

The Production of Musical Instruments in Tuscany: Insights into the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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Introduction

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the main Tuscan cities were places of intensive production of musical instruments. Although the number of extant items by makers from Florence, Pisa, and Livorno is very limited, significant archival evidence of the makers themselves has survived to this day. In the course of the sixteenth century the Tuscan market opened up to new types of goods, and the changes in mode and taste generated new demands. These dynamics were typical of the Italian dominating classes of the late Renaissance, eager for new objects to adorn their homes and themselves; and musical instruments were included among these objects.[1]

The reconstruction of biographies of selected makers of bowed and plucked stringed instruments shows the important role played by musical instruments in the marketplace of Tuscan society. A systematic analysis of archival documents located in Florence, Livorno, and Pisa—notarial deeds, parish records, and guild matriculations—reveals essential aspects of the production of instruments in these cities. Testimonies concerning the production of lutes, guitars, and strings for instruments bring to light this facet of the grand duchy's artisan system during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The following accounts show testimonies of the role played by German makers (*liutai*) in Tuscany. In addition, evidence is given of female *liutaie* and string makers (*minugiaie*), two professions that were often performed by the same person, a common occurrence in Tuscany. Such is the case of the Checcucci family, whose members were among the most important Tuscan makers of the seventeenth century.

1. For a thorough overview of the evolution of the domestic material culture in Italy, in particular concerning the Tuscan city of Florence for the period in question, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Ricchezza e domanda nel mercato dell'arte in Italia dal Trecento al Seicento, La cultura materiale e le origini del consumismo*, (Milan: Unicopli, 2001), 238–48; and idem, "Il contesto economico," in *La grande storia dell'artigianato fiorentino,* vol. 3, *Il Cinquecento* (Milan: Giunti, 2003), 17–23.

The Economic Context

The accumulation of wealth that took place in Italy between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries is the main reason why a large number of musical instrument makers settled in Tuscany. In the sixteenth century, Florence was the economic and cultural capital of the region—in fact, one of the main centers of capitalism in its pre-industrial form.[2] This context explains the demand for the many qualified artisans who moved from other cities in Italy and elsewhere and established themselves in Florence, following the flow of wealth that streamed into the city. Thus, a significant group of foreign artisans was formed, among whom the Germans were prominent.[3] German liutai in Florence, as in many other Italian cities, organized themselves into a homogeneous group of artisans, and they were the first to define their professional status in the *arti* (guilds) as makers of musical instruments.

Stringed-instrument makers in Tuscany, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were called ceterai, liutai, and chitarrai according to the instruments they built—citterns, instruments of the lute/viol and violin families, and guitars, respectively.[4] In the course of these two centuries, it was common for such makers to be identified in records with one, two, or even all of the above-mentioned terms describing their professions. This terminological variety implies that the production of such makers was most likely not limited to a particular group of instruments. The success of these craftsmen depended on their ability to satisfy an internal demand for luxury items, including musical instruments commissioned by both professional and amateur musicians. Their production was subject to a change in both the musical context and the taste of their customers. This transformation can be seen in the evidence that sixteenth-century ceterai were progressively replaced by chitarrai leading into the seventeenth century. Makers of bowed and plucked instruments were active not only in Florence but also in others Tuscan cities as well. This is the case of Livorno, a port city whose years of economic growth coincided with the opening of workshops of instrument makers.

2. Goldthwaite, "Il contesto economico," 9–17.

3. Those of Italian provenance came from Rome, Bologna, and Naples, and reached the capital of the grand duchy during the sixteenth century.

4. Along with them, there were also *strumentai* and *buonaccordai* (keyboard instrument makers).

Instrument Makers in the Florentine Arti

For the majority of medieval European artisans, economic life revolved around corporations. The guilds administrated the training of apprentices and defined the position and treatment of the various masters in their system. Moreover, the corporations were active in safeguarding the benefits of the group in the marketplace.[5] This was the system largely inherited by the Italian guilds and the Florentine arti in particular, which also included instrument makers among their members. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the arti no longer existed in their medieval and early-Renaissance form. Instead, they were reduced to nothing more than trade associations without specific political power, functioning as bureaucratic offices of the Grand Duchy.[6] In fact, the era of decline of the Florentine arti coincides with the first surviving testimonies of their involvement with makers of musical instruments.

The ancient associations known as *Arte dei Medici e Speziali* ("Guild of Doctors and Apothecaries") and *Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti* ("University of Por San Piero and Manufacturers") welcomed instrument makers among their members. Most of the information on this professional category is found in registration entries rather than in institutional statutes. Unfortunately, the former do not offer precise details on the production and development of the musical-instrument market in cities such as Florence. Similarly, no detailed information is given about this category, such as the apprenticeship carried out by the makers.[7] In any case, enrolment records constitute a valuable point of departure, since they provide us with essential biographical data on each of the makers listed: name, place of origin, and, above all, individual professional specialization.[8]

The first corporation reported here is the Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti, whose registers of records and tax payment (defined as

5. Richard A. Goldthwaite, *L'economia della Firenze Rinascimentale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), 468.

6. Francesco Ammannati, "Craft Guild Legislation and Woollen Production: The Florentine *Arte della Lana* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 58.

7. The only testimony concerns the seventeenth-century liutaio Jacopo Pagni, who claimed to be a member of the arte of *Medici e Speziali* and had a young apprentice at his workshop in Livorno. Concerning this apprenticeship, a contract was made between Pagni and the boy's father. See Clara Errico and Michele Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai a Livorno e Pisa nel 1600* (Livorno: Felice Editori, 2012), 21–23.

8. Entries indicate name, patronymic, and, when present, the bearer's surname, provenance, and place of activity, year of registration to the guild, and payments of ordinary and extraordinary taxes.

"campioni") have been investigated by several scholars.[9] Recently, I have identified a group of unknown artisans, identified in the majority of cases as ceterai.[10] In addition, evidence exists that the artisans registered at the Università included liutai, chitarrai, strumentai, and buonaccordai (keyboard instrument makers), who were mentioned in the "campioni" from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. In Florence, most of the stringed-instrument workshops were concentrated in the Duomo area, around the piazza of Santa Margherita, in Santa Maria dei Ricci, and in the surrounding streets.[11] The subdivision of the city according to the corporate structure remained unchanged almost to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Another Florentine arte with documented information on makers of musical instruments is the Medici e Speziali,[12] an institution of fundamental importance for Florentine history, as among its members were illustrious figures of the city history, like Dante. In addition to the liutai and the *minugiai* (stringed-instrument makers), the guild of the doctors and apothecaries included many other artisan categories, such as the *merciai* (haberdashers), the *barbieri* (barbers), and the *cartolai* (paper dealers).

