

Entente Internationale des Maîtres Luthiers et Archetiers d'Art

# MANTOVA STUDY DAY

## 4 October 2016



in co-operation with:

Conservatorio Lucio Campiani - Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana - Teatro del Bibiena

# Program

## **Monday, October 3<sup>rd</sup>**

18:00 - 19:00

Guided tour of Teatro Bibiena and historical city center  
Teatro Bibiena - Via Accademia, 47

19:30

Welcome drink and dinner  
Restaurant "La Masseria" - Piazza Broletto, 8

## **Tuesday, October 4<sup>th</sup>**

9:00

Advance registration for private view  
Conservatorio di Musica Lucio Campiani - Via della Conciliazione, 33

9:30 - 11:00

Conference "Liuteria Mantovana" by Philip J. Kass  
Conservatorio di Musica Lucio Campiani - Via della Conciliazione, 33

11:00 - 12:30

Guided tour to the homes of some of the Mantova makers  
Depart from Conservatorio di Musica Lucio Campiani - Via della Conciliazione, 33

12:30 - 14:30

Lunch break

14:30 - 18:30

Private view

Conservatorio di Musica Lucio Campiani - Via della Conciliazione, 33

# Private View

Instruments on show as of Sept. 24, 2016

## Room A - From the origins to 1850

Pietro Dardelli, gamba - XVI century	Tommaso Balestrieri, cello - 1769
Pietro Guarneri, violin - 1690 (attributed)	Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - c. 1770
Pietro Guarneri, viol - 1690	Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - 1775
Pietro Guarneri, violin back, ribs and scroll - 1702	
Pietro Guarneri, violin - 1712	Carlo Steffanini, mandolin - 1778
Pietro Guarneri, violin - 1714	
Antonio Zanotti, violin - 1729	Alessandro Zanti, violin - c. 1808
Antonio Zanotti, violin - 1732	Circle of Alessandro Zanti, decorated violin
Antonio Zanotti, violin - 1732	
Circle of Antonio Zanotti, violin	Pietro Barbieri, violin - c. 1820
Camillo Camilli, violin - c. 1740	Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, small violin - 1810/20
Camillo Camilli, violin - 1746	Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, small violin - 1825
Camillo Camilli, violin (undated)	Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, violin - 1827
Camillo Camilli, violin - c. 1745/50	Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, violin - 1830
Camillo Camilli, violin (undated)	Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, cello (attributed)
Circle of Camillo Camilli, violin	Circle of Giuseppe Dall'Aglio, violin
Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - c. 1755	Sante Coppi, viola (attributed)
Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - c. 1755	Sante Coppi, violin - 1846
Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - 1763	Circle of Sante Coppi, violin
Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - 1767	
Tommaso Balestrieri, violin - 1768	Mantova School, violin
	Lombardy School, double bass

## Room B - From Gaetano Dionelli to the XX century

Gaetano Dionelli, small violin - 1853	Gaetano Gadda, violin - 1928
Gaetano Dionelli, double bass - 1860	Gaetano Gadda, violin - 1939
Gaetano Dionelli, cello - 1864	Gaetano Gadda, violin - 1948
Circle of Gaetano Dionelli, viola	Gaetano Gadda, violin - 1950
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1887	Oreste Martini, violin - 1925
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1890	Oreste Martini, viola - 1933
Stefano Scarpella, violin - c. 1890	
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1893	Rodolfo Melli, violin - 1929
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1903	
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1906	Vasco Pecchini, violin - 1963
Stefano Scarpella, cello (undated)	
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1916	Bruno Barbieri, violin - 1973
Stefano Scarpella, small violin - 1917	Bruno Barbieri, violin - 1986
Stefano Scarpella, violin - 1918	
Circle of Stefano Scarpella, violin (after Dall'Aglio)	Mario Daoglio, violin - 1977
Gaetano Gadda, violin - 1924	Mario Gadda, cello - 1978
Gaetano Gadda, cello - 1927	Mario Gadda, violin - 1998

## Liutai Mantovani 1680-1870

### PIETRO GUARNERI

Born on February 18<sup>th</sup> 1655 in Cremona, son of Andrea Guarneri and Anna Maria Orcelli, from a family of prominent musicians. Married Caterina Sassagni in 1677; where and in which parish yet unknown. Moved to Mantova in 1679. This is the last year he appeared in his father's census in S. Matteo; the following year a daughter was born in Mantova.

In 1682 he acquired the rights to the monopoly for string making in Mantova, which was confirmed in 1692, and in March 1685 he received a Ducal appointment as a violin and viol player in the Court orchestra as the successor of the viol player Francesco Scalfoni. He later reported that this was specifically to the ensemble of the *Duchessa*. This appointment was reaffirmed in 1690. However, it is not known whether this position continued after the overthrow of the Duke in 1707.

In 1694, he acquired a house on the *contrada* Monte Negro in the parish of S. Lorenzo – one of the few *liutai* in Mantova to be able to do so. Prior to that date, he had always lived in that parish but in a house close to his future home. Caterina Sassagni died in 1693, and in May 1694 he married his second wife, Lucia Borrani, from a prominent family from Guastalla. In August 1698 Pietro went to Cremona to settle with his brother a compensation of 600 *lire* for having been left out of his father's will, a measure to which the father Andrea consented. While there, he acted as godfather of his nephew Bartolomeo Giuseppe, born on August 21<sup>st</sup> 1698. In August 1700 the agreement between the two brothers was formalized in further detail, and Pietro, who is defined a public merchant, obtained an interest of five percent until his brother had paid him the sum owed. In 1708, Pietro and his brother Giuseppe settled again the heritage left by their parents. Giuseppe was at the time residing in Mantova, hosted by his brother, and they both signed the agreement on September 27<sup>th</sup> 1708, in the presence of the notary Giovanni Cotti.

Pietro died on March 26<sup>th</sup> 1720 and was buried on the following day. He wrote his will the day before his death, in front of the notary Ludovico Mazzi. From the document we learn that several of his sons and daughters followed the ecclesiastic path. The same notary Ludovico Mazzi made the inventory of the contents of the house and workshop. The shop contained violoncellos, bows, strings, guitars, theorbos, lutes, viols, one harp. These were probably not all made by Pietro. By the hand of Guarneri we find 15 finished violins, plus one in the white and one unfinished. Pietro was also probably the maker of some of the bows listed. Other objects include workshop tools and luxury items, such as jewelry. The inventory reflects the possessions of a cultivated man, including books and oil paintings. All his major properties were divided in equal parts between his wife and a daughter still living in the household, Isabella.

His hand is detectable in some of his father's work dating from the period 1670-1678. No known instruments are labeled with his name in Cremona. He was probably the first violin maker to live in Mantova, but probably worked as a part-time maker. No violas or cellos are currently identified as his work, although there were at one time perhaps three celli, but there are several five-string viols (Hills possessed one dated 1689). At the times of the Hill book about 50 violins made by him were known. These tended to bunch into two groups: works from the 1680s and early 1690s, including a series of ornamented instruments, and works from the late 1700s and 1710s, the period after the Gonzagas were overthrown.

### FRANCESCO BARBIERI

Most early sources describe this maker as having worked in Verona, not Mantova, in the later 1700s, but Lütgendorff thought that his actual working place was Mantova, on the basis of labels seen on instruments dated from 1698 until 1750.

Tracing him has been difficult because of the large number of people by this name. We have several possibilities for his identity: a Francesco Barbieri was born in Mantova on Sept. 22 1695; another who died in 1735 at age 36; yet another died in 1807 at age 55. This last provides an interesting supposition inasmuch as he had a son named Pietro. There was even a Francesco Maria Barbieri who was rector of the Cathedral. Curiously, while parish priest in the parish of S. Simone, he performed the marriages of both Antonio Zanotti and Tommaso Balestrieri.

#### ANTONIO ZANOTTI

Antonio Zanotti was born in Abbazia Ceretto (Lodi) on August 1<sup>st</sup> 1695, the son of Alessandro and Margarita Malherba. The family remained there until after 1698, at which time we lose all trace of them.

On his labels, Zanotti stated that he was a pupil of Girolamo Amati II; if so, his training had to be outside of Cremona during the period 1705-15, but no evidence has been found to confirm this. The first indication of Zanotti in Mantova is from 1724, as the parish census for S. Barnaba, and several months later he married Lucrezia Oliva in the parish of S. Barnaba. The act suggests that he had lived in Mantova for at least a few years. She died the following year, and in 1726 he married Lucia Tremignoni in the parish of S. Simone, and in 1729 moved into the parish of S. Lorenzo.

In December 1731, he entered into an agreement with Camillo Camilli. Antonio was then living on *contrada* Leopardo in the parish of S. Lorenzo. The agreement appears more as a non-compete agreement and is heavily weighted against Camilli. It lasted into 1732 but collapsed before the following year. On 10 March 1734, Antonio “Zanoni”, husband of Lucia Tremignoni, died in the parish of S. Lorenzo. He was 38 years old.

The earliest known instrument is dated from 1726, and while there are no doubt mislabeled and misdated instruments in existence, we know that all labels dated after 1734 are false.

#### CAMILLO CAMILLI

He was born in Monte di Malo, in the mountains north of Vicenza, on 8 November 1703. His father was a tenant farmer. Shortly after his birth, the family moved to Montecchio Maggiore, the home of his mother, and from there to other towns in the territory of Verona. In 1714, they settled in Due Castelli (Castelbelforte), on the border between the Mantova and Verona territories, where his father managed a farm until his death in 1728. To all appearances, Camillo worked with his father until that time.

In December 1731, he entered into the agreement with Zanotti and moved into the latter’s house in Mantova. He was there in 1731 but by 1732 had returned to Castelbelforte. In March 1734, his mother and son by his first marriage had died there, and since Zanotti had also died, he returned to Mantova, where we find him living close to Zanotti’s widow. From this time onward he remained in Mantova, marrying two more times, in 1735 and 1740, this last wife outliving him. He lived mostly in rented spaces in the parish of S. Lorenzo, ultimately in a shop on the *contrada* Monte Negro, where he died on October 21<sup>st</sup> 1754, just shy of his 51<sup>st</sup> birthday. The municipal death act recorded that he had been ill for over a year.

The earliest known date of a violin by Camilli in 1729, the latest, 1751. A few celli are known by him but most all of his known work consists of violins.

#### TOMMASO BALESTRIERI

He was born on 17 November 1713 to Jacopo “Balestrelli” and Angela Badagni in the village of Viustino in the Val di Nura, south of Piacenza. His family subsequently lived in various small villages in the area and finally settled in S. Giorgio Piacentino. In 1729, he left S. Giorgio for Mantova, where he became a *lacchè* in the service of the Marchese Basilio Gonzaga. He remained in his service until 1748, when he entered into similar service to the Marchese Ambrogio Spinola. After 1751, he departed that house, and we have no record of him in Mantova until 1755, when he moved into a house across from the *Palazzo Canossa*, home of Marchese Spinola.

From 1755 to 1773, he lived on the *contrada* Monte Negro, first just outside of S. Lorenzo, then in a house across from where the Camilli shop had been. From 1774 to 1778 he still lived on the same street but across from the church of S. Simone. From 1779 to 1790, he lived on a side street within the parish of S. Lorenzo, after which he moved to several different locations far south in the parish of S. Barnaba, where he died on 18 May 1796.

Balestrieri seems to have been one of the most active *liutai* in Mantova, although his residence circumstances suggest that he was not financially well-off. A large number of violins are known, as well as several violas and a few celli. His earliest dated instrument is believed to date from 1753, although a dating of 1758 might be more accurate: it was that year that he joined the *falegname* as a *violinaro*. His latest dated violin is from 1795.

#### CARLO STEFFANINI

He was born in Luzzara, in the territory of Reggio, on 26 February 1731. It is not known when he moved to Mantova, although a mandolin of 1778 is known. In 1774, two unknown men named Steffanini were living

in Tommaso Balestrieri’s home; we do not know their relationship to Carlo. In 1787, he registered with the chamber of commerce as a maker of strings, and was described in his parish census as a *violinaro*. He died in the *Spedale Grande* on 31 March 1791.

#### ALESSANDRO ZANTI

He was born in Reggio, the son of Antonio Zanti and Edvige Bedogna, on 26 January 1771. In the later 1770s, the family moved to Mantova, where his father was an *orologiaio* (clock maker), Alessandro studied violin under Antonio Orlandi at the conservatory in Mantova and later with Mattia Milani, who in 1784 petitioned for his admission into the orchestra. He later became a prominent musician and leader of the orchestra, and in 1791 into the *Regia Cappella* and *Regio Teatro* ensembles. He died on August 9, 1819, at just 48 years.

