

Historical background Documental evidence concerning the production of brass instruments in Milan during the 18th century concentrates mainly on the last quarter of the century. A different situation holds for Turin where several families of wind instrument (mostly brass instrument) makers are documented from the beginning of the century: the Viccos until about 1750, then Giuseppe Bechis and Giuseppe Velata (1747–1813) active from 1779, and his son Giuseppe until 1829. In Turin wind instruments were employed for different types of tasks related to the Savoia court life such as hunting, official ceremonies and performances. There exists a wide documentation of the court activities, with detailed payment records, which include payments for wind musical instrument acquisitions and repairs. This favourable archival situation allowed researchers to identify many musical instrument suppliers from the beginning of the 18th century. Most of the brass instrument makers were brass artisans (*pajolai*), who also, or mainly, made metal pots and similar wares. Without these payment records it would have been difficult to document the existence of these makers.¹

In Milan there was no stable court life during the 18th and 19th centuries, thus documentation regarding the production of musical instruments is relatively scarce: during our research no specific record was found concerning brass instrument makers for the first three quarters of the 18th century. The main sources of information, until the beginning of the 19th century, were the archives kept in the parishes of Milan. Around the turn of the century, the lists of residents (*registri delle anime*), which were usually updated yearly, start to give more detailed information concerning the jobs of the people there listed. Musical life in Milan is well documented and studied: wind instruments were often employed not only by military corps, but also in music ensembles, theatres and religious institutions. Many records have survived relating to the open-air concerts organised around 1750 by Giovanni Battista Sammartini, who employed a large orchestra which included a wind section. It is likely that many wind instruments would have come from Vienna or Prague, where famous makers were active, but we may also assume a local production, even if this is difficult to document. Only three names of woodwind instrument makers are known at present for the first half of the century: Giovanni Maria Anciuti, Beltrami and Antonio Grassi.

1 Francesca Odling and Lorenzo Girodo: Documenti sulla costruzione degli strumenti a fiato a Torino fra XVII e XVIII secolo, in: *Liuteria Musica e Cultura 1999–2000*, ed. by Renato Meucci, Lucca 2000, pp. 25–42.

An analysis of the registers of many parishes which started to record residents' occupations from about the end of the 18th century onwards enabled us to identify the names of many brass artisans (*ottonai*), plumbers (*trombari*) or metal and tin workers (*tollai*). As stated above, these professions may also be associated with the construction of brass instruments. The words *trombaio* or *trombaro*, commonly used at the time for designating plumbers, has however led to a mistaken identification between this job and that of trumpet makers (through a false interpretation of the word *tromba*, which usually means trumpet in Italian). It is worth noting that common family names for these kinds of artisans in Milan were Beltrami and Piana, whose origin was the Val Strona, located north of Milan, where the profession of wood turner is still common today. But it is hard to know whether any of these were also making wind instruments.

The situation in Milan at the end of the 18th century Around the end of the 18th century the demand for wind instruments was not strong enough to ensure a sufficient income for makers, who tended to exercise more than one job – for example that of plumber. Alternatively they worked as musicians, as in the case of the brothers Garegnani and Giacomo De Luigi, who all played in the civic band. It may be of interest here to cite the whole composition of the civic band of Milan in 1796, where the brothers Garegnani (hunting horns) and De Luigi (2nd clarinet) are mentioned (figure 1):

Two hunting horns (Melchiorre and Giuseppe Garegnani)

Two straight trumpets

Three first clarinets

Three second clarinets (one of them Giacomo De Luigi)

Two piccolos

Three bassoons

One »ombralino« (stick chimes)

One cymbal

One serpent

One drum.

There are very few known names of wind instrument makers of the last quarter of the 18th century. An interesting source of information is the 1791 edition of the commercial guide of Milan *Il Servitore di Piazza*, which lists the following names of wind instrument makers: Antonio Grassi, for all kinds of woodwinds, Pietro Cortellone for woodwinds, the brothers Garegnani for brass instruments, and Michele Lanfranchi, known as a wind instrument maker from this citation only. The name of Antonio Grassi, born in 1730, is mentioned in the parish registers of Milan in 1789–1792, and again in 1800 listed as an

FIGURE 1 Composition of the civic band in 1796. Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Fondo materie, Cartella 50, Banda musicale. Copyright by Comune di Milano

Ruolo,

Degli Individui Componenti la Banda della Guardia N. 1.^a Milanese

1	Garegnani Melchior	} Corni da Caccia
2	Garegnani Giuseppe	
3	Camocchia Felice	} Trombe Dritte
4	Schirotti Antonio	
5	Binaco Eusebio	} Clarinetti Primi
6	Galinotti Giuseppe	
(12) 7	Amber Domenico	} Clarinetti Secondi
8	Quata Luigi	
(13) 9	Gemoni Giuseppe	} Clarinetti Secondi
10	Delviaggi Giacomo	
11	Aber Giovanni	} Oboi
12	Emanuel Antonio	
13	Bucinelli Giuseppe	} Fagotti
14	Mazzoni Giuseppe	
15	Cattaneo Domenico	} Trombe
16	Galinotti Giacomo	
17	Flaver Giovanni	} Tamburone
(15) 18	Motel Carlo	} Tamburone
(16) 19	Cerdier Andrea	} Tamburone

oboe maker at the age of 70. Many instruments signed Grassi, all woodwinds, survive today; they are possibly the work of more than one generation of makers.

The suppression of the guilds in Lombardy that happened gradually between 1773 and 1787, under the stimulus of the empress Maria Theresa of Austria, started a new process of liberalisation of production and opened the internal market to new products. However at the beginning the demand was still very weak if we consider that, in a report on the imports of 1778, the total number of wind instruments was limited to:

Brass post horns 3
 Flutes 4
 Oboes 3
 Brass straight trumpets 8

and that the local production was most probably not much higher.²

² Archivio di Stato di Milano (I-Mas), Fondo Commercio, Parte Antica, cartella 4, n. 15: Dizionario delle merci, che sono state importate nello Stato di Milano nel 1778, nella loro quantità, e prodotto, col confronto del prodotto che darebbero calcolandole al dazio, che la Tariffa ascrive alla Provincia di Milano, ed a quello di riforma per li Capi, che sono stati riformati a tutto Agosto 1785.