In Tuscany, the term minugiaio can refer to makers of all kinds of rope-like products, including those specializing in the production of musical strings.[13] Interestingly, some of the makers registered as liutaio or chitarraio

9. The archival collection of the Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti has been studied by Leto Puliti, who published the matriculation records of several instrument makers in 1874. See Leto Puliti, "Cenni storici della vita del serenissimo Ferdinando dei Medici, Granprincipe di Toscana, e della origine del pianoforte," in *Atti dell' Accademia del R. Istituto Musicale di Firenze* 12 (Florence: Stabilimento Civelli, 1874), 78–83. More recently, Gabriele Rossi Rognoni completed the analysis started by Puliti. They both focused only on the city of Florence. As reported by Rossi Rognoni, the makers of musical instruments were less than five percent of the total of the different categories that constituted this association of craftsmen. Among the various articles dedicated to the subject, see Rossi Rognoni, "The Origins of the Tuscan School of 'liutai' in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Musikalische Aufführungpraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Musikinstrumentenbau Zentren im 16. Jahrhundert, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte* (Michaelstein: Verlag Kloster Michaelstein und Janos Stekovics, 2007), 107–09.

10. I have re-examined the registers or "Campioni" of debtors and creditors of the matriculation entries from 1492 to 1770. There were five ceterai enrolled in the arte between 1563 and 1610.

11. The workshops of the buonaccordai were not far away, in via dei Servi, near the basilica of Santissima Annunziata. See Rossi Rognoni, "Liutai, chitarrai e violinai nella Firenze del Cinque-Seicento," *Per archi: Rivista di storia e cultura degli strumenti ad arco* 3/4 (2009): 37.

12. For the city of Florence, various volumes have been consulted that report the presence of makers of musical instruments in the arte dei Medici e Speziali in the first half of the sixteenth century and the second half of the eighteenth century. The volumes have been checked from 1297 to 1778.

13. According to an Italian dictionary of the time, the word *minuge* indicates "Corda da

were also involved in the production or trade of strings.[14] Furthermore the same maker could be registered in two categories or even in two different guilds at the same time, something not unusual for Tuscan artisans. Many of them were enrolled at the Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti and were also engaged in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, sometimes during the same years.

The central role in instrument-making in the region was played by Florence, where most of the registered makers were concentrated. It is possible to draft the various steps of the production of musical instruments in Tuscany beginning with the matriculation records of these artisans—each of them identified by the use of a particular term describing a particular instrument and reflecting a specific musical taste. This is the case of the chitarrai, who were mainly guitar makers. The first name to appear in a Florentine guild, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, is "Arrighus," a German liutaio.

The Workshop of Bartolomeo Heberspacher and the First German liutai in Tuscany

The immigration of German liutai to Italy, which also involved the Tuscan cities and, above all, Florence, shows us how this category of immigrants contributed to the peninsula's primacy over the continent regarding the production of musical instruments, and plucked instruments in particular. Items built by makers active in Italy such as Laux Maler (Luca Maler) and Matthäus Selloß (Matteo Sellas/Selos) are valuable examples of luxury products.[15] The majority of the German liutai in Italy were originally from Füssen, in Bavarian Swabia (more precisely in the Allgäu region). Splendid examples of their work survive today, preserved in the most important museums and private collections.[16]

strumenti di suono, come liuto, e simili, perché si fanno di budella d'agnelli, castrati, o tali animali." (String for sounding instruments such as the lute, because they are made of gut from lamb, mature sheep, or similar animals). See *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca: Formato sulla edizione quarta del medesimo* (Florence: Domenico Maria Manni, 1739), 3:249.

14. The *Arte dei Medici e Speziali* counts fifty-eight freshmen residing in Florence between 1526 and 1695, whereas only seven makers of stringed and plucked instruments were active in the *contado* between 1577 and 1693.

15. Davide Rebuffa, *Il liuto* (Palermo: L'epos, 2012), 300.

16. In this regard, we can mention the plucked instruments made by the various members of the Sellas family, now preserved in collections of musical instruments such as those at the National Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

Evidence of German immigrants in Florence, dedicated to the most diverse professions, dates back to the Middle Ages.[17] Specifically, records of German liutai begin in the sixteenth century,[18] while the period of their highest concentration lasted from the middle of that century to the end of the seventeenth century, coinciding with the peak of the production of German makers in other major Italian cities such as Rome.

Probably, the first specialization of German liutai after their arrival in Tuscany, as well as in other regions of Italy, was lute-making.[19] They brought into the Florentine workshops the precious technical knowledge they had acquired during apprenticeship in cities like Rome and Bologna.[20] In this same period, several German makers were registered in the two reference guilds of Tuscany. As mentioned above, the earliest enrolment entry refers to a German liutaio named "Arrighus," son of "Georgij de magna alta," listed as entering the guild of the Medici e Speziali on January 13, 1526.[21] This shows that for the Germans, as foreigners, it was essential to be members of a corporation in order to carry out their profession. In addition to the matriculation records, German makers appear in parish registers, and in censuses—e.g., the census carried out after the plagues in Florence in the seventeenth century.[22] Sometimes such identifications refer to makers who had partly carried out their apprenticeship in Florence, or only spent a few

17. Lorenz Böninger, *Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz im Spätmittelalter* (Leiden: Boston, 2006).

18. Exceptions are the fifteenth-century testimonies of Siena. See Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 655–58.

19. Renato Meucci, *Strumentaio: il costruttore di strumenti musicali nella tradizione occidentale* (Rome: Marsilio, 2008), 87–88.

20. For many reasons Italy, especially in the seventeenth century, was a favorite destination for the development of the *Wanderschaft*. In his thorough research into German liutai in Naples, Luigi Sisto describes the long apprenticeship carried out by German makers in Italy, workshop by workshop, from Padua to Naples. See Luigi Sisto, *I liutai tedeschi a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento: Storia di una migrazione in senso contrario* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la storia della musica, 2010).

21. See Maria da Gloria Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai* and *ceterai* in Tuscany," in *The Centenary Symposium. The Collection of Historic Musical Instruments of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The First 100 Years. Neue Burg, 22 to 25 of September 2017* (Vienna: Praesens Verlag Wien, 2018), 164.

22. Following the famous Manzonian pestilence, which hit Florence in 1629, the Medici ordered a census "delle bocche" of the city and the Florentine state. From this source, we can extract information on various makers, liutai, and others who lived in Florence around the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1632, the liutaio Andrea Tedesco lived in the district of Santa Maria Novella, residing alone in the "chiaffuolo dell'albergo del guanto," near the "Piazza San Donato da Vecchietti." See The National Central Library of Florence (BNCF): Firenze e stato fiorentino: Censimento nominativo, anno 1632, Bobina E.B.15.2-11684[2], c.n. (carte non numerate).

years there. Furthermore, families of makers, such as Hindeland, established in Rome, or Pfanzelt and Frei in Bologna, had some of their members based in Florence.