Zanti was an amateur violin maker – only a few instruments are known from his hands. His connections to the trade are incidental but telling. In the Easter census of 1796, Tommaso Balestrieri was a guest in the Zanti home (he died in his own home a month later). In 1801, Giuseppe Dall’Aglio was godfather to his second daughter. However, there is no evidence of further connections between these three. The most likely scenario for his training is of his having received some instruction from Balestrieri who appears to have been a family friend.

#### PIETRO BARBIERI

Pietro Barbieri is as shadowy as Francesco Barbieri. The most likely candidates for his identity are a Pietro Barbieri, born December 8 1786 to a Francesco Barbieri (the one who died in 1807 noted earlier). No death date for him is yet known. There is also another Pietro Barbieri, born in 1791, who died in the parish of S. Barnaba in 1823. One of these two might have been the one who studied violin with Laura Milani, Mattia’s daughter, at the *Accademia* from 1805 to 1809.

To all indications, like Zanti, Pietro Barbieri was also an amateur violin maker. He is known from two violins, one with an original label of 1817 and another with a date of 1820.

#### GIUSEPPE DALL’AGLIO (DALAGLIO, also in dialect DALAJ, DALAI, or ALAJ)

Giuseppe Maria “Alaj” was born on January 13<sup>th</sup> 1774 in Boretto, in the territory of Reggio. His father was a farmer. In 1781, his mother died, and he and his older brother might have been given to other family for their upbringing. His later declarations give his date of arrival in Mantova as 1781, but possibly in Viadana, which he gave as his home in numerous parish census returns. In any event, there is no evidence of either Giuseppe or his brother being in Mantova prior to 1797, when his older brother married there. Giuseppe himself married the following year, and they appear in the parish census, the brother as a *facchino* (porter) and Giuseppe as a *carroziere* (coachman).

An interest in violin making must have arisen early, although not professionally. He was godfather to one of Zanti’s daughters in 1801. While French records of the period 1806-14 refer to him as a *violinaro*, he was generally called a *falegname* in the parish census until 1810.

In 1806, his wife died, and the following year he married Teresa Coppi, from a family of some financial means, and moved into their home on the *contrada* Rozzi in the parish of S. Barnaba. His new brother-in-law Sante Coppi soon also took an interest in violins, and by 1815 both were active as violin makers. That year, Coppi moved into the parish of S. Andrea (the replacement to the ancient parish of S. Lorenzo), where Dall’Aglio joined him in 1822 on the via Magistrato. From this date until 1840, they lived together or in close proximity. In 1839, Teresa Coppi died, and Giuseppe moved in with his daughter and her husband. When they both died in 1850, he moved once again, and in 1852 was recorded as retired in the police census. He appears to have had a long illness, and he died on March 1, 1855 in a nursing home for the indigent.

Dall’Aglio had a long and active career, although most reliably dated labels are from 1814 to 1830.

#### SANTE COPPI

Sante Coppi was born on September 21, 1787. His father was a successful mason, rebuilding and remodeling houses around Mantova. This was the profession that Sante pursued until after his sister Teresa married Giuseppe Dall’Aglio. By 1815 he had become a violin maker, working in close communications with Dall’Aglio, and in 1816 moved into the commercial district in the parish of S. Andrea. By 1819, he was settled into a house on the via Magistrato. Here he was active as a violin maker until the mid-1830s, when he seems to have become more

of a merchant of instruments and musical wares, and in the late 1840s becoming an art dealer. He died in the home he acquired on the via Magistrato on February 26, 1867.

Coppi's instruments are very rare – a few violins, with reliable dates of 1815 and 1821, and a guitar from 1846.

#### GIUSEPPE CERUTI

After a long career in Cremona, Giuseppe Ceruti, his wife Amalia Boccalari, and his daughters Elisa and Clato moved to Mantova around 1844. That year he was listed in the *Diario di Mantova* as a musical instrument maker, working from a rented workshop near the *Teatro Sociale*. In 1850, his wife died, and around the same time Clato married the notary Pietro Bignami who was living in Mantova but who was a native of San Benedetto Po. That year, a planned insurrection against the ruling Austrians resulted in mass arrests. Perhaps as a result of this, the entire family appears to have moved to S. Benedetto, where they remained until around 1855. They then went to Bozzolo, as indicated by a manuscript label of 1855, and in the fall of 1856 returned to Mantova, where Giuseppe died on August 31, 1860.

Giuseppe's activities in Mantova were hardly centered around violin making; he was described as a *macchinista* (machinist) and as a *fabbricante d'istrumenti geodetici* (maker of geodesic instruments). He also patented a self-turning music stand. Nonetheless, there are a handful of instruments from the 1856-60 period bearing labels of Mantova.

As for the presumption that he was probably assisted by Gaetano Antoniazzi, no firm evidence has been found linking the two. Antoniazzi preceded Ceruti by a year and may have left before Ceruti's death, and during those years they never lived in any proximity to one another.

#### GAETANO DIONELLI

The Dionelli family was engaged in the trade of fruit selling, which was the profession of Gaetano's father Anselmo as well as his sister. Anselmo followed other directions but never strayed far from his family, always living in the immediate vicinity of the *Mercato Vecchio*, today the piazza Garibaldi, in the parish of S. Apollonia. Here Gaetano was born on July 27, 1808. While he had an interest in violins, it proved never to be a professional endeavor. In his police census of 1832, he was described as a *fabbricante di violini*, but in his parish census returns, he was always called a day laborer or a mason, and after 1840 as a leather worker or tanner. In his 1852 police statement, he was first called a fruit seller, then a leather tanner, and finally all were crossed off and below was written 'now violin maker'. This change in title may have something to do with Dall'Aglio's retirement. He died on June 21, 1870.

The earliest reliable date in an instrument by Dionelli is 1853, the date of a child's sized violin. In the late 1850s, he began work on a quintet of instruments for the Conservatorio, of which the cello and bass still remain in their possession.



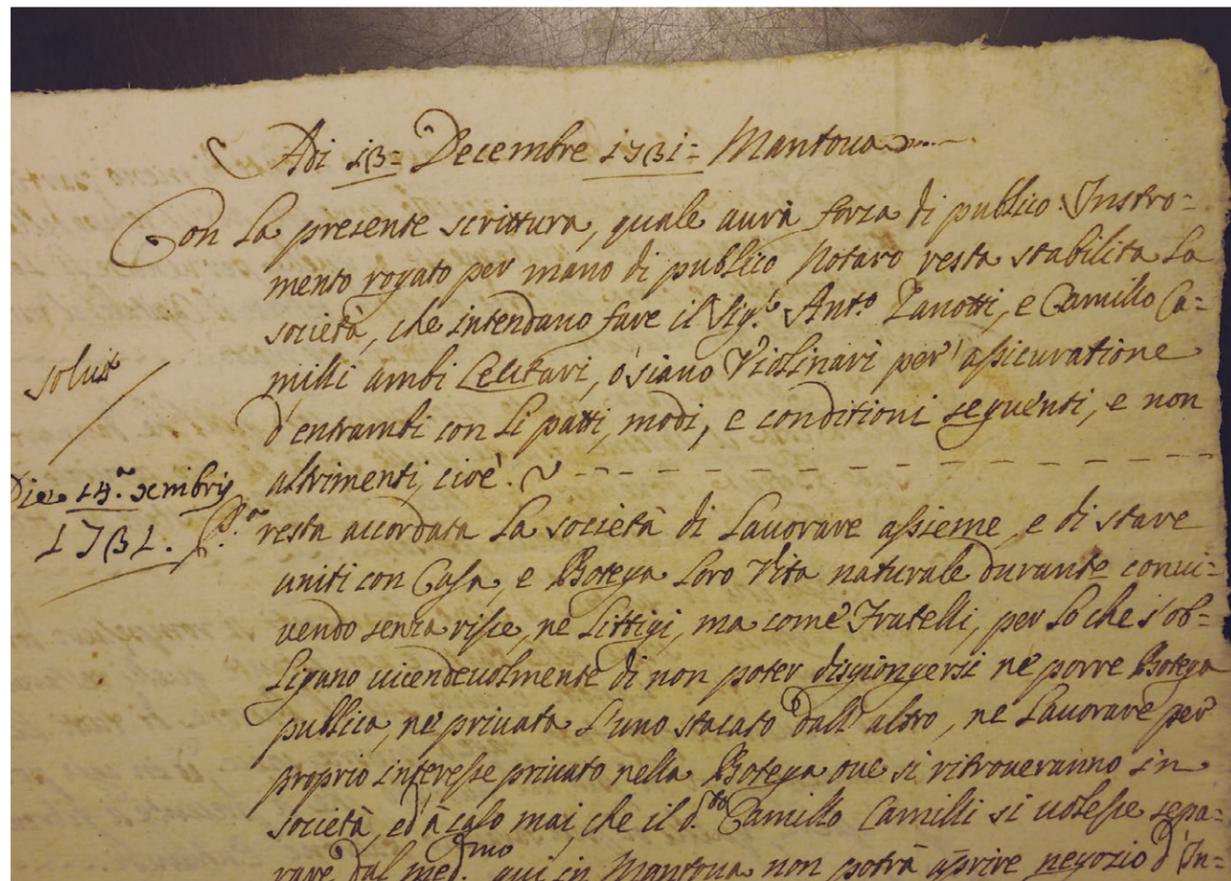
# TWO GENTLEMEN OF MANTUA

New research into the lives of 18th-century luthiers Antonio Zanotti and Camillo Camilli reveals a fascinating business relationship forged in a challenging period for Mantuan makers, as **PHILIP KASS** explains

**O**N 13 DECEMBER 1731, TWO VIOLIN MAKERS met before a notary in the duchy of Mantua in Lombardy, northern Italy, to make an agreement regarding their mutual future prosperity. What makes this legal act so unusual is that such agreements were rarely if ever registered with a notary. Furthermore, the act sheds light on a particularly vague period in violin making in Mantua, and on the association between two of the most significant Mantuan makers: Antonio Zanotti and Camillo Camilli.

The violin world has always presumed an association between these two makers, mostly on the basis of a stylistic similarity. Because known works of Zanotti date mostly from the 1720s to about 1744, and Camilli's works from the late 1720s until the early 1750s, our presumption has been that Zanotti was the teacher of Camilli. However, their exact relationship has never been clarified. With co-researcher Andrea Zanrè, I hoped to cast light on the relationship between the two makers this summer.

Giovanni Livi, who conducted the Italian research that the Hill brothers incorporated into their books on Stradivari and the Guarneri family, did some of his research in Mantua, but this focused primarily on Pietro Guarneri (1655–1720). The small ▶



Zanotti and Camilli are referred to on the first page of the act as 'Leutari, o siani Violinari'. The date of 14 December 1731 is visible in the margin

snippets of information about Zanotti and Camilli that arose from this research appeared as tantalising footnotes in the Guarneri family book, and these have been the basis of our understanding of these makers ever since.

Further complicating the picture is the relative dearth of instruments bearing Zanotti's label, and a contrasting surfeit of those labelled as Camilli's. As a result, Camilli's star has glowed brighter, resulting in a number of Zanotti's instruments, with or without intact original labels, probably having been relabelled.