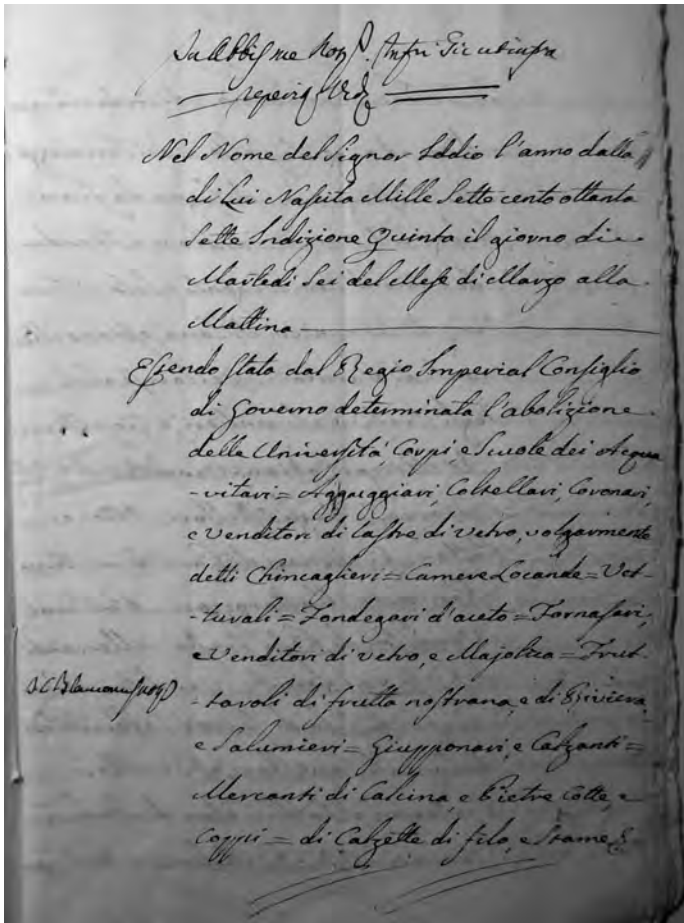


FIGURE 2 Document dated 6 March 1787, reporting the suppression of the guilds. Archivio Storico Civico, Milano (I.Mt), Fondo Materie, cartella 731. Copyright by Comune di Milano

In the same year of 1778 the export of turned objects (*opere da tornitore*) or objects made of brass and copper from Lombardy was forbidden; small trumpets (*opere di ottone*, *opere di rame*, *trombette*) and, of course, musical instruments were implicitly included.³

One of the main consequences of liberalisation was that the artisans were no longer tied to the limited set of tools, proper to a guild, and could work both wood and metal. New enterprises were created through the free initiative of artisans, bypassing the strict guild rules of apprenticeship. During the French domination, the Lombard Institute of Sciences, Letters and Arts was created in 1805. Every two years the Institute organised exhibitions of industrial products, and prizes were assigned to makers of different kinds of artifacts, musical instruments included, with the aim of promoting quality and innovation. A prize assigned to a maker would have increased his visibility and appreciation on the market. The patent system was introduced after the return of the Habsburgs in 1815 and extended to the other parts of Italy only after the re-unification of 1860. The

3 I-Mas, Fondo Commercio, Parte Antica, cartella 22.

protection of new ideas and innovations and consequently the exclusive rights of exploitation for a fixed period of time was thereby made possible. However the economic situation in Milan after the many wars and political changes, which started before 1790 and continued after 1815, strongly constrained the internal market. The consequences of liberalisation were therefore not immediate and several decades had to pass before a significant increase in the number of makers could be registered.

The French domination of Milan The period of the French domination of Milan, from 1796 to the Congress of Vienna of 1815, brought with it a reorganisation of the bands. Concerning the production and repair of wind instruments documents dating from 1796 mention the names of Antonio Grassi for clarinets, flutes, bassoons, oboes and flageolets, an otherwise unknown Antonio Locatelli for new hunting horns, and the brothers Garegnani, who were the main suppliers of brass instruments, as described below. However most of the instruments were acquired abroad, for instance when the new civic band was reorganised in 1796.⁴

As stated before, the brothers Garegnani, Melchiorre and Giuseppe, and Giacomo De Luigi are also mentioned as players from 1793 to 1802 in many documents related to the *Banda della Guardia Nazionale Milanese*. An interesting document dated 23 July 1796 (figure 4 on page 161) informs us that the band commissioned a sculptor to build a *corno serpentino*, probably a small serpent horn: »Militare – Banda della 5½ Brigata d'infanteria francese-Corno serpentino fatto e somministrato per £170 S10 (5½ Luigi d'oro) dallo scultore Agostino Gerli«. ⁵ This was probably a mouthpiece wooden instrument, related to the traditional serpent, but carved with special care and perhaps recalling the shape of the oboe-family *serpentine*, made by Antonio Grassi supposedly several years before ⁶ (he was still active in 1796). An early example of the tradition of instruments with a dragon or serpent head bell in Milan is the contra-bassoon by Giovanni Maria Anciuti, dated 1732. Another much later instrument with a dragon head bell is the 3-keyed wooden bass-horn (*cimbasso*)⁷ marked *Fratelli Garignani Milano*, the only actually known surviving instrument by those makers.⁸


4 Archivio Storico Civico, Milano (I-Mt), Fondo materie, cartella 50.

5 I-Mt, Fondo materie, cartella 50, Banda musicale, Atti vari.

6 Renato Meucci: Les »serpentine« utilisés par Mozart à Milan, in: *Ecoles et traditions régionales 1*, Paris 2004 (Musique Images Instruments, vol. 6), pp. 180–187.

7 Renato Meucci: The Cimbasso and Related Instruments in 19th-Century Italy, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996), pp. 143–179.

8 New Haven, Yale University collection of musical instruments, Acc. No. 3559.1960. In Georges Kastners *Manuel général de musique militaire* (Paris 1848) this instrument is defined as *Serpent droit*, *Serpent basson*, or *Ophibaryton*.

LIBERTÀ.  EGUAGLIANZA.

IN NOME DELLA REPUBBLICA CISALPINA.
BANDA MILITARE SEDENTARIA
NELLA COMUNE DI MILANO.

RUOLO

Degli Individui componenti la Banda suddetta
per la Decade del mese *ca* Anno *1797* della R. C.