In other cases, German families of liutai living in Florence for generations ended up acquiring Florentine citizenship. The Bomberghi family provides an interesting example at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[23] Before recent research accomplished in Florentine archives, Lorenzo Bomberghi was the only known exponent of this family of liutai. In fact, their activity in producing musical instruments covers almost a century of Florentine history, during a period of significant change in musical style. Considering this aesthetic shift, it can no longer be assumed that at the beginning of the eighteenth century these Germans liutai continued to produce only plucked instruments and in particular members of the lute family.[24] It is much more likely that, as is proved for their Italian colleagues, they were also dedicated to the making of stringed instruments of the violin family.

Documentary information about these artisans sometimes does not go beyond their matriculation to the guilds, but in other cases it is possible to find further data. This is the case with Bartolomeo (Bartholomäus), son of Giorgio Heberspacher, liutaio from Hofen bei Wald, who lived in Florence at the turn of the seventeenth century. The unusually abundant information on Heberspacher allows a better understanding of how other makers may have managed their commercial activities in Florence at the time.

Many German liutai residing in Naples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had spent their years of apprenticeship in Florence. This city constituted an obligatory stop for most makers from beyond the Alps; thus, artisans like Magno Longo I (Johannes Magnus Lang I), Georg Branner, Jacob Stadler, and Matteo Sellas (Matthäus Selloß) were taken as apprentices in the workshop of Bartolomeo di Giorgio.[25] With regard to Magno Longo, a double lute attributed to him appears in the Medicean inventory of 1700, dated 1619—suggesting that after his apprenticeship in Florence he stayed in contact with the German liutai present in that city, who perhaps supplied

23. Lorenzo certainly had four sons, two of whom (Pierfrancesco and Giuseppe) were liutai and inherited his workshop. Lorenzo's sons lived their entire lives in Florence, the last to die being Giuseppe, in 1724. See Maria da Gloria Leitao Venceslau, "Biographical Dictionary of the Tuscan Instrument Makers from the Sixteenth Century to the Unification of Italy," in *The Makers of Tuscany,* ed. Florian Leonard (Cremona: Edizioni Novecenton, in press).

24. Meucci, *Strumentaio,* 87–88.

25. All of these became important liutai of the early seventeenth century. See Sisto, *I liutai tedeschi a Napoli,* 148–49; 152; 154–6; 157–8; 165–70.

his instruments to the court and to the musicians connected with it.[26] Longo's master, Bartolomeo, is the only member of the German liutai living in Florence about whom a connection with the Medici court can be confirmed. He is cited in the last sixteenth-century instrumental inventory of the Medici house as "l'acconciatore" (restorer) of a lute that belonged to the "serenissima Principessa" (probably Christina of Lorraine).[27]

The first documentation of Bartolomeo's activity is in his matriculation record in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, in which he registered on August 25, 1556.[28] The "Decima Granducale" of Florence, a census of 1561, provides the address of Bartolomeo's first shop, which he rented together with a fellow countryman.[29] A few years later, the "Status animarum" of San Lorenzo (1575) records the family unit of Jacopo, Bartolomeo, and Bastiano di Giorgio, three brothers living in via San Gallo who had a series of workers and a groom in their service.[30] This is the correct description of the Heberspacher family, as Bartolomeo's own will of 1580 confirms.[31] There, Bartolomeo mentions his brother Jacopo and their father Giorgio, probably also a liutaio. Unfortunately, the will does not include an inventory of the shop, and we do not know precisely which instruments were produced by the Heberspacher brothers. It was not possible to retrieve further information on Bartolomeo's brothers, and it is not known if they worked in Florence until their deaths.

26. Vinicio Gai and Ciro Calzolari, *Gli strumenti musicali della corte medicea e il Museo del Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini di Firenze: Cenni storici e catalogo descrittivo* (Florence: Licosa, 1969), 15.

27. For this service, on April 1, 1590, Bartolomeo received a fee of 2 *lire*, 6 *soldi* and 8 *denari*. For the period at the end of the sixteenth century, we have very few references on the cost of instruments and their maintenance in Tuscany. See the Florence State Archive (AS Fi): GM 157, *Debitori e Creditori* c. (carta) 235. The information was reported for the first time by Pietro Gargiulo, who did not report the sum received by Bartolomeo and did not identify his relationship with the known German maker. Moreover, Pietro Gargiulo identifies the princess reported in the document as Christina of Lorraine, who at the time was grand duchess. See Pietro Gargiulo, "Strumenti musicali alla corte medicea: nuovi documenti e sconosciuti inventari (1553–1609)," Note d'archivio: Per la storia musicale: Nuova serie, 3 (1985), 69.

28. AS Fi: Medici e Speziali, Matricole 12, c.102r. At a later time, he was present in the campioni of the Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti, where Bartolomeo di Giorgio was registered from 1557 to 1585. See Rossi Rognoni, "The Origins of the Tuscan school," 15.

29. AS Fi: Decima Granducale, cartella 3783, Ricerca delle case di Firenze ordinate da Cosimo per i vistosi miglioramenti in esse fatti anno 1561, c.221v, n. 3410; cartella 3784, ricerca delle botteghe di Firenze, ordinate da Cosimo I, per i vistosi miglioramenti in esse fatti anno 1561, c.245r, n.610.

30. S. Lorenzo Parish Archive (ASL): Stato delle Anime di San Lorenzo, R. 3933, anno 1575, c.n.

31. AS Fi: Notarile moderno, notaio Filippo Bottigli, protocolli (1579–1599), will of Heberspacher Bartolomeo Giorgio, August 5, 1580.

Instead, we discover from the same will that Bartolomeo left almost all his own possessions to his sole heir, his wife Elisabetta, the daughter of Giovanni Maria Franchi (Frei) of Bologna, a well-known German maker.[32] This means that, in addition to his compatriot liutai in Florence, Bartolomeo had strong ties with one of the two most important families of German liutai in Bologna.[33] Marriage was precisely one of the events in which women of the time had a fundamental role, and through it relationships between families took place, as in this case.

Although we have abundant archival evidence concerning the work of German liutai in cities such as Bologna, for Florence we have much less. For this reason, the discovery of new archival sources regarding such artisans is relevant, because it allows us to speculate that Bartolomeo Heberspacher and his pupils in Florence may have established commercial relations with Bologna. It is no coincidence that most of his students also spent part of their apprenticeship in Bologna.[34] These liutai, together with various apprentices who indeed came to Florence, not only influenced their compatriots but also the Tuscan makers, creating what is today defined as the "Scuola Toscana." The phenomenon of German immigration was not limited to Florence. It also involved other cities in the region, such as Siena, Pistoia, and above all Pisa and Livorno, where the German family of lute makers named Fendt lived. The first to arrive in Pisa was Jacopo di Giovanni Fendt.[35] Jacopo arrived around 1565, he married, and opened his first workshop.[36] As with many other German makers, his arrival in Pisa was probably preceded by a series of sojourns in other Italian cities. Here, after his death, his activity was

32. Another maker, whose story is intertwined with that of the Heberspacher family, was Marchione Abespacher. He is believed to have been a relative of Bartolomeo and his brothers. Marchione, the son of Andrea Abespacher, was a liutaio whose surname may be an Italianized variant of Heberspacher.