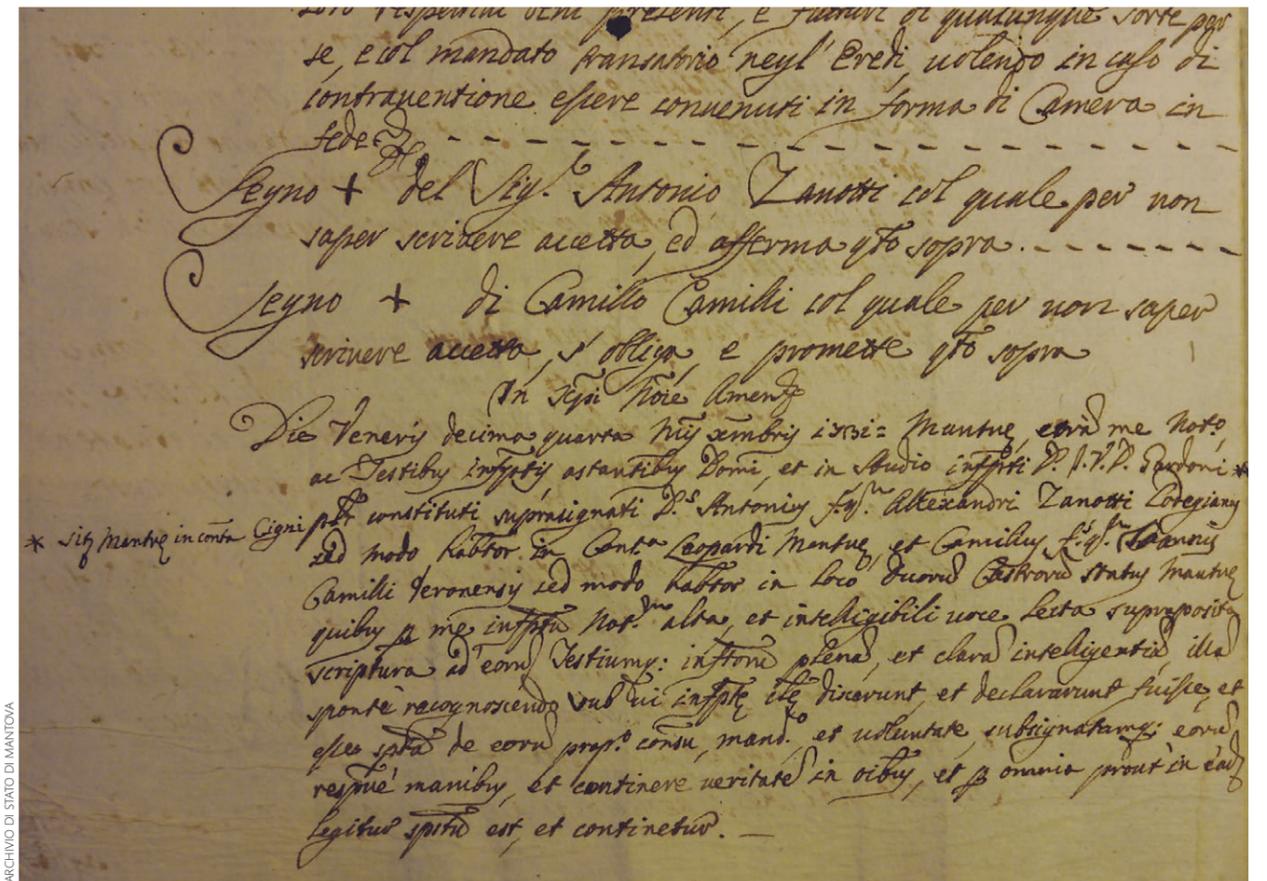
**THE TWO MAKERS PRESENT** an interesting juxtaposition. In the notary document, Zanotti was described as 'Lodigensis', from Lodi, and as the son of Alessandro. This confirmed what the Hills had stated, that Antonio Zanotti was born in Ceretto, in the province of Lodi, northwest of Cremona, around 1690–5. This proved strikingly accurate, for our research in Ceretto has revealed that Antonio Zanotti, the son of Alessandro Zanotti and Margherita Malherba, was born there on 1 August 1695. It is not yet clear when his family moved to Mantua. However, Antonio had entered into transactions in Mantua as early as 1715, when he was just 20. There are indications that he held some stature, perhaps in the military, and his name is preceded in the act by the letter D, an honorific applied to an individual of stature; no such reference was made concerning Camilli. Antonio's address was given as the Contrada Leopardi, directly in the centre of the Mantuan commercial district,

Although the document does not state firmly that Camilli was Zanotti's pupil, it comes very, very close

today bounded by the Via Camillo Benso Cavour and the Via Giuseppe Verdi, facing the Piazza delle Erbe and very close to the Palazzo Ducale.

It should be noted that, although there is a definite Guarneri stylistic influence on all of the key Mantuan makers, Zanotti, who always cited his 'Lodigiane' origins on his labels, also stated that he had been a pupil of Girolamo Amati II. Amati had returned to Cremona in around 1715, when Zanotti was 20; prior to 1715 he had been living outside Cremonese territory, most likely near Piacenza or Parma, south of the Po river. A Zanotti apprenticeship with Girolamo in this area is plausible, if not yet documentable.

Camilli, on the other hand, was from the territory of Verona. He was described in the act as the son of the late Joannes, 'Veronensis', and then living in Due Castelli, today the town of Castelbelforte. Situated six miles north-east of Mantua,



Both Camilli and Zanotti put an X next to their names, neither of them being literate

the town was once the site of two castles that confronted one another across the border between Mantua and Verona. Camilli had clearly only recently arrived in Mantua, and does not appear in any civil or church records prior to the December 1731 date of the act. Aged 26, he was also hardly in the first flush of youth.

This is why the notary document is so significant: it explains much of the association between these two makers, for although it does not state firmly that Camilli was Zanotti's pupil, it comes very, very close. At the same time, it provides a fascinating set of insights into the commercial behaviour and associations of the time.

**THE NOTARY IDENTIFIED** the two parties to the agreement as 'Leutari, that is, violin makers', and indicated that the purpose of the act was to provide for their mutual protection in their profession. Their 'Society' is created to enable them to work 'as Brothers', living and working together in perpetuity. At the same time, the agreement seems designed to prevent competition between them, as all their activities are intended to be shared evenly between the two. From there on, though, the act makes it very clear that the senior partner to the agreement is unquestionably Zanotti. If Camilli ever wished to cancel the agreement, he would be barred from opening an independent workshop in Mantua. All further terms seem guaranteed to confirm that senior position, with Camilli's actions proscribed to a more supporting role, even while the equal sharing is continually restated.

Since the act would not come into effect before January of 1732, their joint production is more clearly spelt out. We learn that Zanotti has already made four violins; to these Camilli may add another four violins, and all eight are to be sold, with their proceeds to be equally divided between the two. All future instruments made by either one would also have their proceeds shared. Once the agreement takes effect, both are to work with diligence, 'with every attention and care', and the proceeds are to be evenly split. Even their homes are to be seen in this light, an exception being made for their food. However, Zanotti's dominance is reinforced in that he alone was to handle sales.

Even in the event of illness, the partnership remains in effect. The healthy partner is to continue working for their mutual benefit. This extends to their additional commerce, such as strings and accessories, and even to the annual fairs that were so integral to life in those years, since a great deal of the commerce in agrarian-based societies is focused around the collection and sale of the harvest, and hence most of the next year's purchases would be made at that one time. The act stipulates that both makers are required to attend these fairs, and the proceeds after expenses would then be evenly divided.

At this stage in the agreement, we find intriguing evidence of an apprenticeship, but not what we would expect. Rather, Camilli accepted the need to provide some form of compensation to an apprentice, who was at that moment not yet capable of being of service to the workshop. We need not speculate as to who this individual was, for he appeared in Zanotti's household in

▶ A 1739 violin by Camillo Camilli



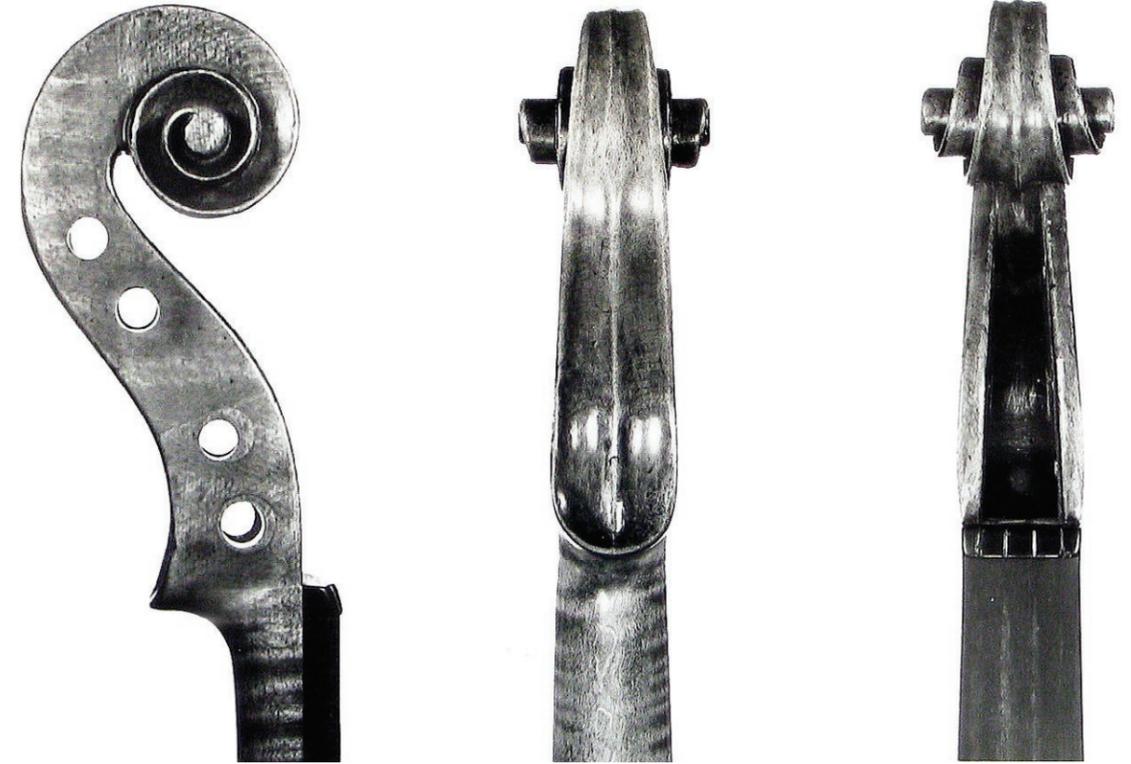
the church census of 1731. His name was, curiously, Giuseppe Antonio Fiorini. His origins never appear, and whether he might have been related to the Fiorinis of Bologna is entirely speculative. What is clear is that Camilli was financially responsible for these payments, although it is unclear if the apprentice was engaged to assist both Camilli and Zanotti; an allusion to some formal pact is made but not clarified.

As for tools, the act stipulates that they are all the property of their owner (the word used is *Padrone*), Zanotti, and if any are broken or damaged, the party responsible must replace them at his own expense. It is particularly interesting that the tools are all described as the property of Zanotti, suggesting that he had a pre-existing and well-equipped workshop, and not the property of Camilli, who did not appear to bring his own tools to the partnership, thus implying that he had not at that stage yet begun to work professionally. However, as the two makers acquired or made new tools, these new ones would become their joint property.

Finally, the notary reiterated that the partnership had force even with regard to the makers' heirs, so that any future divisions after their deaths must be worked out in a similar private legal manner. At this point, both principals to the agreement signed their Xs on the document, neither of them being literate.

**ONE WONDERS WHETHER** such a document today could be enforced, let alone honoured. It is so categorically lopsided in Zanotti's favour that one wonders how long Camilli would have been willing to abide by its terms. Nonetheless, the two made a good stab at it. In the 1732 church census, we find Zanotti, his wife and his son Francesco, sharing their home with Camilli and Giuseppe Antonio Fiorini. This situation seems to have fallen apart almost immediately. By 1733 only Zanotti and his family remained in the house; both Camilli and the apprentice had left. The following year, we see some indication of financial hardship, for where once the entire house was occupied by the Zanottis, they now shared it with three other family groups, including one with children and a widow. By 1735 the Zanottis were gone. Presumably, financial pressures forced them into cheaper lodgings in another as yet unknown part of town, and thereafter we have no records, civil or ecclesiastical, to reveal their fate until 1756, when Francesco, his wife, and his mother, described as the widow of Antonio Zanotti, reappeared in a parish census on the outskirts of Mantua. No traces of their movements between these dates have yet been found.

While early writers have always been vague about Camilli, and while information on his early years remains so, the rest of his career becomes much better known from this point on. After leaving Zanotti's house he returned to Castelbelforte, and from there to Trevenzuolo, where his mother now lived. He was married there, and his wife gave birth to a child who died almost immediately after being baptised by the midwife. Just days later, Camilli's mother also died, followed by his wife. By 1735 he had returned to Mantua (suggesting that Zanotti might have left Mantua by that time), where later that year he married a woman named Angela Riolfatti. They had several children, of whom all but one, a daughter, died in infancy. In 1740 Angela died, and six weeks later Camilli remarried again, this time to a local woman named Elizabetta Morandi, and they started



▶ Scroll of a 1732 violin by Antonio Zanotti. The scroll eye is distinctly flattened, in comparison with those of Camilli's violins

a family, of which no child survived. His daughter with Riolfatti did, however, outlast her father by 15 years.