1	<i>Corno e Clarinetto</i>	Galinotti Giuseppe
2	<i>Ottavino</i>	Aber Giovanni
3	<i>Clarinetto</i>	Binago Pietro
4	<i>Clarinetto</i>	Bucinelli Giuseppe
5	<i>Ombrelino</i>	Baglioni Francesco
6	<i>Fagotto</i>	Bucinelli Candido
7	<i>Tromba D'India</i>	Camoccia Felice
8	<i>Fagotto</i>	Cattaneo Domenico
9	<i>Clarinetto</i>	De Luigi Giacomo
10	<i>Ottavino</i>	Emanuel Antonio
11	<i>Clarinetto</i>	Galinotti Giacomo
12	<i>Corno da Caccia</i>	Garegnani Melchiorre
13	<i>Corno da Caccia</i>	Garegnani Giuseppe
14	<i>Clarinetto</i>	Guala Luigi
15	<i>Ottavino</i>	Haver Giovanni
16	<i>Fagotto</i>	Mazzone Giuseppe
17	<i>Tratti</i>	Panziati Giuseppe
18	<i>Tamburone</i>	Piazza Giuseppe
19	<i>Tromba D'India</i>	Schirotti Antonio

FIGURE 3 Composition of the civic band of Milan in 1797. Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Fondo materie, Cartella 50, Banda musicale. Copyright by Comune di Milano

The brothers Garegnani appear in the registers (*stato delle anime*) of the Parish of S. Tecla in Milan from 1790 to 1793 in *Contrada de' Pattari 567* as *ramari*, or copper workers. In the census of 1811, updated up to 1835,⁹ the year of a new census, under the name Garignani, we find:

»Garignani Melchiorre, di Giuseppe e fu Berri Teresa, 1 dicembre 1759, trombajo-fabbricatore di corni da caccia, 588 (corso Francesco, parrocchia di S. Carlo), morto 1829 L 73 (parrocchia di S. Carlo/S. Maria dei Servi).

Garignani Giuseppe, di Giuseppe e fu Berri Teresa, 8 luglio 1775, trombajo-fabbricatore di corni da caccia, 588 (corso Francesco, parrocchia di S. Carlo), morto 1827 L 73 (parrocchia di S. Carlo/S. Maria dei Servi).

9 The census of 1811, updated up to 1835 and the census of 1835, updated up to 1866 are kept in the Archivio Storico Civico di Milano, Bibl. Trivulziana under the title »Ruolo generale della popolazione«.

Garignani Francesco, di Giuseppe e fu Berri Teresa, 1772, trombajo-fabbricatore di corni da caccia, 588 (corso Francesco, parrocchia di S. Carlo), morto 1823 F 6 (parrocchia di S. Carlo/S. Maria dei Servi).«

Besides the afore-mentioned *Servitore di Piazza* of 1791, other commercial guides of Milan show a record of the Garegnanis from 1811 to 1839 (from 1837 as »ditta« or firm). From 1840 to 1842 their name is associated with the firm of Galbiati, Garegnani and Clerici, for brass instruments and metal products (»fabbr. di corni da caccia e trombe, ed anche tollaj«). The brothers are mentioned in the commercial guides of Milan as:¹⁰

1811–1819: fabbricatore d'istromenti musicali da fiato;

1820: fabb. di corni da caccia, trombette, ed oggetti di lata del così detto *moiré métallique*, ec.;

1822: fabbrica di corni da caccia e trombette

1837: trombe, ed anche tollaj

What is meant by *moiré métallique* is a special technique of treating the surface of tin objects having the purpose of providing a crystal-like or frosted appearance.

After the last of the brothers Garegnani, Melchiorre, died in 1829 one may assume that other members of the family continued their activity, but no information to support this hypothesis was found. Following the French conquest of Milan in May 1796 a reorganisation of the military corps took place and several documents, dating from 1796 to 1799, refer to the commission of brass instruments by the brothers Garegnani for military trumpets, horns and repairs.¹¹ Examples of the many orders are:

20 July 1796: repair and parts replacement for n. 6 trombe da Guera in giro piccolo

The same month: other 30 trumpets, 2 horns and 2 cymbals.

23 August 1796, for the *Municipalità* of Milan: »due Corni da Caccia nuovi in tutti li toni con un ritorto per ogni tono e fatti a pompa per crescere e calare la voce dacordo zecchini n. 30. Fatto una tromba dritta per armonia in giro piccolo per tutti li toni con un ritorto per cadaun tono con i suoi puntini e bochino dacordo zechini n. 5«.

The price and quality of the supplied instruments was judged by experts designated by the City, and several reports exist on supplies of brass instruments.¹²

¹⁰ Elena Previdi: I costruttori milanesi di strumenti musicali nelle guide commerciali dell'Ottocento, in: *Fonti musicali italiane* 9 (2004), pp. 133–184.

¹¹ I-Mt, Fondo famiglie, cartella 729 Garegnani.

¹² I-Mt, Fondo famiglie, cartella 729 Garegnani: 7 ottobre 1796, 14 settembre 1796, 23 maggio 1796.

The first three decades of the 19th century During the last decades of the 18th century new sources of information began to appear: newspapers, commercial guides, various kinds of printed commercial and economic publications. Unfortunately there is a wide gap in the sequence of known commercial guides of Milan. After the aforementioned guide of 1791, names of musical instruments makers are again found in a guide of 1811, the *Almanacco Commerciale di Milano* which, from 1811 to 1819, mentions only two names: Giacomo De Luigi and the brothers Garegnani. However we know that other wind instrument makers were certainly active during that period. A possible explanation for this limited impact in the guides may reside in the fact that those kinds of publications were quite new and the small workshops might not have even known of or been initially interested in this opportunity. However, from the year 1820 other names began to appear in the guides: that of Giovanni Battista Pessina a maker of hunting horns and other musical instruments (*corni da caccia ed altri strumenti musicali*) born in 1762 and therefore active since the last quarter of the 18th century, and Giuseppe Agliati a maker of hunting horns born in Milan in 1792.¹³

Giacomo De Luigi, born in 1762, the same year as Pessina, and mentioned before as a player in the Civic Band, was mainly a wind instrument maker. He is mentioned at the 1805 exhibition in Milan, the first organised by the newly founded *Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, for »un flauto traversiere con tutte le chiavi pei semituoni a valvole di metallo« for which he received an award in the same year. However his name is associated with that of Paolo Pelitti, in 1828, for the realisation of a keyed trumpet invented by Giovanni Balzarek.¹⁴ This information is contained in the request for judgment sent by Balzarek to the Institute in 1828. He received a silver medal for his invention.¹⁵ The report of the commission of three members, who organised a demonstration of the trumpet in 1828, provided a description of the new mechanism of the keyed trumpet. From the text we understand that it was possible to adjust precisely the upper and lower parts of the instrument, that were provided with sliding components, and the key lever length, in order to play in different keys without the use of crooks (see figure 6 on page 161 for a contemporary example). Giacomo De Luigi is mentioned as *fabbricatore d'istromenti da fiato* in the census of 1811 and in that of 1835. We could find his name in the parish registers

13 A trumpet signed »G. AGLIATI« is mentioned in a document in the private library of the late William Waterhouse, Whitehall Cottage, Sevenhampton, Gloucestershire; a 9-keyed ophicleide is in the Musikmuseum Basel; in the Milan 1811 census we find: »Giuseppe Agliati, Francesco e Rosa Pogliani, Milano, 17 settembre 1792, F.º di trombe da caccia, 2038 (Borgo di Porta Comasina, S. Sempliciano), 4085 B (Contrada dei Tre Alberghi-Tre Re, S. Satiro), via Alberghi 10«.