33. Their connection to Florence was unknown until now. Giovanni Franchi (Frei)—complete name, Giovanni Maria Franchi—married Michela Strazarolo in Bologna, and they had five children, three of whom were girls. Their daughter Barbara married Bartolomeo Heberspacher.

34. Regarding the sojourns of Bartolomeo's students in Bologna, see Sisto, *I liutai tedeschi a Napoli*, 154–56; 166–70.

35. The first to trace biographical information about Fendt was Miria Fanucci Lovitch, who stated that in 1581 Fendt was sued in court by Cesare di Stefano Bugassi from Lucca on account of a delay in the delivery of twenty-four lutes. See Miria Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo* (Ospedaletto: Pacini Editore, 1991), 247.

36. A document identified by Clara Errico and Michele Montanelli states that in those years Jacopo Fendt was in such financial difficulty that he wrote directly to the governor of Pisa, asking to be relieved of his debts so that he could continue his activity. From the answer of secretary Pietro Vinta of January 31, 1578, we discover that the debts of the liutaio concerned the gabelles of his lutes and his unpaid matriculation to the arte. See Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai,* 7–10.

continued by his son Francesco, who also traded in strings. Like many other lute and guitar makers based in Tuscany, the Fendt family also operated as string dealers. Francesco's brothers were also makers, but we do not have much information on them. We know that one brother named Giovanni enrolled in the Arte dei the Medici e Speziali on November 18, 1623.[37] While maintaining relations with Pisa, Giovanni had a shop in Via dei Calzaiuoli in Florence. He was the first maker for whom the use of the term chitarraio in Florentine guilds can be identified.[38]

But what exactly did the members of the Fendt family produce? The answer comes from a Pisan maker, Francesco Barsuglia, who married Jacopa, daughter of Francesco Fendt. Francesco Barsuglia was a liutaio and chitarraio as well as a guitar, violin, and lute player.[39] We can hypothesize that Barsuglia was a pupil of the liutaio Francesco Fendt, who was also a theorbo player. In 1671, the year of Barsuglia's death, his widow Jacopa became involved in a trial concerning the inheritance of her husband's estate, asking for the equivalent of her dowry and trousseau.[40] The documentation contains the inventory of the workshop drawn up by their two sons Giuseppe and Antonio Ranieri.[41] The inventory lists fifty guitars "all'italiana," thirty "chitarre alla spagnola," two violins, two "calaconi" (calascione/colascione), and a "leuto tiorbato" (liuto attiorbato). Here, the distinction between chitarra all'italiana and alla spagnola, both part of the Barsuglia production, is evident. Renato Meucci argues that the term chitarrone is the augmentative of the term chitarra. He points out that, according to the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612), the latter term refers to a small lute "che manca del basso, e

37.The surname Fendt, in the sources consulted concerning Giovanni, appears as "Fenti." Giovanni was married to Giulia, daughter of Lazzaro. Concerning the couple's children, it has been possible to trace the document reporting the baptism of Margherita, who was born in Pisa in 1622. At the time of her birth, the parents lived in the parish area of Santa Margherita. See the Diocesan Archive of Pisa (ASDP): Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, no.37, anno 1623, c.75r.

38. AS Fi: Medici e Speziali, Matricole 15, c.109v.

39. Fanucci Lovitch, Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo, 52–156.

40. The marriage of Francesco and Jacopa produced a number of children: Brigida in 1636, Bastiano and Bartolomeo (twins) in 1639, Appolonia in 1644, Giuseppe in 1648, Niccolaio in 1651, Anna Maria in 1654, and Antonio Ranieri, whose baptism register does not survive. See ASDP: Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.39, anno 1636, c.33v; Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.40, anno 1640, c.29v; Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.42, anno 1645, c.10v; Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.42, anno 1648, c.269v; Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.43, anno 1652, c.393v; Parrocchia di S. Ranieri della Primaziale, Libri di battesimo, n.43, 1654, c.25v.

41. The State Archive of Pisa (ASP): Commissario 681, ins.69, Pisa, 17 November 1672 (already noted by Miria Fanucci Lovitch, Artisti attivi a Pisa fra XIII e XVIII secolo, 156).

del soprano." Meucci shows that when the fashion of the chitarra alla spagnola began in Italy, it was called spagnola in order to distinguish it from the above-mentioned type of guitar already in use in the country and usually referred to as chitarra italiana or chitarra napoletana.[42] Probably these were the two types of plucked instruments built by the individual Italian and German chitarrai active in the duchy.[43]

Evidence of Women's Activities

In addition to providing a substantial presence of foreigners and a rich terminology, the Florentine arti documents present unique testimonies on the presence of women in the craft. Although several examples of women who enrolled in the Tuscan guilds are already known, their role among makers of musical instruments and strings is hard to ascertain. These were women who undoubtedly played an important economic role, not only because they actively participated in the production of the various shops, but also because, through the marriage bond, they contributed to the development of the activity, establishing new relationships among artisans of the same category. The local specialization of the various cities determined the possibility for women to work. Not unexpectedly, in Florence, where textile production was one of the main activities, women represented a consequential part of the wool and silk industries.[44] Thus, it is not surprising that in that city, records show some of the very few cases of female presence in the guilds in which the liutai enrolled.

Anna Berder, a German, appeared in 1551 registered as liutaria in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali. She was the daughter of Christofori Berder and the widow of the German liutaio Martini, who bequeathed to her the management of their Florentine workshop. It is significant that Anna appears identified with a feminine term designating her profession, an unusual occurrence. This confirms that Anna was an artisan and that she dedicated herself to the production of musical instruments in the workshop that she

42. See Renato Meucci, "Da' chitarra italiana ' a 'chitarrone': una nuova interpretazione", in *Enrico Radesca di Foggia e il suo tempo,* Atti del Convegno, Foggia, 7–8 aprile 2000, a cura di F. Seller (Lucca: Lim, 2001) 37–57.

43. Like Giovanni Fendt, other German makers, such as members of the Maler and the Frei (Franchi) families, were present in the Florentine guild, specifically as chitarrai. See AS Fi: *Medici e Speziali*, Matricole 16, c.429r; *Medici e Speziali*, Matricole 17, p.33.