Throughout this period, Camilli's family remained in a home and workshop in the same district in which he had first worked with Zanotti, and it was here that Camilli died on 21 October 1754 at the age of about 50. He had been ill for a year prior to his death and so it is unlikely that there are Camilli instruments made in 1754. By the following year, the rest of his family had all left the district. While their home often housed other families besides their own, it is significant that no apprentices appear among the names found there; in particular, we find no evidence there of anyone by the name of Tommaso Balestrieri, whom we customarily assume to have been his pupil.

**WHEN WE EXAMINE THIS STORY** in light of the lineage of Mantuan violin making, a few curious features appear. Firstly, not one of the first four important violin makers of Mantua was actually born there; indeed, up to the end of the 19th century only Gaetano Dionelli, who was employed in violin making for only a short period and whose work is only sporadically seen, was born in Mantua. Secondly, we can easily see the beginnings of the circumstances by which Zanotti's and Camilli's instrument making became intertwined, for we cannot know with certainty which of their instruments were originally labelled with the other's name as part of the partnership terms.

Also, our notion of a lineage of craft, of masters training apprentices, falls apart when confronted with the evidence: Zanotti's first appearance living near Pietro Guarneri occurred

only in 1725, five years after Guarneri's death. Similarly, during the periods when an apprenticeship should have occurred, we find no trace of Balestrieri living near to Camilli, nor do any documents suggest that the former was involved in the craft (*lache*, meaning lackey or valet, is the term used to describe Balestrieri in records), and this story repeats itself when considering Dionelli's assumed apprenticeship with his older Mantuan contemporary, Giuseppe Dall'Aglio.

Even with Zanotti and Camilli, the idea of an apprenticeship is strained. Camilli was nowhere around prior to his sudden appearance in the act, in which he was described as a foreigner without Mantuan residence. An apprenticeship, such as it might have been, either had to have occurred during that fitful year in Zanotti's house or at some other location outside town. We have reason to suspect this could be true, as some Zanotti labels exist on which, rather than a city, he gave his residence as 'nel Mantoano', in the Mantuan countryside; perhaps it is to this as yet unknown locale that he returned in 1735.

The effort of these two makers to find some terms for coexistence also hints at something else that one must consider about the period in which they lived: a very weak demand for violins. An active trade should certainly have supported two shops, and yet there clearly seems to have been concern over a saturation of the market. As it is, neither created many instruments. Camilli, the more gifted and successful of the two, made over a hundred, which is a reasonable output for a career of a little over two decades, but still averages only five violins a year, and violas and cellos from his hand are unknown. Zanotti is remembered for barely a dozen instruments. ■



Despite spending almost half his working life as a servant, Tommaso Balestrieri became the most productive luthier in 18th-century Mantua. **Philip Kass** and **Andrea Zanrè** unearth the facts behind the mysterious maker's life

**I**n around 1730, a young man from the Italian countryside left home to find work in one of the big cities. He found employment as a servant in one of the noble palaces, and continued in this work for other nobles over the next two decades. This story, so often repeated in Italian history, would normally not interest us, except that in this case the young man was named Tommaso Balestrieri.

The early history of Balestrieri was little known until recently, but much light has now been shed on it through our continued research in Mantua and elsewhere in the Po Valley. It proved to be quite different from what had always been supposed, but also in many particulars quite similar to that of another important master of the later 18th century: Giovanni Battista Guadagnini.

Guadagnini was born and raised among the farms in the Val Tidone, south-west of Piacenza, and Tommaso 'Balastrelli' came from a similar background. His valley was the Val Nure, to the south-east of Piacenza, and particularly the villages in the area around the towns of San Giorgio Piacentino and Carpaneto. It was in one of these villages, Viustino, that Tommaso was born

on the night of 16 November 1713. His father's profession is uncertain, but the town was, and remains, overwhelmingly agricultural in character, and so employment in farming was virtually the only opportunity available. However, as we shall see, there is also the possibility that Tommaso's father worked as a valet or in some other capacity in the livery. The family had some relations scattered through the area: Viustino was home to a family of cousins, one of whom was also the parish priest. They remained in the village for a few more years and then, like Guadagnini's family, they left for other nearby villages, where ready employment could presumably be found. By 1720, when Tommaso's brother Giuseppe was born, they were in the village of Centovera. This is not the same Joseph Balestrieri from Piacenza who later became a 'master turner' and who made at least one violin for the Spanish court in the 1750s, but of course a mere coincidence is unlikely and further research in the Madrid and Piacenza archives is needed. From Centovera the Balestrieris moved to the larger town of San Giorgio, closer to Piacenza, where they appear to have remained for a longer period. >



**Top** The church of San Bartolomeo in Viustino, where Tommaso Balestrieri was baptised on 16 November 1713

**Right** Balestrieri lived and worked in the right-hand shop on the via Cicogna, Mantua, from 1759–73

**Far right** The maker's home and workshop from 1774–7



Between 1729 and 1731, by his own declaration, Tommaso left San Giorgio and made his way to Mantua. By this time the city, capital of the Duchy of Mantua, had ceased to be ruled by its historic noble house, the Gonzaga family, and had become a rather sleepy backwater in the Holy Roman Empire and specifically in the expansive empire ruled by the Habsburg family from Vienna. There were still Gonzagas present, indeed many old noble families, but they no longer held the reins of power, and most decisions of court were made by Austrian legates appointed by the Emperor.

We cannot tell whether Balestrieri arrived in Mantua to seek employment or if he arrived with an appointment in hand, but shortly after his arrival he entered the service of Count Alberiggi di Quaranta, close to the city walls. He was appointed to the position of *lacchè*, in English a 'lackey', which in those days denoted a role of some minor distinction with a somewhat fancy uniform. A *lacchè*'s responsibilities were those of a personal valet to the nobleman, who would presumably travel with him, carry his luggage, and run in front of his carriage to clear the way for its noble occupant. In any event, Mantua had a limited amount of trade in the lutherie profession and it seems unlikely that it could have supported more than one *liutaio* at a time. The previous attempt at finding an inter-workshop agreement, that between Antonio Zanotti and Camillo de Camilli (see *The Strad*, November 2014), had ended with the latter's departure from the city, and it was only after Zanotti's untimely death on 10 March 1734 that de Camilli returned. Thereafter, it was he who dominated the trade until his own death 20 years later.

Whereas de Camilli at least had a brief chance to see Zanotti's working methods from inside the workshop it does not appear that Balestrieri had a similar chance with de Camilli, although it is quite possible that he could have visited his shop on occasion. The duties and responsibilities of a *lacchè* would have prevented a formal apprenticeship, and archival documents seem to exclude such a relationship.

This also does not mean that Tommaso would have had no contact with fine violins. The famed collection of Cremonese instruments that belonged to Count Vincenzo Carbonelli had been in Mantua for some years, and after 1741 belonged to Carbonelli's heir, Count Pomponio di Spilimbergo. He in turn gave them to his nephew, Count Giuseppe Malatesta Palazzi, who in 1741 was Tommaso's employer.

Around 1736 Tommaso was joined by his younger brother Giovanni Battista, who entered the service of this same noble family. By 1743, the year he married Teresa Vicini, Tommaso had left Palazzi's service and was working for Basilio Gonzaga, the Marquess of Luzzara, who had a large palace near the main causeway across the broad waters that surround Mantua and provided its protection from invasion. The causeway was lined with buildings belonging to the ducal court, most of them devoted to woodworking, as it included sluices for water power that could run woodcutting machinery.

Tommaso's new marital status might perhaps have allowed him lighter duties than those visited on a *lacchè*, for we now find the couple living outside the palace but always close to it. It is telling, though, that throughout these years he continued in service to nobility. After leaving the service of Count Palazzi

in 1748, he entered the service of the Marquess Spinola, whose retinue occupied the Palazzo Canossa, which remains a celebrated landmark in the city today. From this date, he occupied a house in an alley behind the palazzo.

We should also note that it was during these years that the family name finally began to stabilise. In the Val Nure, the family had been the Balastrellis; in San Giorgio, 'Balastrieri' had come into use, and during the 1740s the name went back and forth between 'Balastrelli' and 'Balastrieri'. Finally, in the 1750s, Tommaso settled on the form 'Balestrieri'. This was the name of a distinguished noble family from Piacenza and was the form that would appear on his labels. However, this did not stop one parish priest from spelling it 'Valestrieri' for over 20 years.

It was around 1750–2 that a significant change seems to have taken place in his living circumstances. From 1755 the Balestrieri family lived in a house directly across the street from the front door of the Palazzo Canossa, at the head of the via Cicogna. This was a commercial street where violin makers had resided ever since 1694, when Pietro Guarneri (1655–1720)

## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A LACCHÈ WOULD HAVE PREVENTED A FORMAL APPRENTICESHIP

had acquired a house there. Camillo de Camilli's workshop had been across the street from Pietro's, about halfway between the church of San Andrea and the Palazzo Canossa.

Tommaso continued keeping a home and workshop in this area of Mantua, never more than a hundred yards away from this first homestead in the via Cicogna, until almost the end of his life, when he moved closer to his brother's home and to the *ospedale* where his wife not long afterwards died. He himself died at home; he was identified by his parish priest as an 'artista', dying on 18 May 1796 aged 82, after a protracted illness of three months' duration.

As we consider Balestrieri's early years, however, we find several troubling matters regarding his circumstances. First, there is the issue of where he received his training. While it has long been considered that he was a pupil of Camillo de Camilli, there are several problems with these presumptions. De Camilli never had an apprentice living in his house; arguably, the consistency of his style suggests he had no apprentice at all. Balestrieri, meanwhile, remained in service that would have prevented his taking time away from work to engage in such training. Furthermore, it is only in 1755, the year after de Camilli died, that Balestrieri lived close enough to his workshop for any regular communications between the two, and only in 1759, when he moved into a shop further down the via Cicogna, that they even lived in the same parish. Then there is the evident lack of adequate commerce to support taking >

An early Balestrieri violin made for a noble family, with what is thought to be its original case



## BALESTRIERI MADE ALMOST AS MANY INSTRUMENTS AS DE CAMILLI, ZANOTTI AND PIETRO GUARNERI COMBINED

an apprentice, let alone supporting a second shop. How can we reconcile this with Balestrieri's emergence as a major artist?

For answers, we must return to his former countryman Giovanni Battista Guadagnini (1711–86). After years spent in the countryside, he arrived in Piacenza and, seemingly overnight, became the *liutaio* we all know today. This is perhaps less surprising than it might seem, as one sees a similar process among the woodworkers and lute makers of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. Confronted with a finished instrument, they drew on their skills in their respective crafts and used them to emulate what was at hand. This frequently did not include inspecting the interior, so on that score they invented their own systems to yield a consistent and reproducible result. We see this in the myriad methods and materials employed in differing ways in every town.

With Guadagnini, his basic skills probably arose from the woodworking skills required of building and maintaining both farm buildings and farm equipment. This gave the basis on which a specialised article such as a violin could be conceived

and crafted. What stayed consistent in his work, and in that of all the other luthiers as well, was the method of internal construction he used. With few exceptions it remained fairly consistent, regardless of the external appearance sought – and that external appearance tended to be based on some pre-existing model, some elements of personal taste, or usually some combination of the two. These ideas travelled from region to region far less often than the makers themselves. This is part of what makes old violin making so interesting: that style and construction are specific to localised areas, whereas by the 19th century, with enhanced travel, a greater dispersion of fine instruments, and an increased acceptance of 'golden period' Stradivaris as *the* model to use, style became increasingly homogenised and increasingly less specific to its origins.

There was no violin making tradition in Mantua until 1680, when the supremely gifted Pietro Guarneri arrived from Cremona – not to work as a violin maker but to be a musician. Nonetheless, he made a small number of exquisite violins, and when he died in 1720, without any pupils, he left them as his legacy. Many, if not most, of them remained in the hands of the musicians and nobles who acquired them. The form of these masterpieces became the 'official' style of the city, no doubt impressing the various violin makers who would later see them and who would base their own work on them until almost the end of the 19th century.