14 Giovanni Balzarek was a member of the band of the Prince Lichtenstein regiment in Milan.

15 Gabriele Rossi Rognoni: *Premi e brevetti a strumenti musicali nella Lombardia dell'Ottocento*, MA thesis, University of Pavia, academic year 1997/98, pp. 162–164.

from 1809, aged 43, in Contrada della Rosa 3124, until 1839 in Contrada di S. Mattia alla Moneta 3139: De Luigi Giacomo, 77, *Fabbricatore d'Istrumenti Musicali*. It appears that he continued to work as a maker up to the end of his life or, at least, he was still recorded as an instrument maker in 1839. He died in 1840. His son Andrea was recorded as an instrument maker in 1811, but died in 1814 in Barcellona:

»De Luigi Andrea, di Giacomo e Giussani Giuseppa, 15 dicembre 1790, fabbricatore d'istromenti da fiato, 3124 (contrada della Rosa, parrocchia di S. Sepolcro), 3222 (contrada dei Mercanti d'Oro, parrocchia Metropolitana), morto 1814 a Barcellona«.

Improvements to the hunting horn which, at the beginning of the century, was generally played with the technique of the hand inside the bell and crooks for changing keys, were the objective of new models presented to the Institute in Milan by various makers. In 1822 the *Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* was invited to examine a new keyed hunting horn, presented by Benedetto Bergonzi of Cremona, who was awarded a silver medal in 1824. He applied six keys on holes at the top of protruding small cones. His aim was to avoid the use of the hand inside the bell completely and make possible the change of key without using crooks. The committee requested further information from Vienna concerning similar inventions but no evidence was found, and credit for the new invention was given to the author.

Giacomo De Luigi, associated with Carlo Bernardi, who defined themselves »*Fabbricatori di Stromenti musicali da fiato*«, submitted a request for judgment for an improved hunting horn (*un corno da caccia innovato*) to the same Institute in 1824.¹⁶ The instrument had four valves (*chiavi*) that could be used to obtain chromatic tones in a key or to change the key. The commission observed that the keys, acting as »*taps*« (*rubinet*) with a rotation of a quarter of a turn, were based on principles already known in Germany and also found in an instrument presented in 1823 to the Conservatory of Milan. The fast operation of the keys was problematic as well as their air-tight closure which was not reliable enough. It worked well for changing the key by operating one or more valves. It was awarded an honourable mention for its special distribution of the additional tubing and its limited weight.

The inventor who presented a keyed hunting horn in 1823 for judgment to the Conservatory of Milan was the horn player Luigi Pini (1790–1848) of Fontanellato (Parma). His instrument had eight keys which enabled the playing of chromatic scales in all keys without crooks. The invention was sent to the Imperial Music Academy of Vienna, that never answered, and to the Conservatory of Milan, that approved and praised this innovation. However an instrument very similar to the one invented by Pini, with some minor

16 Rossi Rognoni: *Premi e brevetti*, pp. 173 f.

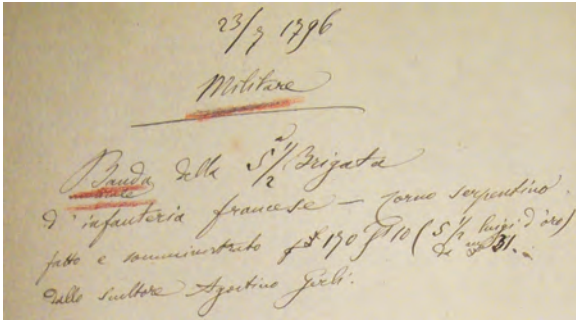


FIGURE 4 Document attesting the commission of a corno serpentino. Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Fondo materie, Cartella 49, Banda musicale, Atti vari (1796–1801). Copyright by Comune di Milano **FIGURE 5** Cimbasso by F.lli Garegnani, Milan. Courtesy of Yale University



From above to below:

FIGURE 6 Italian keyed trumpet by

Antonio Apparuti, dated Modena 1832

FIGURE 7 Tenor trombone by Carlo

Bernardi signed »Carlo Bernardi in Mi-

lano Fece nell'Anno 1838 pel Sig. Giu-

seppe Gallarati« **FIGURE 8** Trumpet

with double pistons signed »Pelitti fig-

lio«. Figure 6–8: Pisa, private collection

modifications, was presented soon after as a German finding. One such horn by Pini is at the Archiginnasio Museum in Bologna. The horn was built by Lorenzo Dall'Asta of Parma.

Carlo Bernardi (1780–1859), qualified as a *musicante*, music player, in the records of the 1835 Milan census, had a workshop in Contrada de' Ratti, the part of town where most wind instrument makers were active in the first half of the century. In the commercial guides of Milan his name appears from 1825 to 1850 in Contrada de' Ratti 3189; only in the year 1828 his name is associated with that of the woodwind maker Ubaldo Luvoni, who had his workshop at the same address. In the Milan guide *Guida Bernardoni* of 1847 his name is listed among the *Professori di Corno da caccia, Tromba e Trombone*, as well as Bernardi Luigi, born in 1807, and Bernardi Giuseppe, born in 1808, both sons of Carlo. In the 1835 census Luigi Bernardi is named *Musicante* and Giuseppe *Fabbricatore d'istrumenti*. Two French horns, one in Eb and one in G, a keyed trumpet and a valved tenor trombone are the instruments marked Carlo Bernardi, known to the author.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that the trombone, dated 1838, has four double pistons (*macchina*).¹⁸ This is likely to be one of the first examples in Italy of the use of the fourth valve in brass instruments and it testifies to an early use of these types of valves (figure 7 on page 161).