44. Anna Bellavitis, *Il lavoro delle donne nelle città dell'Europa moderna*, (Rome: Viella 2016), 19.

managed.[45]

Anna Bellavitis asserts that during the modern age, "The tendency not to define work as an identity that determines the person, but as an accessory and occasional fact is found in the definitions that women gave of themselves."[46] This concept is reflected in many Italian administrative documents, in which, as late as the 1850s, women would declare, for example, "io faccio la sarta" (seamstress), unlike men, who instead described themselves as "io sono sarto" (tailor). The verbs "fare" (to do) and "essere" (to be) are indeed very different, the latter describing the profession as a rather permanent and defining social status. As pointed out by Bellavitis, this subtle but profound distinction corresponded to the different roles that men and women had within the various professions.[47] In such a social context, the liutaria Anna Berder undoubtedly represents a unique case.

By reading the guild records it is also possible to verify the limited access that women had to these guilds. Such access was usually confined to the female members of the master's family.[48] This is the case of Lucrezia Ciardis, a German woman who enrolled at the Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti in 1596 and who was the widow of the liutaio Giovanni Finchi.[49] Giovanni's will of the same year leaves enough funds to Lucrezia to cover taxes—including, probably, her matriculation to the arte.[50] The wives' collaboration in the workshops was provided for by the corporation's rules, which generally authorized each widow to continue with her husband's work. In the case of Lucrezia, her presence as a member of the guild shows the privilege given to widows, even though under strict control, to manage the business and the family assets independently.[51] Another example illustrating the same situation in the following century is that of Claudia Diafabbron, a German citizen connected to the workshop of Filippo Riser in Florence in 1651.[52]

45. Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient testimonies of German *liutai,*" 166.

46. "La tendenza a non definire il lavoro come un'identità che struttura la persona, ma come un fatto accessorio e saltuario si ritrova nelle definizioni che le donne davano di se stesse." See Bellavitis, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 25.

47. Bellavitis, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 25–26.

48. Ibid., 39.

49. Rossi Rognoni, "The Origins of the Tuscan School," 108–11.

50. The couple had their workshop in the "Corso degli Adimari" (currently the "via dei Calzaiuoli"). After Giovanni's death, the workshop appears to have been run by Lucrezia, but perhaps without the help of her son, Antonio. Strangely, Giovanni does not mention his son in his will, although the latter was a member of the Medici e Speziali. See Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai,*" 165.

51. Bellavitis, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 93.

52. Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai*", 166–67.

Among other things, women's testimonies in Tuscany concern the production of harmonic strings. Two Florentine cordaie identified through my research appear to be an exception in the archival sources. In fact, numerous male minugiai living in the Santo Spirito district of San Frediano are found in the 1632 census,[53] although none of them are linked to a specific type of string production. Similarly, in the matriculation records of the Arte dei Medici e Speziale, we find registration entries related to several minugiai and cordai, but only one of them mentions a specialization.[54] The two Florentine cordaie in question were producers of lute strings in a context dominated by male artisans. The first is Maddalena, who lived in the area of San Frediano and is described in the census as "vedova, fa le corde da leuto" (a widow who makes lute strings).[55] She is reported as the head of a family unit consisting of two women over the age of fifteen, including herself. The second female producer, also identified in this same geographical area, is Alessandra, who probably became a widow after the plague. Her family unit is described as consisting of a fifteen-year-old male and two females over that age. Alessandra's activity is also given in the census as "fa corde da leuto" (makes lute strings).[56]

In San Frediano, Maddalena and Alessandra were not the only widows who sustained their families through their profession,[57] a common situation in other European cities as well during the first modern era. This was the case also in Barcelona, where during the epidemics of the mid-seventeenth century the municipality allowed widows without children to continue with their husbands' activities.[58]

53. The census carried out in 1632 after the plague that struck Florence shows family groups by district and lists the heads of family, among which there are liutai, strumentai, and minugiai. Records of the Santo Spirito district mention Francesco, son of Battista minugiaio, Bastiano minugiaio, Salvestro Confini minugiaio, Giovanni Battista minugiaio, and even in via Fiore, a family of three minugiai, Niccolò, Pasquino, and Francesco. See BNCF: Palatino E.B.15.2; Quartiere di Santo Spirito, c.n.

54. In the matriculation entries of the Medici e Speziali, the majority of string makers are described with the term minugiaio, and in few cases they appear as cordaio. Antonio di Donato Perilli, from the small town of Pescia, is an exception. In his matriculation (1655) he is described as "cordaio di chitarre" (a maker of guitar strings). See AS Fi: Medici e Speziali, Matricole 27, c.187.

55. See BNCF: Palatino E.B.15.2; Quartiere di Santo Spirito, c.n.

56. See BNCF: Palatino E.B.15.2; Quartiere di Santo Spirito, c.n.

57. This is the case of Doratea, a widow who stretched wool and had two young children, a boy and a girl. See BNCF: Palatino E.B.15.2; Quartiere di Santo Spirito, c.n.

58. Bellavitis, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 94.

The Checcucci Family: ceterai, chitarrai, and minugiai in Pisa and Livorno

Starting in the sixteenth century, the Medici family focused on the port of Livorno to improve the position of the Grand Duchy within the broad Mediterranean and European trade market. As a result, merchants from various countries, together with an assortment of artisans, arrived in Livorno during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this period musical-instrument makers living in the city were described as ceterai, although they produced different types of instruments, as in the case of the Florentine liutaio and ceteraio Tommaso Lucchesini. He died in Livorno on February 17, 1589, and his post-mortem inventory lists a significant number of instruments that he kept in his workshop. In this document numerous citterns and lutes are reported (either finished or incomplete), as well as parts of instruments, among which are sixty cittern heads contained in a box. Moreover, the inventory shows evidence of the construction of guitars and also mentions three violin molds.[59]

Livorno makers had several kinds of clients, including professional cittern and guitar players, probably along with amateurs whose instruments entered their domestic sphere and remained among their possessions. The market for musical instruments in Pisa and Livorno in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was mainly controlled by members of two families: Fendt, of German provenance, and Checcucci. The Checcucci family was originally from Empoli and had relationships with liutai and string makers in other Tuscan cities, including Florence. This information is found in a notarial deed of 1569 documenting a controversy between certain string makers from Florence and Gaspero, son of "fu Bastiano di Gaspero Checcucci." Here, the former Gaspero is mentioned as "maestro di chitarra, lira e liuto" in Pisa.[60] Another document of 1562, as pointed out by Miria Fanucci Lovitch, mentions Antonio and Checco Checcucci, probably active at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The third document is a 1570 power of attorney signed in Pisa by Sebastiano (Bastiano) Checcucci's sons Gaspero and Giuliano.[61] Independently, Clara Errico and Michele Montanalli report the enrolment of three ceterai called Bastiano "di Guasparri" (1562/65), Giuliano "di Bastiano," and Guasparri "di Battista" (1577) in the campioni

59. Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai a Livorno,* 18–20; Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai,*" 172.