When Balestrieri began making violins he had a variety of models on which to base his work, not the least of which were the Carbonelli collection of instruments belonging to the Marquess Malatesta Palazzi. However, one of the Pietro Guarneris must have made a great impression on him, as he based his early

COURTESY ANDREA ZANRE

work almost entirely on Pietro's model, especially in the deep channelling, full rounded arching and edging, long corners, open rounded f-holes and deeply carved scrolls of his archetype. Only many years later did he adopt a model that was based more around a Stradivarian form. Perhaps this was in response to the general public's evolving taste in sound, but more likely it was a response to the demands of a clientele that no doubt included some of the numerous Cremonese violinists employed by the ducal court for the various musical extravaganzas held every year. Balestrieri's adaptation to a Stradivari model, though, was not a full conversion. Rather, the arching and f-hole designs changed while the outline and edging altered far less, and the scroll design hardly at all.

As far as commercial success was concerned, Tommaso might have had the most of all the Mantua makers. It is true that Pietro Guarneri was able to own his own home but he achieved this through years of saving, a long contract to the Gonzaga court, a monopoly on the sale of strings and an opportune second marriage and dowry. He certainly didn't become rich on the income from the 40 to 50 instruments he is known to have made. Zanotti, ever on the edge of poverty, was making the handful of instruments we know about over the course of just eight years. De Camilli was more successful, but made perhaps a hundred instruments. Balestrieri made almost as many as all three combined, and a wider variety as well: many violins, but also fine violas and a few cellos. While this did not make him wealthy, it did at least provide some sort of steady income. Also, he engaged in repairs and restorations, and a few instruments are known with replacement parts that reveal his handiwork. Lastly, he must have been involved to some degree in dealing, for in 1767, when the Carbonelli collection was sold, he was the only violin maker in town, and when Count Cozio di Salabue made enquiries through his agent into violins in Mantua, by necessity he made contact with Balestrieri. We must note that he was the first Mantua violin maker since Pietro Guarneri to be literate, as is revealed by his ability to correspond with Count Cozio and even to sign his letters.

Thus we have a tradition based in homage to the great maker Pietro Guarneri, but one in which master and pupil had little if any direct association – or apprenticeship as we understand it today. Zanotti arose only after Pietro Guarneri was dead; his 'training' under Pietro probably came exclusively from observing his instruments. Camillo de Camilli appeared on the scene only slightly before Zanotti died, and his 'apprenticeship' with the older master was brief and also predicated on de Camilli already being partially trained (his responsibilities

ELLEN BROUGH/TONINGLES & HAYDAY

This c.1775 Balestrieri violin sold for a record £420,000 at auction in March 2015



included helping to train Zanotti's apprentice). Balestrieri practised an entirely different profession, and he only began working as a violin maker in the waning days of de Camilli's life. Therefore, we should not be surprised to see that this tradition continued into the next century. The earliest instruments by Giuseppe Dall'Aglio (1774–1855) show almost no awareness, let alone structural imitation, of Balestrieri's work, indicating that he began working only after Balestrieri was dead. Like Balestrieri, he based his work on Pietro Guarneri, but once again his choices of materials and construction are very much at odds with those of his predecessors. But then, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, each of the masters of this fascinating tradition has in turn received his due from the Pietro Guarneri legacy. ●

*A future article will discuss the workmanship of some specific instruments made by Tommaso Balestrieri*



In the July 2015 issue of *The Strad*, we discussed the early years of Tommaso Balestrieri (1713–96): his arrival in Mantua, his activities, and ultimately his development as a violin maker. Our observation that he started in the trade after the death of Camillo de Camilli (1703–54) seems to be reinforced by a document found since the publication of that article.

In the registers of membership in the Falegnami (carpenters') guild, we found 'Tommaso Balestrieri, *violinaro*', as a full member, paying his dues of six lire for the year. What is particularly interesting to us is that the year in question is 1758, and that his membership was not continued the following year. Furthermore, this is the only case of a violin maker being recorded as a member of this guild in the entire register, which spans from the 1600s to the end of the 1700s. Indeed, no violin maker appears as a member of any of the old guilds in the Mantua registers. The suggestion is that violin makers did not need to be members of this or any guild, and that Balestrieri had seemingly joined the wrong club, only to find out after paying his dues. Had he been trained under a master there, he might have known that this was the case. Thus, this document seems to confirm that Balestrieri had only recently entered the profession *liutaio*, probably shortly after Camillo de Camilli had passed away.

However, our intention for this further examination of Tommaso Balestrieri's life and career is to look more closely at those features of >

# AN ARTIST OF DISTINCTION

The 18th-century Mantuan maker Tommaso Balestrieri cultivated a unique style that remains distinctive today. **Philip Kass** and **Andrea Zanrè** explore his form and design through close examination of a 1777 violin



his work that make it so recognisable and distinctive. We can easily do this by studying a particular example we have examined, bearing its original label of 1777, that remains in a strikingly original state of preservation and thus shows, more than any other example, what Balestrieri's intentions as a maker might have been. Indeed, Balestrieri's mature work cuts a distinct, unique figure. It is unmistakably his and reflects a strong and assertive personality. There are certain features that are drawn directly from Mantuan tradition and others that have little, if anything, in common with the Mantuan work that preceded it.

Let us begin with the label. We are acquainted with three labels that Balestrieri used through his career. The first had an elaborate decorative border of a type not previously used by a maker from Mantua. The second dispensed with that border. The third and final label inadvertently made Stradivari's mistake of printing the first three digits of the date – in Balestrieri's case, the numbers 176. Over time he dealt with the problem mostly in the same way as Stradivari – scraping off the 6 during the 1770s, adding the upper loop to the 6 in the 1780s, and scraping off the top of the 6 and adding a tail during the 1790s. The key difference is that occasionally the 6 was covered over or left in a way that exposed it over time, leading to some instruments that have five-digit dates, which have sown confusion ever since. The example discussed here follows the first expedient. Its wording is *Thomas Balestrieri Cremonensis / fecit Mantua. Anno 17 77*, the space between the 17 and 77 being that occupied by the scraped-off 6.

Right above the label is a startling discovery, a personal inscription by an individual other than the maker. This inscription states *Fr.li (Fratelli) Baguzzi / fu D.co (Domenico) Felice* ('The Brothers Baguzzi, sons of the late Domenico Felice'). The identity of these brothers remains a puzzle, as we have yet to unearth anyone by these names in Mantuan archives. They could have been owners, or perhaps dealers. The one certainty is that the same inscription appears above the label in the c.1775 violin sold last spring by Ingles & Hayday (see August 2015, page 16). Perhaps this article will elicit an answer to this mystery.

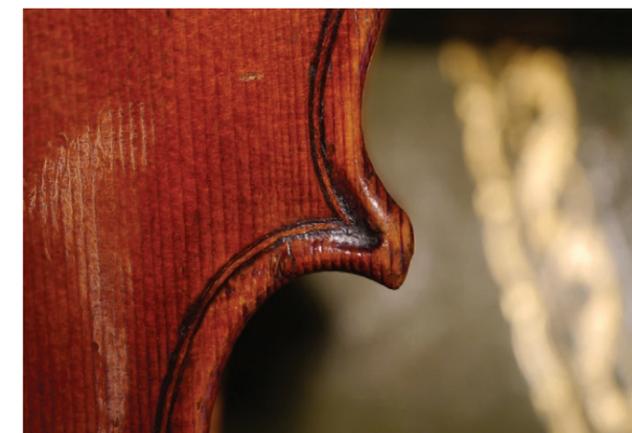
Left An unusual inscription above the label refers to the 'Brothers Baguzzi', whose identity remains a puzzle

Right The C-bout linings are inserted into the corner-blocks through notches cut into them

## BALESTRIERI'S MATURE MODEL MIGHT BE CONSIDERED HIS OWN INTERPRETATION OF PIETRO GUARNERI OF MANTUA'S

Balestrieri's mature model represents something that might be considered his own interpretation of Pietro Guarneri, the founding figure of the craft in Mantua. This appears in a more delicate and tentative manner in early works but becomes increasingly bold as the years progress. However, the overall form and outline change little over the succeeding years. His arching also shows a decided affinity to the fuller rounded forms used by Pietro Guarneri in his finest works, the only variance being a move towards a lower and more Stradivari-like style in the later years. The arching on this violin is lower than one finds in the instruments of the 1750s, but also shows some gradations of height through the margins, which appear to pay homage to the Cremonese master.

This homage to Pietro Guarneri continues in the internal construction. Balestrieri seems to have used an internal form, on which the corner-blocks would be glued to it in the manner of the Stradivari forms, but unlike the Stradivari forms, it probably had the corner-blocks mounted at a shallow and oblique angle, much like the mould used in the Tyrol and Austria. This form encourages a long contact between the blocks and the upper and lower ribs, but a very short contact with the C-bout ribs. A good example of this can be seen in the forms used by the Viennese master Franz Geissenhof.



Left The shallow angle of the corner joint chamfer is visually in line with the corner tip

Right Note the broad, short corners, rounded edging and the deep channeling into the tips

The mould also appears to have been relatively thin, in the manner of the forms used by Carlo Bergonzi and the makers in his orbit, which allowed a measure of flexibility to the ribs that permitted some variation in the alignment of the corners. Occasionally this is revealed by corner joints that are not in alignment with one another. This is a feature that he shared with Guadagnini. However it is also quite possible, as it was with Guadagnini, that the mould was not always placed at the centre of the rib height but rather to one side. In fact the original Cremonese system of placing the mould in the centre, requiring the maker to glue down the linings on both sides before removing the form, demands a good deal of skill; it is very possible that the knowledge of how to do this was already in the process of being forgotten. This becomes more apparent when we compare the square and symmetrical rib structures of Guarneri and de Camilli with the apparent difficulties encountered by Balestrieri (and, to a greater extent, by Giuseppe Dall'Aglio later on).

For the internal structure of his instruments he used both willow and spruce, perhaps in recognition of the use of these materials by his Mantuan predecessors and Stradivari. However, the execution is always in the same manner, the linings inserted into the corner-blocks through the usual notches cut into them. For the 1777 violin he used willow. Owing to the shape of the form

used, when the internal surfaces of the corner-blocks were cut away, they had far less contact with the centre rib than with the upper and lower ribs. As a result, the C-bout linings are exposed, sometimes dramatically so. This is in keeping both with Guadagnini as well as with both de Camilli and Pietro Guarneri, although the degree of both fitting and finishing differs rather starkly between them. On the 1777 violin Balestrieri's blocks and linings are rather roughly finished, with visible spaces left in the mortises.

The ribs were fitted to the form and corner-blocks in the usual manner, one piece for each C-bout and one each for the upper and lower bouts. The C-bouts were fitted first, so that the upper and lower ribs are feathered over them to form the corner joints. Here Balestrieri does something at odds with his predecessors. Rather than shaping the joint to a thin chamfer or filing them to a point, he left a large and visible chamfer, and instead of cutting the chamfers so as to be parallel with the tips of the adjacent corners, they were cut in such a way that the plane formed by extending their chamfer runs close to parallel with the centre joint of the back. This manner had remained consistent since his earliest works, and shows up very clearly on the 1777 violin, but the chamfer so created is quite at odds with the one he achieved on his scrolls.

The woods used for the 1777 violin consist of good maple, quarter-sawn and with a medium figure on it, for the back and ribs; a narrow-grained *oppio* for the scroll; and a nice quality of spruce for the top, cut with the grains perpendicular to the ribs.

The back is in two pieces and shows evidence of its centre seam having been badly jointed. Numerous small spaces, now filled with dirt, are visible, and an old strip of parchment runs over the full length of the interior. A close inspection reveals no evidence that it ever had a drill point into the centre of the back, in the manner of the Amatis and the Guarneris. However, this is not consistently found in his work – there are examples that show this feature and others, like the 1777 violin, that do not. In any event, this suggests his internal working method did not always require it, >

## THE BACK IS MADE UP OF TWO PIECES AND SHOWS EVIDENCE OF ITS CENTRE SEAM HAVING BEEN BADLY JOINTED



in marked variance to those of both Guarneri and de Camilli. It might also have been the result of a specific tool, passed on to de Camilli from Zanotti (a pupil, so he said, of Girolamo Amati II) and later acquired by Balestrieri, but without the necessary instructions on how best to use it.

There are also no locating pins by the blocks on the back, although these are occasionally seen on earlier examples. It is another variance from the classical Cremonese method. Very few if any pinpricks or scribe marks remain, and there are no other finishing marks, suggesting care in the final treatment of the surfaces. The same can be said for the ribs and top, although on the latter there are faint traces of a mostly horizontal motion with a scraper.