Carlo Bernardi was born in Turin in 1780. His first son, Giovanni Battista Bernardi, was born in Chambéry in 1802; his second, Luigi, in Massiola in 1807; his third, Giuseppe, in Spalato in 1808. Therefore before reaching a stable position in Milan he moved to several places, possibly as a player. Massiola is located in Val Strona, part of the Savoia State at the time, which is the valley from where most of the turners and makers named Piana, Beltrami, Guglielminetti originated. The Rampones and Fornis came from the parallel valley of Quarna. He might have been in touch with the brass makers of Turin. It is worth noting that a daughter of Carlo Bernardi, Maria, born in 1816, married Carlo Pianezzi, another wind instrument maker born in 1801, whose son Giovanni Carlo, born in 1837, joined his father's workshop and continued his activity. He was possibly making brass instruments but no instrument with his name or other information is actually known.

The situation towards 1850 After the French domination, Milan was included in the Austrian empire up to 1859. During that period, strict commercial and economic relationships with the countries of the empire, and in particular with the capital Vienna, were

¹⁷ Bergamo, Museo Donizettiano, two french horns; Pisa, private collection, 4-valved trombone; Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti Musicali, MSM 589, 5-keyed trumpet.

¹⁸ The double piston system was invented in 1823 by Josef Kail and Joseph Riedl and improved by Leopold Uhlmann in 1830.

encouraged. The production of wind instruments was strongly influenced by the models exported in large numbers by the better-organised Austrian makers. Many of them, since the very first decades of the century had developed an industrial production of musical instruments: for instance the firms of Stephan Koch, Johann Ziegler, Joseph Felix Riedl, Leopold Uhlmann and several others. The Viennese models became a reference for many wind instrument makers of Milan. The flute models by Koch and Ziegler were extensively imitated to the point that the simple system flute was known in the second half of the century in Italy as the ›Ziegler system‹ flute.

The production of wind instruments in Milan during the first half of the 19th century was still taking place in small workshops and it was only after 1850 that a more modern industrial organisation of production was started by Giuseppe Pelitti. Only few makers were capable of following Pelitti's example: for instance Ferdinando Roth, Agostino Rampone and Maino & Orsi. Most of the other workshops maintained a very limited size, with one or just a few workers. It was usual in Milan, but also in the main towns in the rest of Italy, to have large musical instrument warehouses and shops (*depositi*), where the main foreign producers, mostly from Austria and France, were represented (figure 9).

The same Giuseppe Pelitti sold wind instruments made abroad. The Bernardoni Guides of Milan from 1838 to 1847 report: »fabbr. d'istrumenti music. e commiss.; tiene deposito d'istrumenti da fiato delle migliori fabbriche di Francia e di Germania«. This means that Pelitti was very well informed of the new models developed in Vienna and Paris. We briefly recall here that the figures of Giuseppe Pelitti and his son Clemente Giuseppe were the most renowned brass instrument makers in Milan since the third decade of the 19th century and actively present in all activities related to the production of wind instruments in Milan.¹⁹ They invented an impressive number of new instruments and models, among which we mention the Bombardino (1835), the Pellittifono (1844), the Pellitticorno (1845), the Pellittone (1846), the duplex instruments (1847), the metal contra-bassoon (1853) and others, and obtained many patents. They received more awards from the Istituto Lombardo di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti and in national and international exhibitions than any other Italian maker. A detailed study of this family of makers can be found in the extended article by Renato Meucci already cited, and will not be repeated here. However minor additional data was recently found that may be of interest to the purpose of this text.

The name of Paolo Pelitti was listed in the registers of the Parish of S. Sepolcro from 1827 to 1830. In 1828 he was joined by the younger brother Giuseppe, then 17 years old.

19 Renato Meucci: Una famiglia di costruttori di ottoni: I Pelitti a Milano nel XIX secolo, in: *I Fiati* 9 (1995/96) p. 52–59, 10 (1996) pp. 42–47; also: Renato Meucci: The Pelitti firm: makers of brass instruments in nineteenth-century Milan, in: *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994), pp. 304–333.

	Prezzo in Argento	
	Scudi	Baj.
Piccola Tromba in Do, con accordature in si b, La, La b. con meccanismo perfezionato a cilindro	20	"
Detta con macchina a pistoni	12	"
Cornettina in Mi b alto a cilindro con accordature in Re, Do, si b	20	"
Piston o Cornetta in Do a cilindro con accordature in si b, La, La b, sol	25	"
Detta con accordature si b, La, La b	28	"
Tromba in sol, a cilindro e cinque accordature	24	"
Detta a pistoni	13	"
Frumbone in si b a cilindro	25	"
Detto a pistoni	15	"
Corno da caccia a cilindro con dieci accordature	30	"
Detto a pistoni	24	"
Bombardone in Fa, e mi b, a cilindro	30	"
Detto a pistoni	25	"
Contro-Bombardone in si b, a pistoni di grosso calibro, e corto modello	40	"
Piatti Turchi	15	"
Clarinetto in Fa, si b, a cilindro	24	"
Detto a pistoni	16	"
Tromba di Cavalleria con cordone	5	"
Fiscorno Tenore in si b, a cilindro	25	"
Detto a pistone	15	"
Detto Basso in si b, Mi b, a cilindro	25	"
Detto a pistone	15	"

FIGURE 9 Excerpt of the price list for brass instruments sold by Bartolini in Rome: Deposito Generale in Roma di Stromenti musicali delle prime fabbriche di Francia, Italia e Germania. Pisa, private collection

Both were registered as *Fabbricatore di strumenti di fiato*. It seems unlikely that Paolo left Milan to open a new factory in Genoa in 1828,²⁰ leaving the activity in Milan to Giuseppe, who was too young at the time and had arrived in the same year.²¹ Since Paolo is listed in the parish registers up to 1830 it is more reasonable to suppose that he left Milan not before 1830. Unfortunately the registers from 1831 up to 1835 are missing; in 1836 Giuseppe is only recorded as:

»1836–37 Contrada dei Ratti 3187
 Pelitti Giuseppe, Fabbricatore d'Istromenti, 24
 Peregalli Savina, moglie, 28
 Pelitti Eugenio, Fabbricatore d'Istromenti, 26, nubile«

Eugenio Pelitti appears at that address until 1839, the year when Giuseppe's son Clemente Giuseppe was born. Eugenio was another brother of Giuseppe, born in 1807, and whose complete name was Giulio Eugenio, as Giulio Giuseppe was the complete name of his younger brother.²²

²⁰ Article by Magrini on the Pelitti factory, in: *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* 13 (1855), p. 260.

²¹ Parish of S. Sepolcro, list of residents, year 1828.

²² Enrico Pelitti: *Ricerche genealogiche sulla stirpe Pelitti*, 1992, private communication.