60. Fanucci Lovitch, *Artisti attivi a Pisa*, 180.

61. Ibid., 368.

of Università dei Fabbricanti for the city of Pisa.[62] I consider these three otherwise unidentified cittern makers to be the same members of the Checcucci family, since dates and names coincide with the information given in the documents cited above. It is noteworthy that both Giuliano and Guasparri are described as ceterai coming from Florence and active in Pisa. Members of the Checcucci family may also have been active in Florence around 1550.

In Pisa and Livorno, the Checcucci family primarily dealt with the string trade, as the available information suggests. Giuliano Checcucci's will, which I discovered in the course of this research, confirms this.[63] In truth, this document is the third will that Giuliano wrote, and it contains valuable information on his son Rutilio and his nephew Ottavio—both involved in the string market in Livorno. In 1596, Ottavio requested permission from the Console di Mare to produce lute strings at the Livorno port. Ottavio seems to have been the first maker of lute strings in that city. He explains in this document that this opportunity arose for him because of the absence of string shops in the city and a demand owing to the considerable number of foreigners living there.[64] This testimony is crucial to understanding the direct link between the production of strings and musical instruments in Livorno and the presence of foreigners who were evidently involved in music making. At the beginning of the seventeenth century several Abruzzese minugiai were also active in Livorno. It was most likely the Checcucci family that paved the way for the trade of strings in Pisa and Livorno.[65]

The connections of the Checcucci family did not concern only Pisa and Livorno, but also Florence, and I have found new information about their involvement with the Pardini family in that city. Bastiano, the son of Domenico Pardini, is an interesting case. Born in Pisa, he had a workshop in the center of Florence.[66] Fortunately, I was able to locate Bastiano's will, written

62. AS Fi: Università di Por San Piero e dei Fabbricanti, Campioni 210, cc. (carte) 501–508; Campione 211, c.107 (This matriculation has been previously reported by Errico and Montanelli, not mentioning connections with the Checcucci family. See Errico and Montanelli, Liutai e Minugiai, 13).

63. AS Fi: Notarile moderno, notaio Giuliano Pisanelli, protocolli (7359–7372), Testamento n.3 di Giuliano Checcucci, January 31, 1610.

64. Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai a Livorno e Pisa nel 1600*, 55.

65. Research carried out by Errico and Montanelli provides evidence that string makers from the Abruzzo region were present in Pisa and Livorno. These include Rubens Aurofilio, from l'Aquila, who in 1638 was one of the string contractors in the Livorno port and a partner in the string business in Pisa. Later, other Abruzzese string makers would be present in Pisa, such as Niccola di Sabatino Formigli and Simone Francesco Capris. See Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai,* 59–64.

66. Bastiano registered in the arte of Medici e Speziali of Florence as a violin maker on April 16, 1603, and later on November 18, 1611. See AS Fi: *Medici e Speziali*, Matricole 16,

in Florence on July 24, 1630.[67] It contains a list of his several heirs, among whom is the chitarraio Jacopo Checcucci. Jacopo, like Bastiano, had Pisan origins but resided in Livorno. Bastiano's will also mentions a recent (probably his last) commercial exchange with Jacopo, who still needed to deliver the already paid order. The exchange in question probably involved strings produced by other members of the Checcucci family in the port of Livorno.

Jacopo Checcucci and his chitarra alla spagnola

At the turn of the seventeenth century, significant musical innovations took place in Italy and much of Europe, such as the successful reception of accompanied monody, the birth of the dramma per musica, and the development of an idiomatic instrumental style. These novelties brought decisive transformation in the making of musical instruments. The chitarra alla spagnola is one of the instruments that marked the change of musical style at that time, involving both the aristocratic social classes and more humble levels of society as well.

Arriving in Italy from Spain through the kingdom of Naples at the end of the sixteenth century, this type of guitar was called "alla spagnola" in order to distinguish it from another instrument belonging to the lute family, commonly referred to as "chitarra italiana" or "chitarra napoletana."[68] Organologists define the chitarra alla spagnola as an instrument of five courses, four of which are double, with the fifth being single-string. It derives from the smaller Renaissance guitar a quattro cori, probably a direct descendant of the bigger Spanish vihuela.

The five-course guitar could be played using the Italian "stile battuto" technique (strummed chords) and the "pizzicato"—the latter derived from lute playing and already used on the sixteenth-century guitar.[69] The "stile battuto," a rather simple technique, made the repertoire accessible to a broad public. In the course of the seventeenth century, many books of tablatures for chitarra "alla spagnola" were published, and this production illustrates the extraordinary popularity of the instrument. Its relatively easy way of playing was described by Vincenzo Giustiniani in his Discorso sopra la

cc.124v, 252v.

67. AS Fi, Notarile moderno, notaio Gio. Filippo Tarusi, protocolli (11716–11721); the will was written on July 24, 1630.

68. Meucci, "Da 'chitarra italiana' a 'chitarrone,' " 37–57.

69. Mario Dell'Ara, "La chitarra rinascimentale e barocca," *Liuto e chitarra: I Quaderni di Settembre Musica* (1978): 13–14.

musica (1628), which documents the abandonment of the lute as an accompanying instrument in favor of the theorbo and the recently arrived chitarra alla spagnola.[70]

The increasing demand for music for guitar produced solo tablature books and a significant number of printed collections for solo voice and chitarra, many of which survive. Tablatures of this sort make use of the newly developed Montesardo alphabet (*Nuova inventione*, Florence, 1606), a system based on the correspondence between chords and letters of the alphabet. The increasing popularity of the instrument went hand in hand with the cultivation of two popular genres, the villanella and the canzonetta. The lute repertoire of the sixteenth century, including Italian dances such as the pavaniglia and the bergamasca, was translated into the new, relatively simplified alphabetic code,[71] a system through which amateur musicians had their first contact with this style. An example is Remigio Romano's Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette musicali e moderne di autori gravissimi nella poesia et nella musica (1618).[72]

Extant evidence facilitates an understanding of the guitar's long process of transformation, which concluded around 1750.[73] A seventeenth-century notarial act in Rome, brought to light by Maurizio Tarrini, contains two inventories written by the liutai Cristoforo del Forno da Asti and the German Magno Haitert, which list various types of guitars.[74]

The guitar became most popular in Florence in the early seventeenth century. The grand duchy's capital, with a court inclined to acquire and experiment with the newest musical fashions and inventions, was one of the places that originally welcomed the guitar "alla spagnola" for the performance of Spanish traditional poetic and musical repertoires that were in vogue in the Iberian peninsula and, of course, in the kingdom of Naples.[75]

As mentioned above, the guitar was the perfect instrument for the popu-

70. Carol MacClintock, "Giustiniani's 'Discorso Sopra La Musica,'" *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961): 223.

71. Lex Eisenhardt, *Italian Guitar Music of the Seventeenth Century: Battuto and Pizzicato* (Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 62–64.