The scroll is given a distinctive look by the very narrow chamfer around the volutes, which has an almost sharp edge to it

In working the edges and corners of both plates, Balestrieri followed the lead of Pietro Guarneri and adopted full and decisive edges and corners. This is a distinguishing feature of his work: edges are left full and round, with a pronounced drop from their peak to the purfling set inside from it. The hollow created from this forms a channel that runs along the full perimeter. In the corners the channel is dug a little deeper, using a different gouge, and the tips are accentuated. The corners are also bold but broader and shorter than Guarneri's. They are also noticeably thicker, and occasionally (as in the 1777 violin) one sees some thinning of the edges between the C-bout edge and corner tips that echoes the work of Guadagnini. They are chamfered with knife cuts that have left visible ledges on the outer tips as well as the surfaces adjacent to the ribs. The button is left thicker towards the outer tip but the edge thicknesses adjoining it remain even throughout.

Balestrieri's purfling on this violin appears to be made from three fairly even strips of maple, although one with numerous splits in it that give it the look of the nutwood used by Guadagnini. Some other examples

## BALESTRIERI'S PERSONALITY COMES THROUGH SUPREMELY IN HIS SCROLLS

use a wood that looks more like chestnut. The blacks have become faded. It is moderately thick and fairly consistent in its width, and is fitted, not always cleanly, into a channel that shows similar care in cutting it out. The corner joints are a bit inconsistent: some have the purfling in a centred butt joint, others show an attempt at feathering the outer strips over the centre strips.

Much of the expressiveness of Balestrieri's style come from the f-holes and scrolls. To address the former, Balestrieri's early f-holes are an exuberant expression of Pietro Guarneri, but in later works such as this they become more subdued and show more of a homage to Stradivari. They also appear to have been drawn on to the top from a template: on the 1777 violin there are small pinpricks around their perimeter, especially towards the lower holes, revealing his variances from the pattern. The wings are lightly fluted. The holes themselves are also not exactly round and might have been made by drilling a starting hole and then cutting out the rest by hand and eye to fit it to the pattern.

As with the maker's finishing of the top and back plates, few of the locating pinpricks around the breast area appear structural; hardly any maintain any regularity to the f-holes or centre line. The one exception appears to be one small pinprick, located on the centre joint between the upper eyes of the f-holes, although the thickness of the varnish also leaves open the possibility that more would become visible after the depredations of repeated cleanings and polishings.

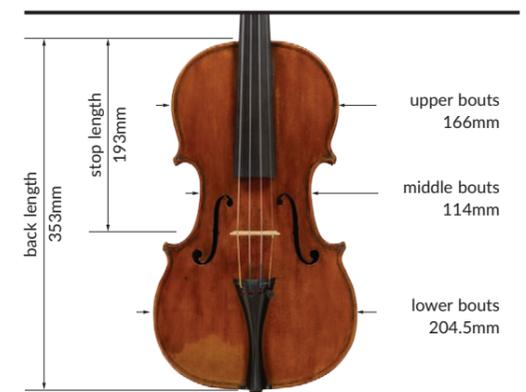
Balestrieri's personality, though, comes through supremely and unambiguously in his scrolls, which are not just his most striking feature but also the one that reveals his design and construction most blatantly. The outline is, as expected, based on Pietro Guarneri, but the last turn of the volutes remains somewhat broad and comes full to midnight. Although the turns of the volute are moderately shallow in their depth, the ears protrude, and when seen from the back the turns draw quickly in from them. They are also slightly rounded, so that they seem to droop at the tips, somewhat like a dog's ears. The volutes are marked by a very narrow chamfer with an almost sharp edge to it. This gives them a distinctive and unmistakable look.

The pegbox belly is full and high, and the pegholes follow its front surface, resulting no doubt in the A and D strings riding over the lower pegs. They are also

grouped somewhat, in the manner of Neapolitan pegholes. Not surprisingly, on this violin the D and E pegholes have been bushed and redrilled closer to the back. The pegbox tail is oblong and clearly was not drawn with a compass, unlike those of Balestrieri's predecessors. The pegbox walls are moderate in thickness but narrow as they approach the top nut, just as the pegbox mortise also widens. This suggests an affinity to the needs of the player, this always being a difficult area for threading the strings. Finally, the outer surface of the pegbox is slightly convex, rather than flat; a characteristic shared with a few other classical makers but not with those of Cremona and Mantua.

In contrast with the neat finish of the bodies, his scrolls are covered in toolmarks. The shallow channels along the pegbox back are littered with small side-to-side chisel marks, made with the same tool whose traces run a spiral around the volutes themselves. Traces of the longitudinal draw of a scraper also appear, although they are clearly inadequate for removing the chisel marks. The bottom of the channels reveals an attempt to achieve that sense of flatness that Stradivari always managed so effortlessly. The channels also run full into the throat. The front edges of the pegbox retain myriad horizontal filemarks. A few deep points remain visible on the eyes, as does one deep on the forehead of the central ridge of the scroll. This marks an unusual and characteristic feature, for behind this point the centre ridge is higher than the outer ridges, whereas in front of it the opposite is true. In the finish of the turns into the throat this becomes striking. The outer ridges are much lower, giving them something of a droopy, jowly look that is uniquely Balestrieri's, although Dall'Aglio fell victim to this same fascination, or perhaps mistake.

The 1777 violin retains rare features of its original setting that give us important insights into set-up in those years. The original neck remains essentially in its initial placement, attached to the interior with three nails hammered through the block and into the stock. The neck is then held in place by these nails as well as by the back button and an extended tab on the top, which fits into a slot cut into the neck stock. To strengthen this area further, it is left unpurfling under the fingerboard. All of this results in a vice-like grip that is stronger than we have tended to think, its prime weakness not being the joint itself but rather that the line of the neck runs parallel to the top. As a result, a wedge must be glued on to the neck to allow an adequate angle with the fingerboard; the resulting thickness of the neck at the body makes modern playing in higher positions difficult if not impossible. However, the wedge used here (a later replacement) is quite low, for a very specific reason: the neck is mounted with a slight downward angle, roughly echoing a modern neck angle. We have evidence that such an approach was adopted by the Parisians in the mid-18th century,



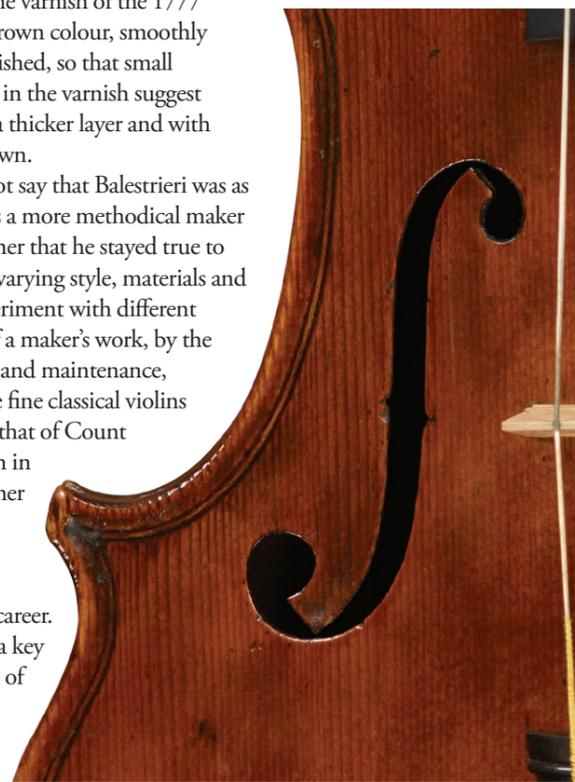
and the Viennese towards the end of the century. A few more examples of unaltered Mantuan work from this period might answer the question as to whether this reflects a general trend to which the Italians were also responding.

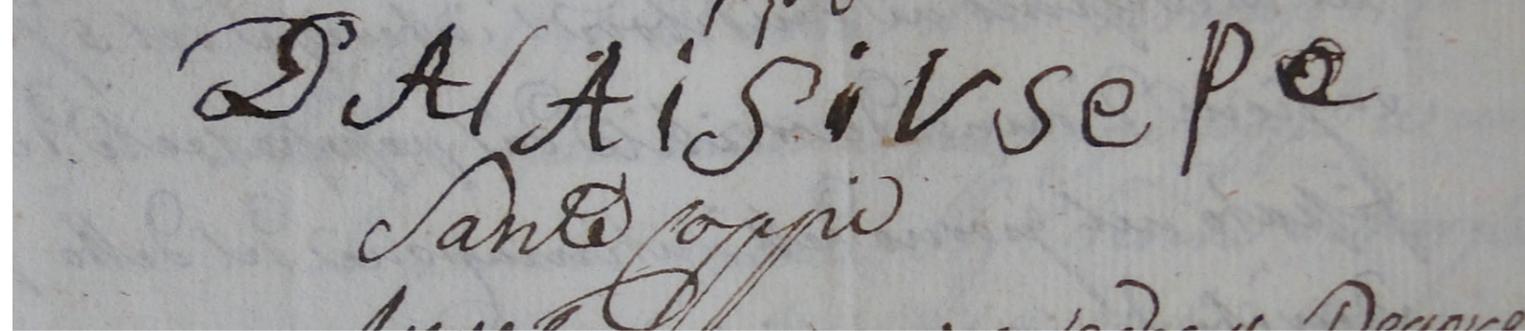
The original bottom saddle butts up against the purfling, left continuous for strength in this area, and while not large it is distinctive in its shape. It is set into a cut-out that narrows both towards the bottom rib and towards the purfling; this trapezoidal shape thus locks it into place.

Balestrieri's varnish varied in colour and quality. Many of the earlier works have a yellow or red-orange colour, but by the 1760s deeper reds are more typical. At the end of his career we see more often a return to golds or golden browns. The varnish of the 1777 violin has a dark reddish-brown colour, smoothly applied and minimally polished, so that small imperfections and bubbles in the varnish suggest its having been applied in a thicker layer and with minimal if any rubbing down.

In conclusion, we cannot say that Balestrieri was as consistent in his manner as a more methodical maker (such as Stradivari) but rather that he stayed true to some of his method while varying style, materials and methods as though to experiment with different approaches. Since much of a maker's work, by the 1770s, consisted of repairs and maintenance, perhaps his exposure to the fine classical violins of such local collections as that of Count Carbonelli encouraged him in this. However, there are other features of his style, particularly his scrolls and f-holes, that remain fairly consistent throughout his career. Indeed, this consistency is a key element in our recognition of the work of this idiosyncratic and very personable master. ●

The f-hole eyes may have been made by drilling a starting hole and then cutting out the rest by hand





# THE odd COUPLE

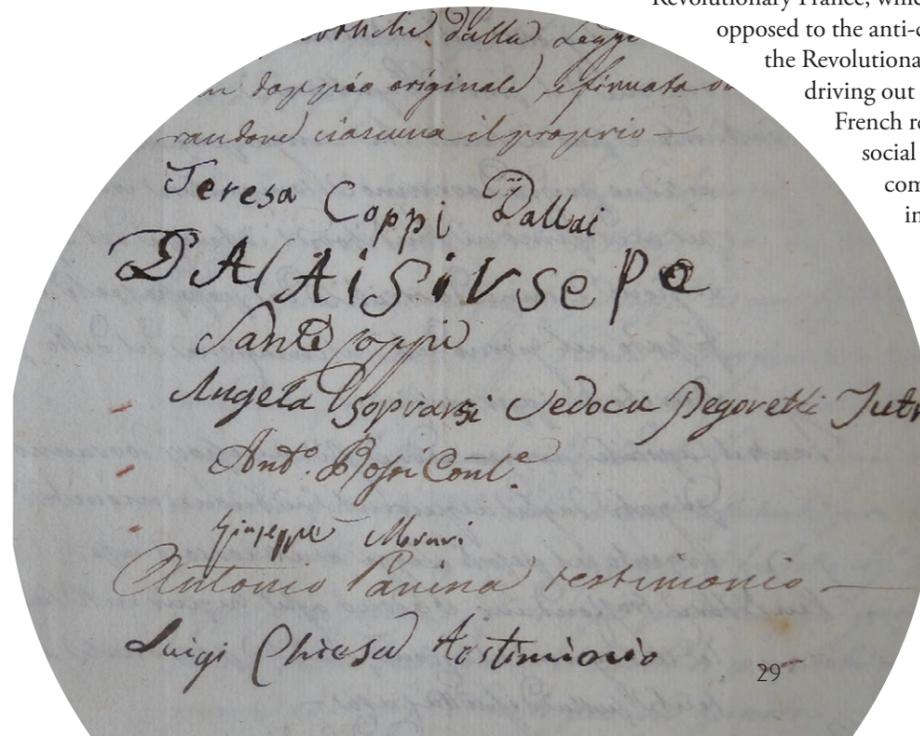
Sante de Coppi and Giuseppe Dall'Aglio were two makers of very different backgrounds who may have ended up influencing each other's work. **Philip Kass** and **Andrea Zanrè** continue their research into the lives and instruments of Mantua's luthiers

**B**y 1800 violin making in Mantua had reached a crisis. Within weeks of Tommaso Balestrieri's death on 18 May 1796 (see article in the July 2015 issue), the city found itself under siege by an invading French army under its brilliant commander, Napoleon Bonaparte. While the fortresses of Mantuan territory were famous for their seeming impregnability, there was only so long that the town could sustain a protracted siege, particularly one that also included an incessant bombardment. Austrian troops briefly relieved the city but could not break the siege, and the city continued to suffer the combined threats of onslaught, food deprivation and epidemics. Days before the inevitable French victory in January 1797, both Tommaso's brother and his sister-in-law, his sole surviving relatives there, died.