In 1847 Giuseppe Pelitti was in Contrada dei Tre Re 4092, 2nd floor, and in 1849 he moved to the first floor facing the street, with the *magazzino Pelitti* on the same floor. In 1849 Carlo Pelitti, 35, *fabbricatore d'Instrumenti* is also listed at number 4088 on the same street. Carlo, born in 1818, was the youngest brother of Giuseppe and later became the technical head of the Pelitti workshop, a position he held for 30 years. In 1857 Giuseppe Pelitti moved to Contrada della Dogana 4038; in 1861 he was in via Pescheria Vecchia 1077 and finally in 1864 he is recorded again in Contrada de' Ratti 3187:

»1864–65 C. de' Ratti
3187/9–I piano:
Pelitti Giuseppe, 45, ammogliato con N. Savina, 45,
Fabbricatore d'Istrumenti Musicali«

He died in 1865. Already in 1861 his son Clemente Giuseppe had opened his own workshop in via S. Vittore al Teatro 15. In the testamentary succession,²³ settled soon after Giuseppe's death, the following is written:

»25 del mese di aprile dell'anno mille ottocento sessantacinque, morì in Milano, via Pescheria Vecchia N. 1077, il suddetto Giuseppe Pelitti fu Giovanni, che aveva il suo domicilio in Milano, casa suddetta, ammogliato con Savina Peregalli.«

Therefore Giuseppe Pelitti was still in the house in Pescheria Vecchia in 1865.

It is interesting to know the family members who had rights on the estate left by Giuseppe Pelitti, as stated in the succession (see figure 10):

»Stipite
Giovanni Pelitti
Figli di Giovanni:
Giuseppe [figli di Giuseppe: Clemente Giuseppe e Teresa]
Carlo [figli di Carlo: Luigi, Edoardo e Rosa]
Paolo [figlie di Paolo: Giulia e Adelaide]
Eugenio
Teresa maritata Maldura [figlie di Teresa: Cecilia Maldura e Luigia Maldura]«

The other daughter of Giuseppe, Luigia, born in 1848, died in 1854.

The house in via Pescheria Vecchia 1071/8 had been purchased by the Milan township in 1864, when the planned construction of the new *Galleria* and the enlarged *Piazza del Duomo* required the destruction of all the buildings in the chosen area, which included the Pelittis' house:²⁴

23 I-Mas, Fondo successioni, Cartella 22, Faldone 19, Pratica 36, 25. 4. 1865. Reproduction rights for all images I-Mas granted by the Milan State Archive prot. n. 376/28.13.11.

24 I-Mas, Atti del Notaio Giovanni Cattaneo (1857–1870), cartella 1386, N. 1069/623, 17. 3. 1866.

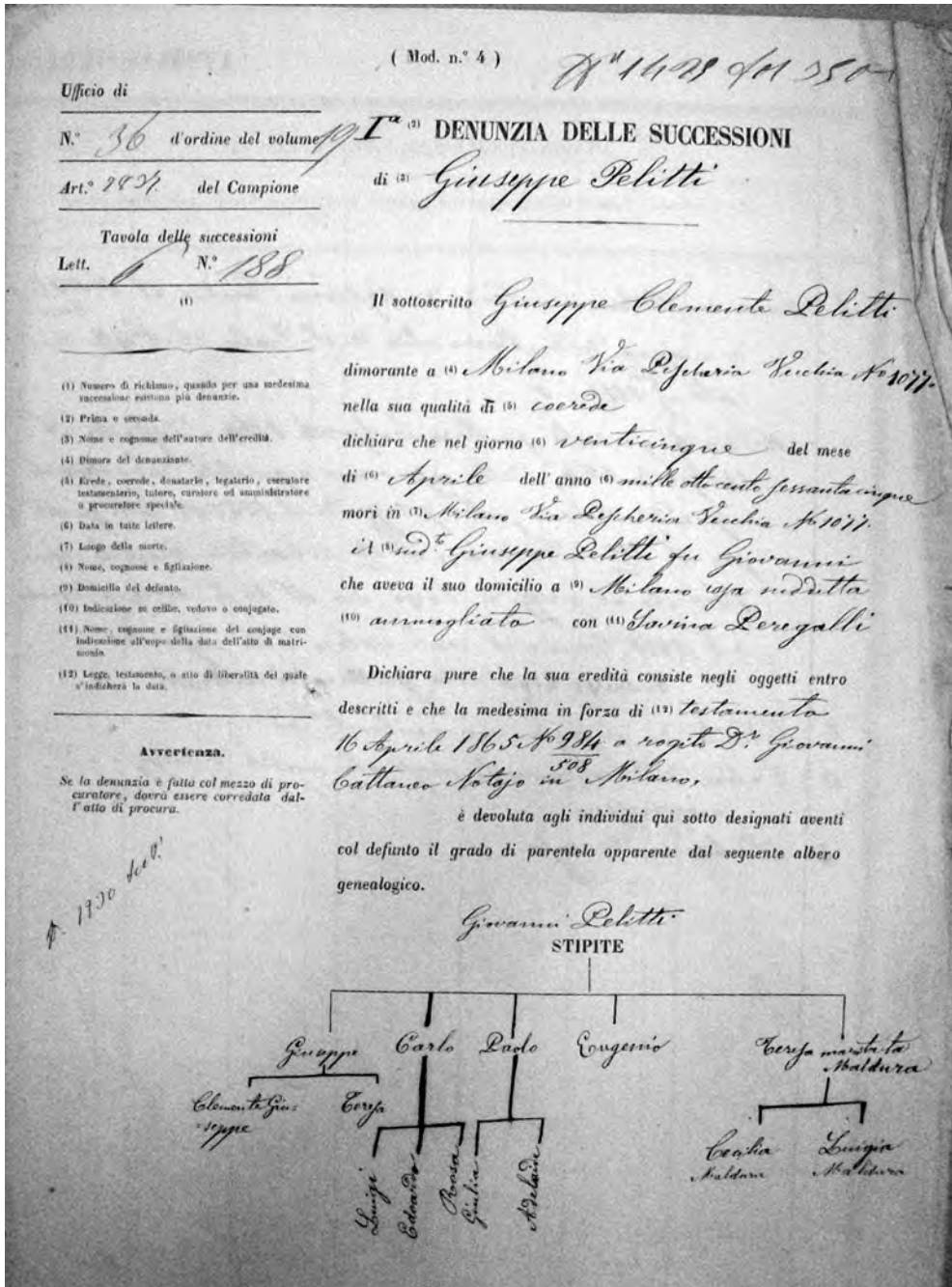


FIGURE 10 Giuseppe Pelitti's testamentary succession 1865. I-Mas Fondo successioni

»Comune della Città di Milano [riceve] il diritto di espropriazione forzata per tutte quelle case occorresse potessero alla formazione della nuova Piazza del Duomo, e alla apertura della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele e delle vie adiacenti«.