72. Ibid., 54.

73. The five-course guitar was in vogue until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the simple six-course armature was adopted while maintaining the same tuning. Thus began the transition period in which numerous modifications were made to both the dimensions and the shape of the sound box. See Ruggero Chiesa, *La chitarra* (Turin: EDT, 1990), 6–10.

74. Maurizio Tarrini, "L'inventario di una bottega liutaria redatto nel 1602," *Liuteria* 12 (1984): 44–49.

75. Giulia Veneziano, "Introduzione," in *Rime e suoni alla spagnola: atti della giornata internazionale di studi sulla chitarra barocca*, ed. Giulia Veneziano and Dinko Fabris (Florence: Alinea, 2003), 11–12.

larization of these and other repertoires among amateur players of different social classes. A study by Renata Ago shows that in seventeenth-century Rome, it was quite common for households to own a five-course guitar, as several family documents reveal.[76] In fact, the instrument is frequently found in post-mortem inventories of items possessed by individuals coming from varied social strata. Guitars are even mentioned in court records, often associated with courtesans and bands of drunken boys who disturb the public order in the streets.[77]

The success of the guitar in Rome was linked to the musical vogues that soon arrived in the Tuscan cities as well. The widely circulated printed collection of Girolomo Montesardo, published in Florence in 1606, encouraged many amateurs to confront themselves with the newest music for the guitar "alla spagnola".[78] Certainly, the considerable number of chitarrai active in Tuscany was the result of a social-musical climate that was beneficial for the production of guitars, most of which were built to meet the demands of a local market. In Livorno this market was mainly composed of small and midsize merchants and artisans. In an inventory of the goods belonging to the Jewish doctor Jacob Cordonero, drawn up in Livorno in 1624, "due chitarre alla spagniuola" are listed.[79]

Guitars are listed in an inventory belonging to the workshop of Lucchesini, a maker who died in Livorno in 1589. Because of their fragile construction, only a very limited number of original guitars have survived. It is noteworthy that the only extant seventeenth-century guitar from Livorno is a chitarra alla spagnola made by Checcucci in 1628.[80] This instrument shares the same characteristics found in German guitars such as those made by the Sellas family, a rich and elaborate decorative style with a high quality of the wood and other materials.[81]

Members of the Sellas family were among the most famous guitar makers

76. Renata Ago, *Il gusto delle cose. Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 2006).

77. Ibid., 174.

78. Dinko Fabris, "Le notti a Firenze i giorni a Napoli: Gli esordi della chitarra spagnola nell'Italia del Seicento," in *Rime e suoni alla spagnola,* 18.

79. Errico e Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai,* 28.

80. The instrument is preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA inv.n.2001.707).

81. Darcy Kuronen's detailed description of the guitar is the first to indicate the decorative similarity of the instruments made by the Venetian liutai with those of members of the Sellas family. See Darcy Kuronen, "Strumenti intarsiati e d'avorio 31. Chitarra" in *Marvels of Sound and Beauty,* ed. Franca Falletti, Renato Meucci, and Gabriele Rossi Rognoni (Florence: Giunti, 2007), 198.

of the first half of the seventeenth century, and their success was primarily linked to the city of Venice. Giorgio (ca.1585–1649) and Matteo (ca.1599–1654) were two of the most renowned members of the family. Matteo did his apprenticeship in Florence and Bologna and probably had relations with Florentine guitar makers such as Bastiano Pardini, a business partner of Jacopo Checcucci.[82]

It can be conjectured that the Sellas family sold their wood and/or semi-finished guitar parts to Tuscan chitarrai. In this respect, important evidence discovered by Stefano Pio in Venice reveals how Giorgio Sellas, in addition to his career as an instrument maker, started an international trade of guitar tops purchased in Germany and brought to Italy through Venice before being sold and shipped to Lisbon.[83] It is likely that the materials used by Checcucci and shipped by the Sellas family came through the port of Livorno.

Guitars by Checcucci feature arched backs made of expensive ebony wood, creating a strong contrast between the ebony ribs and the ivory inlay that adorns the back and continues on the sides and on the neck. A similar technique is found in guitar backs made by the Sellas brothers, particularly the instrument made by Giorgio Sellas in Venice in 1641, later transformed into a chitarra battente and preserved today in the Historisches Museum in Basel.[84] The light-coloured fine-grain spruce belly of Checcucci's guitars is enriched in the edges by a design consisting of parallelograms in ivory that alternate with black mastic triangles around the soundhole. Again, an analogous treatment of this area of the belly can be found in the decorations made by the Sellas brothers, especially in Matteo's guitars, such as the one made in Venice in 1640, now in the National Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota.[85] Furthermore, Jacopo's guitar, like other Italian surviving instruments, shows great accuracy in the decorations, such as the black mastic arabesques that adorn the belly and the rosetta of refined gilded parchment.[86] These elements lead us to assume that probably the instrument was

82. It should be remembered that around the same time as the Checcucci's guitar was made, another probable member of the Sellas family lived in Pistoia. Gio. Sellas enrolled in the arte of the Medici e Speziali on December 22, 1641. See Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai,*" 164.

83. Stefano Pio, *Liuteria veneziania* 1640–1760 (Venice: Venice Resarch, 2004), 26–27.

84. Inventory number 1927.271.

85. Inventory number NMM 3385.

86. Most of the numerous surviving five-course guitars were built in Italy by German makers such as Christophoro Cocho (Milan), Giovanni Smit (Genoa), Giorgio Jungmann (Rome), the Sellas family (Venice), and the Teslers (Ancona).

made for an important commission, perhaps in Livorno or elsewhere.[87]

A piece of documentary evidence regarding the cittern maker Bartolomeo Malavolta illustrates the relations between instrument makers and the Livorno port. Malavolta, described as ceteraio and liutaio, sued Andrea Vignuoli, the owner of a merchant ship. Vignuoli's ship was to be allowed to sail only after the owner delivered to Bartolomeo the twenty-five lute backs sent from Genoa by the German liutaio "Cristofaro tedesco."[88] Another document shows that in 1582, Gasparri di Bastiano ceteraio—most likely Gasparo Checcucci, Jacopo's father—owed 45.10 lire in exportation taxes for ten lutes and ten new citterns. This document confirms the exporting of instruments by Livornese makers, and the Checchuccis in particular.[89]

The documents described above are part of the scant evidence regarding stringed instruments found in the Livornese archives. As is well known, Livorno was one of the worst-hit Italian cities during the Second World War, bombarded repeatedly between 1940 and 1944. In consequence, the city's appearance changed drastically. Monumental symbols of its glorious past, such as the seventeenth-century synagogue, were torn down; archives were also damaged, and fundamental evidence of the city's history was lost forever. Thus, the previously unknown information about Jacopo Checcucci found in my research is valuable in order to appreciate the work of this extraordinary artisan.