The French immediately imposed a new rule of law, based on that developed in Revolutionary France, which strongly divided the population between those opposed to the anti-clerical attitudes of the French and those supporting the Revolutionary goals. Although the Austrians did succeed in driving out the French in 1799, they lost again in 1801 and the French remained until Napoleon's collapse in 1814. The social and political changes wrought by these events completely altered the intellectual landscape moving into the 19th century.

During the course of the first siege, an artillery shell landed on the Teatro Nuovo, the principal venue for musical performances, burning it to the ground. Although there was no grand theatre until its replacement was completed in 1822, there was still the smaller Teatro Bibiena attached to the Accademia delle Arte e Scienze, and there was a dedicated core of musicians promoting music and music education. Among their leaders was the violinist Alessandro Zanti, who besides being an accomplished musician was also an amateur violin maker. It is perhaps thanks to him that violin making did not vanish

A legal act showing the contrast between the signatures of Sante de Coppi and Giuseppe Dall'Aglio (here spelt 'D'Alai Giuseppe'). The signature of Teresa, Coppi's sister and Dall'Aglio's wife, can be seen above them

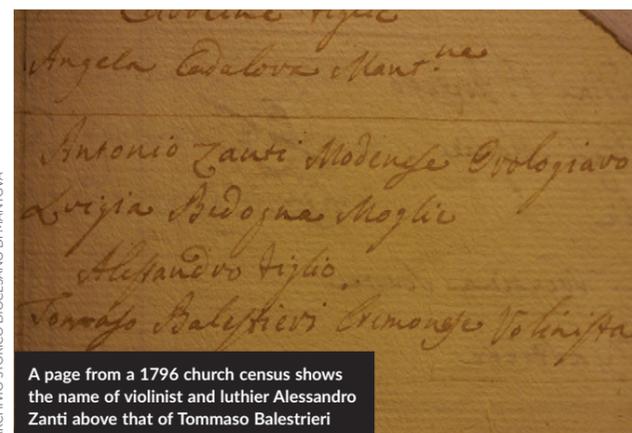


from Mantua. Zanti's training is uncertain, but a likely source of basic instruction could have been a family friend. In the 1796 church census, taken just before Easter, the Zanti family was joined by the 82-year-old Tommaso Balestrieri, just weeks before his death. Zanti was only 25 at the time, but his father was a clock maker, and there is an old tradition in Mantua, dating to Scarampella's time, of calling Balestrieri the 'clock maker'. Furthermore, Balestrieri had for some years lived in a building owned by a clock maker and friend of the Zantis. Was this perhaps the bond between the two families?

However, the future of Mantuan violin making lay not with Zanti but with the unlikely pairing of two men, one a mason and the other a coachman, who shared this love of the violin and carried it forward. The mason was a man named Sante de Coppi whose father (also a mason) had a successful trade in renovations and reconstructions (much work came to him in the aftermath of the siege). His family owned properties in town and in the country, and they travelled in the more prosperous circles of successful businessmen and entrepreneurs. But it was the coachman, who in 1806 had moved into the family's apartment building, who had the far greater influence. He had already developed an interest in violins and became a stronger influence on the younger man after marrying his sister the following year. That man was baptised as Giuseppe Maria Alaj, but would soon be better known by the name Giuseppe Dall'Aglio.

Dall'Aglio was born on 13 January 1774 in the small town of Boretto, on the southern banks of the Po just outside Mantuan territory, and had a primarily rural upbringing. He was seven years old when his mother died in 1781, the year in which he claimed to have moved to Mantua, but while this is plausible it appears highly unlikely. It seems more logical that he might have gone to live with relatives in Mantuan territory after his father's remarriage, but at this stage nothing has been found to clarify this void in his biography. What is certain is that in 1797, some months after the end of the siege, his elder brother Antonio married in Mantua, and the following year so did Giuseppe, but from the church census we can be certain that neither was in the musical instrument trade, as Antonio's job was listed as porter and Giuseppe's as coachman.

By the early 1800s Giuseppe's situation seems to have changed, for in 1801 he acted as a godfather to Zanti's first daughter, showing at the very least an association with music



A page from a 1796 church census shows the name of violinist and luthier Alessandro Zanti above that of Tommaso Balestrieri

and violinists. By 1806, the year of his first wife's death, the French civil registry recorded him as a *violinaro* (violin maker). Shortly thereafter, he moved into the apartment building in which the Coppis lived. Interestingly, while the church census described him as a mason, like Sante, his civil records called him a violin maker, and after 1810 this description continued in the church records as well.

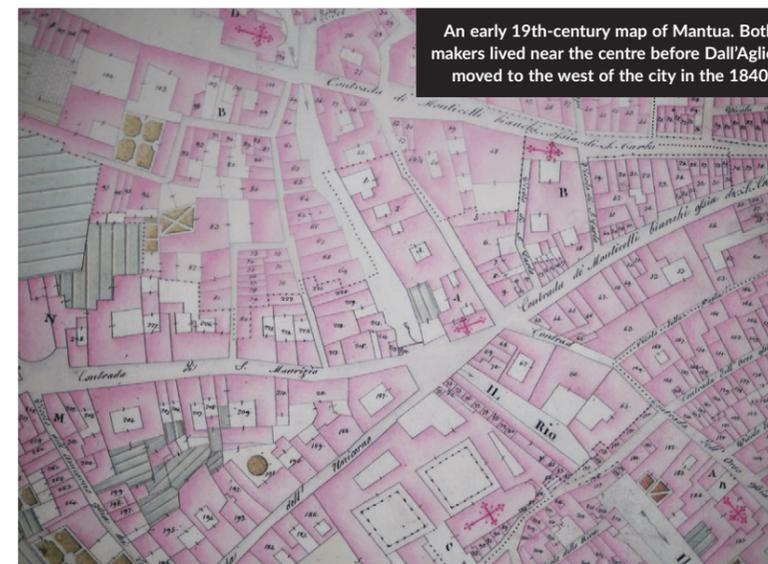
We can only speculate about the association between the Coppis and Dall'Aglio. The rule of the French certainly broke down a number of the old barriers. Sante appears a reasonably well-educated man, literate and well connected, his sister less educated, as was the custom for daughters, whereas Giuseppe seems to all appearances the very model of a poor and uneducated farmhand. Nonetheless, Giuseppe and Sante's sister Teresa quickly formed a relationship, and by the next year Giuseppe and Sante were brothers-in-law, beginning what appears to have been a long partnership and association in which they lived either as neighbours or in the same quarters for the next 35 years.

## SANTE DE COPPI WAS THE FIRST MANTUAN MAKER SINCE PIETRO GUARNERI TO HAVE OWNED HIS OWN HOME

By 1814, after the French had departed following yet another siege, Sante also took to calling himself a *violinaro*, and he had the means with which to establish a business. He had married the daughter of a prominent merchant, albeit one perpetually under the watchful eyes of French security officials, and moved into quarters in the centre of the burgeoning new commercial hub just south of the Basilica of San Andrea, close to where the new Teatro Sociale would be built. Later he was able to buy this building, making him the first Mantuan violin maker since Pietro Guarneri to have owned his own home.

As befitted a family of means, the Coppis were able to settle disputes through recourse to the law, and several legal acts of the late 1820s (an example of which can be seen on page 53) bear the signatures of Sante, his sister Teresa and her husband Giuseppe 'Dalaj'. The contrast between the neat, refined signature of Sante and the almost bestial scrawl of Giuseppe is surprising.

One can draw from the church census the nature of their commercial interests. From 1814 to 1835, both Sante and Giuseppe were recorded as being violin makers, but beginning that year Sante started to be known as a musical instrument maker and merchant, even dabbling as a dealer in paintings. By the 1840s, violins no longer served as his primary source of income and we can presume that the two violin makers no longer worked together. In time, Sante became a successful businessman but his music shop closed with his death in 1867. Giuseppe, on the other hand, always remained active as a violin maker.



An early 19th-century map of Mantua. Both makers lived near the centre before Dall'Aglio moved to the west of the city in the 1840s



The third house from the left, in the former via Magistrati, once belonged to the Coppi family

During the first half of the 19th century there was only one municipal directory published in Mantua. In spite of being dated 1836, it was actually published in 1844. Of the six musical instrument makers listed, one is an organ builder and two others are unknown names that as yet have not yielded their identities to our research. The other three are, however, well known to us. Sante de Coppi is listed as being in his house on the via Magistrati, close to the Teatro Sociale, and Giuseppe 'Dallaj' (the local dialect form of Dall'Aglio) in a workshop on the opposite side of the Teatro, south of the canal that divides the city in half. The third name, located close to Giuseppe, is one we would not have expected in Mantua at this date: Giuseppe Ceruti. However, our research has revealed that Ceruti had already established a presence in Mantua by this time and remained here, except for a brief period at the home of his daughter's husband in San Benedetto Po until he died in 1860. This will be the subject of a future essay.

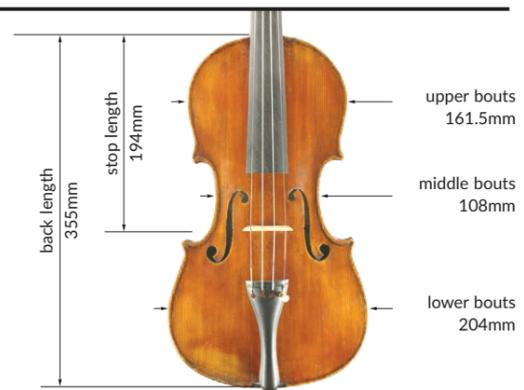
The municipal register of residency changes reveals a further contrast between the two men. Whereas Sante owned his own home and lived there for the rest of his life, there are easily 22 different residences cited for Giuseppe during the period 1832–55. In spite of this, the church census shows a far more consistent pattern. While he did seem to relocate every few years in the 1830s and 1840s, he rarely moved far from Sante's home and workshop. In 1839 his wife Teresa died, and thereafter Giuseppe lived with his only daughter in another part of town. This daughter, named after her mother, married a professional musician, but in 1850 the two were struck down by pneumonia – a common malady in swampy Mantua.

Giuseppe was by now close to retirement. In late 1850 we find him described as a violinist, living with a woman whose profession is given as *damigella di bordello* ('lady of the brothel'), but the next year he is once more described as a violin maker. In 1852, though, the police registers noted him as retired, perhaps due to illness, as his last years were spent in a hospice for the indigent, where he died on 1 March 1855. That retirement perhaps opened the door to another violin maker, Gaetano Dionelli, whose earliest datable labels began to appear in 1853.

We must now look at the issue of their work, and once again there is a striking contrast between Sante and Giuseppe. Sante is known to us from two violins, one dated 1821, another 1846, and a guitar dating from the 1840s. There is also a label in a now-lost instrument that was recorded as being dated 1815. For Giuseppe, on the other hand, there is a fair bit of work that is known, although the reliably dated labels all seem to come from the period 1810–35. The contrast between handwriting styles suggests a similar contrast in workmanship, and here we may have a tool to use in distinguishing their work.