A change of the agreement was done on April 24, the day before Giuseppe's death.

»Mediante privata scrittura 6 aprile 1864 modificata il 24 aprile 1865, detta casa venne acquistata dal Municipio di Milano pello prezzo di £125,000, delle quali per £110,000 in danaro, e £15,000 in Cartelle Prestito Civico 1860«.

The total value of the goods was 166,136 Lire, (at the actual value this corresponds to about 800,000 Euros, 1 Lira in 2010 amounting to 9,324 Lire, that is 4.82 Euros, in 1865), of which 122,960 for the house, and 16,840 for the workshop and musical instruments. Clemente Giuseppe and his sister Teresa each received 72,708 lire. There was no special treatment in favour of Clemente Giuseppe.

Giuseppe Pelitti designated his wife, Savina Peregalli, to take over the responsibility for the management of all the affairs of the workshop and the shop on 16 April 1865.²⁵ This circumstance seems to suggest that the relationship with his son Clemente Giuseppe was not good and explains also the fact that Clemente Giuseppe opened his own workshop in 1861 (figure 8 on page 161). However soon after Giuseppe's death, his wife and daughter Teresa, formally asked Clemente Giuseppe to take the control of the family business.²⁶ We recall here that Teresa Pelitti, the eldest sister of Giuseppe Pelitti, married the pharmacist Giovanni Maldura, born in Gandino, a village close to Varese from where the Pelittis also originated. Their son Alessandro, born in 1830, became one of the most renowned makers of woodwind instruments and was a bassoon player himself; he married Teresa Pelitti, daughter of Giuseppe. His brother, Luigi, was a clarinet player at La Scala theatre from 1887 to 1891.

Pietro Piana, Ubaldo Luvoni, Egidio Forni, Carlo Bernardi and Ferdinando Roth also had their workshops and/or their home in Contrada de' Ratti. Other less known names that we find in the commercial guides of Milan in the first half of the 19th century are:

Giovanni Buratti, from 1820 to 1838, listed as *fabb. di corni da caccia e trombe dritte e ramiere*. Giovanni Galbiati, born in 1803, in the 1811 census, updated up to 1835, is called *ottonajo* (brass worker).

Pasquale Frontini, defined from 1820 to 1826 as brass instrument maker or hunting horn maker.

25 I-Mas, Atti del Notaio Giovanni Cattaneo (1857-1870), cartella 1385, n. 985/509, 16. 4. 1865.

26 I-Mas, Atti del Notaio Giovanni Cattaneo (1857-1870), cartella 1386, n. 1017/550, 1. 8. 1865.

In the census of 1835 the names of other brass instrument makers, otherwise unknown, are mentioned:

»Michele Casazza, Gaudenzio e Cardinali Rosa, Milano, 1 settembre 1820, Stampatore di tele [poi] Fabbricatore d'istromenti d'ottone
 Pietro De Gianni, Andrea e Pelizza Antonia, Varese, 20 agosto 1818, Fabbricatore di Trombe
 Giuseppe Fusi, Domenico e Della Mora Anna, Milano, 10 novembre 1831, Fabbricatore d'Istrumenti musicali
 Angelo Galli, Giovanni Battista e Ripamonti Teresa, Milano, 4 febbraio 1805, Fabbricatore di Trombe
 Francesco Biondetti, Francesco e Ermer Caterina, Lugano, 18 novembre 1800, Fabbricatore di Stromenti da fiato«.

The name of the latter appears in the registers of the parish of S. Satiro from 1836, as a generic *Fabbricatore d'Istromenti*; however from 1839 to 1842 his position is *Fabbricatore di Trombette* and again from 1843 to 1856 *Fabbricatore d'Istromenti*. In a record of the baptism of his daughter Anna dated 1836 he is named *Macchinista Idraulico*, or specialised plumber.

Another well-known maker of wind instruments who started his activity in the third decade of the century was Ferdinando Roth. In the census of 1835 he is listed as

»Ferdinando Roth, Giovanni Amadeo e Glasern Giovanna, Adorf, 1815, Fabbricatore d'Istrumenti musicali, 3168 (Contrada di Zecca Vecchia, S. Sepolcro, Chiesa), 3139 (Contrada di S. Mattia alla Moneta, S. Sepolcro), 3122 (Contrada degli Armorari, S. Sepolcro), 3187 A (Contrada dei Ratti, S. Sepolcro), 4098 A (Vicolo di S. Giovanni in Conca, S. Alessandro)«.

His name is found in the registers of the Parish of S. Sepolcro in 1844:

»Contrada di Valpetrosa 3299–Altra scala
 Rothe [sic] Ferdinando, 27, Fabbricatore d'Istromenti
 Gläse Giovanna, 26, moglie
 Serafina, figlia, 2
 Augusta, figlia, 1«.

In 1855–1856 his address is Contrada de' Ratti 3187, the same house where Giuseppe Pelitti lived and had his workshop from 1828 to 1846. However it is likely that Pelitti moved away with his family after 1846 but kept his workshop and deposit in Contrada de' Ratti. Roth came from the small town of Adorf, in the Vogtland, where instrument making was already a well-developed industry. Also Alberto Schoenstein, another wind instrument maker, active in Milan in the second half of the century, was born in Adorf in 1825. In 1846 the name of Roth Enrico Agostino, 23, nubile, *Fabbricatore d'Istrumenti* (possibly a brother of Ferdinando's) is mentioned in Contrada degli Spadari 3242.

A recently discovered document testifies that Ferdinando Roth had a deposit at Luvoni's workshop in 1848 and that the two makers had some joint commissions, Luvoni for the woodwinds and Roth for the brass instruments. Until 1850 Carlo Bernardi was

also recorded at the same address, in Contrada de' Ratti 3189. A letter, dated 14 November 1848, is one of the earliest trade catalogues of wind instruments in Milan. The letterhead (reproduced in figure 11) is:

FERDINANDO ROTH
 Fabbricatore
 D'ISTRUMENTI MUSICALI IN OTTONE
 D'OGNI GENERE
 CON DEPOSITO PRESSO LA RINOMATA FABBRICA D'ISTRUMENTI
 MUSICALI IN LEGNO DI UBALDI [SIC] LUVONI E COMPAGNI IN MILANO
 Contrada de' Ratti num. 3189.