Jacopo died in Livorno on April 11, 1646.[90] His will confirms that by 1612, he had moved from his native Pisa to nearby Livorno, where he resided near the Cathedral.[91]In 1612 he married Caterina, daughter of Filippo Massai, who died in 1660.[92] The couple had many children, including Gasparo, Francesco, and Giuseppe, mentioned by Jacopo in his will. Unfor-

87. According to Darcy Kuronen, the inlaid piece of heraldry at the neck juncture and waist of the body on both sides of the guitar, containing a double-headed eagle made of mastic, suggests that the instrument was made for the Austrian Habsburg family. See Kuronen, "Strumenti intarsiati e d'avorio 31. Chitarra," 198.

88. Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai,* 17, Leitao Venceslau, "Ancient Testimonies of German *liutai,*" 170.

89. Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai*, 18.

90. The Diocesan Archive of Livorno (ADL): Libro dei Morti della Collegiata, 1746 (Reg. 4.2 – 3.1), p.65.

91. His will contains precise instructions to his heirs, and in particular to his wife, expressing his wish to be buried in Livorno, the burial-place of other members of his family, with his funeral being celebrated at the Cathedral. AS Fi: Notarile moderno, protocolli del notaio Farfarana Pellegrino (14090 – 14098), will of Jacopo di Guasparri Checcucci of 10 April 1646.

92. ADL: Libro dei Matrimonio della Collegiata, 17 giugno 1613–1612 according to the Pisan calendar (OPA n.1 1611–1627), p.20.

tunately, there is no information concerning the professions of Jacopo's sons, so it is not known if they continued with their father's workshop, which, in 1636, was located in Piazza Vecchia a Canti and rented jointly with a certain Marco Ginesi.[93]

With regard to Jacopo's relations with other contemporary makers, we have only the information about Bastiano Pardini. We can assert that in the years when Jacopo and his sons lived in Livorno, other members of the Checcucci family were also active in the city. Also, at the end of the seventeenth century the first members of the Gragnani family—the celebrated instrument makers of the following century—moved to Livorno from Barga in the Lucca province. In fact, the production in Livorno throughout the eighteenth century was dominated by the liutaio Antonio Gragnani and other members of his family, among whom was the chitarraio Gateano Bastogi, who was Antonio's nephew. Curiously, although sources identify them all as chitarrai, the only surviving instruments by these makers are violins.[94]

The first piece of evidence concerning the Gragnanis, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, coincides with a decline in the instrumental production of the region. In this regard, the testimonies of the string-maker Domenico Pavoni, the nephew of minugiaio Dabatino Formigli, give us a clear picture of the worsening financial conditions in Pisa, which in turn mirrors the state of affairs in other cities. A supplica petition presented by Pavoni in 1721 to the grand duchy indicates that, owing to the hard economic situation, public performances of music and dance were reduced to a minimum in the city, and this was also true in the countryside.[95] This phenomenon involved other parts of the duchy, including Florence.

It can be asserted beyond doubt that from the end of the sixteenth century through most of the following century, the Checcucci family had a primary role in the production of musical instruments in Pisa and Livorno. Jacopo Checcucci, together with other members of his family, contributed to a rich market of guitar makers that produced luxury items as well as instruments of more modest manufacture at a lower cost.

93. The Livorno State Archive (ASLi): Spoglio del vecchio Estimo, anni 1599–1649, c.305v.

94. Alessandro Cozio, the well-known collector of ancient instruments who lived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, describes—in his notebooks preserved in the Cremona State Library—the production of a single Tuscan maker, Antonio Gragnani. See Biblioteca Statale di Cremona (BSC): Cozio MS52, c. 4r. (This information was kindly reported to me by Duane Rosengard).

95. Errico and Montanelli, *Liutai e Minugiai*, 64.

Conclusion

Acquiring a panoramic view of the production of musical instruments in Tuscany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proves to be a significantly complex task. Both the known and the previously unpublished sources reported here document the various changes that took place at that time. Through the descriptions of events in the lives of a number of makers of stringed instruments and strings, new insights on the importance of musical instruments in Tuscan society have been made possible. The considerable number of artisans who were enrolled at the Florentine Arti shows that a lively local market was carried on by many ceterai, liutai, chitarrai, and, later, violin makers. Evidence reveals how this profession was identified through history, according to the changes in the economic situation and in musical taste. In this regard, the Checcucci family can be seen as a link between the first ceterai, who arrived in the late 1500s in the port of Livorno and the Gragnanis, and the most famous chitarrai of the eighteenth century.

Many of the artisans active in Tuscany were foreigners, among whom Germans stood out. Another interesting aspect that emerges from the present study is the active role of Italian and German female artisans who worked as liutarie and lute-string makers in Florence. Indeed, it has also been established that strings were often produced and sold by instrument makers in Tuscany. Finally, documents such as the workshop inventory of Lucchesini have contributed to our knowledge of the musical environment of cities such as Livorno, allowing us a better understanding of the only surviving instrument from this place and time—the outstanding guitar built by Jacopo Checcucci in 1628. As Renato Meucci claims, it is with the help of historical research that we can assess the importance of a specific model or a single instrument in a particular musical environment and geographical area.[96]

Starting at the end of the eighteenth century, the making of stringed instruments and strings in Tuscany went through new transformations. Production in Florence was under the control of a few families of makers, among them Carcassi, Piattellini, and later, Castellani. All of them, described in sources as violinari (violin makers), were mostly active in the construction of stringed instruments. Together with Giovanni Battista Gabbrielli, these makers represent the leadership of the so-called Tuscan School. However,

96. Renato Meucci, "Organologia: Definizione e contenuti di una recente disciplina," in *Il museo degli strumenti musicali del Conservatorio "Luigi Cherubini"* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1999), 110.

they were active in a period of general decline in the production of musical instruments in Italy, as a result of socio-political changes that also led to the closure of corporations. In this context, it is not surprising that the commercial guide of 1794, the *Mentore perfetto de' negozianti, ovvero guida sicura de medesimi*, mentions only two companies in Livorno in the entry "fabbricanti di strumenti da corda, come violini, ecc" (makers of string instruments, such as violins, etc.).[97]

From Florence to Livorno and Pisa, this article has traced an overview of the production of musical instruments in the Grand Duchy, throwing new light on the relationship between makers and market laws. In Tuscany, their production, well as their profession, was subject to productive, economic, and cultural changes. Here, I have made an attempt to broaden our perspectives in this category of artisans and the contexts in which they operated, hoping to pave the way for further research in the future.

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97. In the fourth volume of *Il Mentore perfetto de Negozianti, ovvero guida sicura de' medesimi, ed istruzione, per rendere ad essi più agevoli, e meno incerte le loro speculazioni* (Trieste, 1794), Salvatore Carcassi and Luigi Piattellini are mentioned as makers of stringed instruments such as violins (p. 285).