The Coppi violin illustrated on page 60, which dates from 1821, shows a firm if somewhat rigid hand. The back is crafted from native maple pinned clockwise well in from the purfling, which is made from the local field maple and very well stained. The purfling was probably set very deep into the edges and cut close to the corner tips; three of the corners show cracks that run from the purfling tips around the corners to their inner >

## WHILE DALL'AGLIO SEEMED TO RELOCATE EVERY FEW YEARS, HE RARELY MOVED FAR FROM SANTE'S WORKSHOP



All measurements taken with callipers

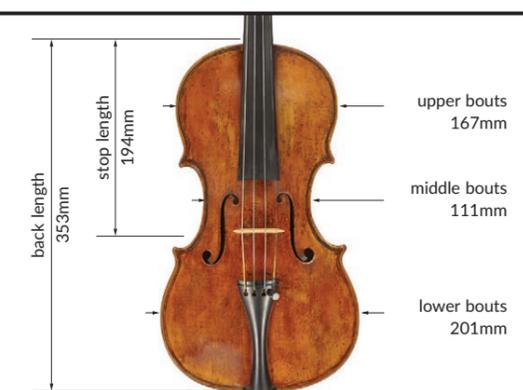
surfaces at the rib joints. Unlike other Mantua instruments, there is no strong visual homage to Pietro Guarneri, although the broadly placed and fairly vertical f-holes share a stance with other earlier makers such as Balestrieri.

The ribs do not appear to have been built around an internal form: they are in six pieces and the corner joints are centred in an irregularly filed point. The scroll is nicely carved on a personal model, with flat sides and a fairly shallow throat on which the channels terminate in a flat surface. The irregular peg displacement is original. The top is fashioned out of two pieces of local wood, probably pine. Especially notable in the f-holes is a certain roughness in their execution, and the broad and deeply fluted wings. The eyes appear to have been cut out by hand and strongly deflect towards the stems. Generally the surfaces appear fairly well smoothed in spite of some brittleness and knottiness in the wood used. The arching has a low and rounded curvature, without much channelling around the margins and far lower than one would have seen in the Mantua violins of 50 years earlier.

Inside, the structure is assembled with spruce, the blocks somewhat roughly finished and from a wood that seems to have chipped easily. The linings are similarly perfunctory and made from an indeterminate wood that resembles beech or even scrappy bits of maple. Deep-tooth plane marks remain on the interior, no particular effort having been given to its finish,

**DALL'AGLIO'S PURFLING INCLUDES WHALEBONE FOR THE BLACKS, SOMETHING USED ONLY BY A TINY HANDFUL OF ITALIAN MAKERS**

COPPI PHOTOS COURTESY GEORGE HEINL & CO., TORONTO



All measurements taken with callipers

in contrast to the outer surfaces. The varnish is somewhat dry in texture and wears well, but has a rich, deep colour to it.

In comparing this with a fine Dall'Aglio violin which bears an original label of 1818, we see a very different concept of work. Most striking is the variance in forms. Whether Dall'Aglio used an internal form or not is hard to tell, but the outline he followed repeats the same general design that bulges slightly at the widest parts of the outer bouts and straightens and stiffens towards the corner-blocks, especially the lower ones, giving a characteristic shape to the C-bouts. The pinning is done in the same manner, but the purfling is distinctly different: whalebone for the blacks, something used only by a tiny handful of Italian makers. Maybe this was learnt from a guitar maker or inlayer, as they might have been more inclined to use this material for decorative purposes.

The general scroll pattern bears an affinity to that of Coppi but comes to very different conclusions. The throat on this violin is almost non-existent, and the heads tend to be smaller in proportion to the pegboxes, giving the whole the sense less of a curled fern than of a clenched fist. The throat is also unfinished, although one sees others finished more in the manner of a Balestrieri, but without that maker's finish and boldness.

As with the Coppi violin, the top is of a local wood but with a less aggressive grain, the f-holes are cut out freehand, and the eyes also deflect inwards, but in a model closer to traditional Mantuan ideas. The fluting on this example does not appear to have preoccupied its maker. The outline of the top is clearly at some variance from that of the back, further suggesting it was fitted to ribs that were not bent on a sturdy and reliable form.

Inside, the workmanship and materials are not noticeably better finished, except that Dall'Aglio's C-bout ribs are more deeply feathered in and then exposed in the corner-blocks, more in the traditional Mantuan manner. Lastly, Dall'Aglio's varnish is softer and more wearing than that of Coppi, but shares a similar colour.

With two makers working in such proximity, one might ask if there was any point at which the work of one flowed over into that of the other. Because of the scarcity of identifiable Coppis, as well as a fair number of altered Dall'Aglio labels, we cannot say with certainty that this was the case. There are Dall'Aglios that do not fit his standard manner, and which might reflect some input of Coppi, but no conclusions can be drawn without a more extensive study of surviving works and methodology. ●

The scroll of this 1818 Dall'Aglio violin comes to very different conclusions from that of Coppi's 1821 instrument

DALL'AGLIO PHOTOS COURTESY TARISIO

# GAETANO DIONELLI

WRITTEN BY ANDREA ZANRÈ

One of the most interesting luthiers to live and work in Mantua in the 19th century, Gaetano Dionelli was born in 1808 in the parish of Sant'Apollonia, where he lived all his life. As with his predecessors Giuseppe Dall'Aglio and Sante Coppi, he started out as a mason and continued to work as such well into his thirties; later on he became a tanner, and violin making probably remained a secondary activity for his whole life.

Most of Dionelli's labelled instruments date from the 1850s and 1860s, when he and Giuseppe Ceruti came to lead the Mantua market (Dall'Aglio having apparently retired in 1852 and Coppi moving towards more general dealing in instruments and paintings). Dionelli's son Giacomo became a professional violinist and this may have motivated the father to dedicate more time to instrument making before dying in 1870.

## MATERIALS

Most of the violins made in Mantua after Tommaso Balestrieri's death in 1796 are made of *oppio*, the local maple which was commonly grown in the vineyards of the Po valley. This 1857 violin, now part of the Chi Mei Culture Foundation's extensive collection, is no exception and we can see the characteristic tight figure of this denser material on the back, ribs and scroll. The top wood is open-grained but not local, and was likely obtained from the Alps.

## MODEL AND ARCHING

Dionelli's violins have compact upper and lower bouts coupled with wider C-bouts; the shoulders are sloping and well rounded. The arching is also easily recognisable, especially in the central sections of the tops, which have a fairly flat platform under the bridge with a swift descent to the edges.

## F-HOLES AND CORNERS

The positioning of the f-holes is upright and both the upper and lower eyes are substantial. These are traits reminiscent of Pietro Guarneri of Mantua's style. The stems have a curved shape, similar to Dall'Aglio's work. This is also echoed in the C-bout lines and in the dynamic, tight inner curves of the lower corners.

## EDGEWORK AND PURFLING

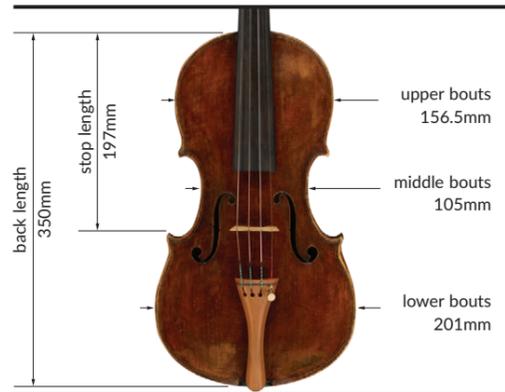
Dionelli's corners, despite being slightly asymmetrical, are elegant and the wide purfling is inlaid with a care that was not often seen in Mantua after the time of Camillo Camilli, who died in 1754. The black is well stained and substantial, but unlike that of Dall'Aglio it is made from dyed wood, not whalebone. Its sections meet neatly at the corners and the bee-stings point towards their centres. The fluting is scooped and kept close to the edge in a way that is also reminiscent of Balestrieri.

## SCROLL

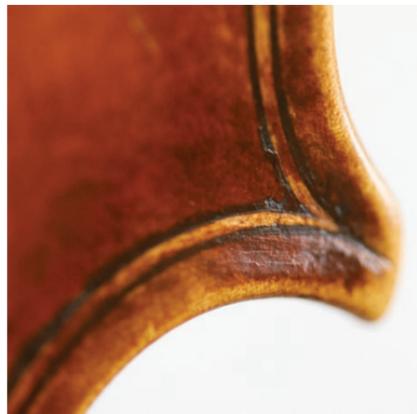
The scroll may be the most recognisable element of Dionelli's work. It seems that many of the Mantua makers would adopt personal solutions to merge the volute into the central eye. Balestrieri's tendency to keep the second turn of the scroll very wide was a long-lasting influence in the city. Dionelli tried to bypass his predecessor's idiosyncrasy (which led to an unusually high spiral conclusion) by carving a big and powerful eye – which is the most immediate feature by which experts now recognise his style. The heavy volute contrasts somewhat with a lean pegbox profile and front view. ▶

- MAKER  
GAETANO DIONELLI
- NATIONALITY  
ITALIAN
- BORN  
1808
- DIED  
1870
- INSTRUMENT  
VIOLIN
- DATE  
1857





All measurements taken with callipers



DETAIL PHOTOS ANDREA ZANRÉ; ALL OTHER PHOTOS JAN RÖHRMANN / SCROLLAVEZZA & ZANRÉ



## Participants

as of Sept. 24, 2016

Accornero, Gianni  
Alf, Gregg  
Barter, Paul  
Beare, Peter  
Besutti, Paola  
Blot, Eric  
Blot, Mael  
Buchwalder, Jürg  
Buchwalder, Simona  
Caradot, Pierre  
Carlson, Bruce  
Chiesa, Carlo  
Clement, Klaus  
Clement, Stefanie  
Dipper, Andrew  
Fabiano, Carlo  
Fairfax, Andrew  
Fairfax, Anneleen  
Fasser, Filippo  
Feller, Lois  
Feller, Roland  
Fukuyama, Kaori  
Garnier, Barthélémy  
Gateau, Barbara  
Gateau, Yves  
Giordano, Alberto  
Girardin, Christine  
Girardin, Fabrice  
Givens, Claire  
Goller, Anette  
Graff, Jean-Christophe

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Grant, Marina  
Hommel, Jean-Luc  
Hommel, Monique  
Kass, Philip J.  
Kogge, Daniel  
Köstler, Hieronymus  
Kuttner, Francis  
Lazzaro, Giovanni  
Leuthold, Johannes  
Levaggi, Silvio  
Marchi, Lorenzo  
Mariotto, Guido  
Massera, Antonella  
Mastrangelo, Corinne  
Mastrangelo, Pierre  
Matsushita, Toshiyuki  
Meuwissen, Thomas  
Moes, Peter  
Moes, Wendy  
Morassi, Gianni  
Morassi, Simeone  
Neumann, Bernard  
Noventa, Milena  
Pedota, Alessandra  
Perot, Olivier  
Pilz, Alexander  
Pistoni, Primo  
Pochekin, Yuri  
Post, Andreas  
Price, Jason

Reuning, Christopher  
Reuter, Gertrud  
Röhrmann, Jan  
Rufino, Charles  
Schenk, Otto Karl  
Schmidt, Wolfgang  
Schröder, Benjamin  
Schröder, Edith  
Schütz, Alexander  
Scrollavezza, Elisa  
Sarp, Sebastian  
Somenzi, Davide  
Spidlen, Jan  
Stagnoli, Alberto  
Stam, Jacqueline  
Stam, Serge  
Stenz, Jens  
Strick, Jan  
Strick, Matteo  
Tanaka, Masashi  
Tartari, Anna  
Testoni, Claudio  
Toshitake, Yasuno  
Tossani, Alessandro  
Traelnes, John Eric  
Tranaide, Ieva  
Weindl, Robert  
Zanrè, Andrea  
Zheng, Quan  
Zigante, Manuel

## A special acknowledgment to:

All members of the Entente Internationale des Maîtres Luthiers et Archetiers d'Art  
Conservatorio Lucio Campiani, Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana, Teatro Scientifico del Bibiena

Gianni Accornero  
Charles and Peter Beare  
Eric Blot  
Jürg Buchwalder  
Bruce Carlson  
Andrew Dipper  
Filippo Fasser  
Yves Gateau  
Alberto Giordano  
Fabrice Girardin  
Claire Givens  
Anette Goller  
Jean-Christophe Graff  
Philip J. Kass  
Daniel Kogge  
Hieronymus Köstler  
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Guido Mariotto  
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