FIGURE 11 Letterhead of the maker Ferdinando Roth in 1848. Pisa, private collection

It may be of interest to list the instruments in this catalogue (figure 12):

Istrumenti di mia Fabbrica:		
Basso Tuba ossia grossissimo Bombardone di gran forza in Do	— —	£ 170
Bombardone in Fa	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 110
Bombardino in Sib	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 75
Corno a 9 chiavi	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 90
Trombone basso in Fa	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 80
Trombone tenore in Sib	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 75
Trombone contralto in Mib	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 65
Basso flighcorno	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 80
Flighcorno in Do alto	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 50
Tromba in Sol a N. 5 ritorti	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 50
Cornetta	— — — — — — — — — — — — — —	„ 45
Tutti questi Istrumenti a machina li garantisco sia per la bontà intonazione quanto pe'l lavoro.		

And, added at the end, after the signature:

Corno alla Sachs guarnito in pachfont	— — — — — — — — — —	„ 150
Corno a macchina a 9 ritorti	— — — — — — — — — —	„ 100.

Another letter, dated 18 October 1849, reveals the common interests of Forni and Roth. Forni writes: »Rilevai da sua lettera spedita al Sig. Roth che desidera sapere il prezzo rispetto di un flauto [...]«. ²⁷

27 Pisa, private collection.

FERDINANDO ROTH
 Fabbricatore
 D'ISTRUMENTI MUSICALI IN OTTONE
 D'OGNI GENERE
 CON DEPOSITO PRESSO LA RINOMATA FABBRICA D'ISTRUMENTI
 MUSICALI IN LEGNO DI UBALDO LUVONI E COMPAGNI IN MILANO
 Contrada de' Ratti, num. 3189.

Milano Li 16 9^{to} 1848

Ho ricevuto alla favorevole sua Del giorno 10 corrente mese.
 mi sono preso subito la premura di spedire il Catalogo degli
 Istrumenti di mia fabbrica

Tamburo per militari con Tacca etc. — Fiorini 400

Basso Tubo Basso Profissimo Bombardone di Bassa forza	ad tutta la
in Do questo Istrumento è in gran	grande effetto
Bombardone in fa	110
Bombardino in si b	75
Corno a 9 Chiacchi	90
Trombone Basso in fa	80
Trombone Tenore in si b	75
Trombone Contralto in mi b	85
Basso Flugelhorn	80
Flugelhorn in Do alto	50
Tromba in Sol a 8 S. P. tutti	50
Cometta	150
Tutti questi Istrumenti a macchina li garantisco sia per la bontà intonazione quanto per l'assoluta durata mi darà mi darà commissione entro 15 giorni se farò la spedizione frattanto colgo l'occasione per complimenti e mi premetto sua servizio	100
Corno alla Sachse	75
Corno a macchina	100
San Ciro vernice	75

Ferdinando Roth
 Milano 9^{to} 1848

FIGURE 12 Price list by Ferdinando Roth in 1848. Pisa, private collection

The workshop of Ubaldo Luvoni was in Contrada de' Ratti at number 3189, the door next to the one at number 3187, where Giuseppe Pelitti had his workshop and where Roth was living in 1855. Luvoni is mentioned in the census of 1811 as

«Luoni Ubaldo, di Antonio e fu Pallonini Giuseppa, 25 giugno 1798, lavorante gioielliere-fabbricatore di istrumenti, 4009 (contrada del Falcone, parrocchia di S. Satiro), 4043 (contrada dei Cappellari, parrocchia Metropolitana), 564 (piazza Fontana, parrocchia Metropolitana), 9 (piazza Fontana, parrocchia Metropolitana), 4882 (contrada dell'Ore, parrocchia Metropolitana), 4892 (contrada dell'Ore, parrocchia Metropolitana)».

He was named again in the census of 1835. He died in 1847 and his activity was continued by Egidio Forni. Luvoni was a maker of woodwind instruments, mainly flutes. A large number of instruments marked U. Luvoni are known. However a wooden basshorn (cimbasso) also survives.²⁸ Since 1837 Egidio Forni was the shop foreman, as stated in the letter heading he used for his correspondence.

A letter dated 18 February 1842, written by the Italian dealer Roberto Bartolini of Pietrasanta, a small town near Lucca, lists the prices for the instruments requested for the new band of Buti, a village close to Pisa (figure 13).²⁹ Notice that almost all the brass instruments were commissioned from Guichard of Paris, but all the woodwind, ophicleides and natural trumpets were provided by Luvoni of Milan:

»Numero Quattro Corni a tre pistoni con suoi pezzi della fabbrica di Parigi Guichard valutati Francesconi ventidue e mezzo per ciascheduno = Numero tre Trombe a tre pistoni con suoi pezzi complete della detta Fabbrica valutate Francesconi undici e Paoli sette per ciascheduna = Numero due Tromboni a tre pistoni dello stesso autore valutati Francesconi diciotto per ciascheduno = Uno detti a tiro dell'istessa Fabbrica e per il prezzo di Francesconi dieci, e Paoli otto = Numero due Offleidi a macchina della Fabbrica Luvoni di Milano, valutati Francesconi ventisette per ciascheduna = Una delle della Fabbrica Guichard di Parigi venticinque e Paoli due = Una Cornetta a tre pistoni della medesima Fabbrica valutata Francesconi undici e mezzo = anzi = Paoli sette, che in tutto forma la total somma di convenuta e concordata [...].«

A second order, in the same letter, concerns 16 clarinets with 9 keys, an Eb clarinet, a piccolo, all made by Luvoni, and, in addition:

»Numero due Trombe a squillo della fabbrica Luvoni ridetta per il prezzo di Francesconi otto, e Paoli uno per ciascheduna = Numero due tromboni della Fabbrica Guichard [...].«

We recall here finally the name of Pietro Piana (1785–1858), famous at the time for his woodwind instruments, author of a cimbasso now at the Vermillion museum,³⁰ and active in via de' Ratti, the same street of his competitor Luvoni.

Conclusion During the first half of the 19th century Milan experienced a climate of rich personal initiatives, original innovations, talented makers, and entrepreneurial spirit. New ideas, new models, and the beginning of a modern industrial-oriented approach to the production of wind instruments brought Milan into a competitive position with regard to the production of more organised nations such as Austria and France. We must underline that the key figures of Giuseppe Pelitti and his son Clemente Giuseppe pro-

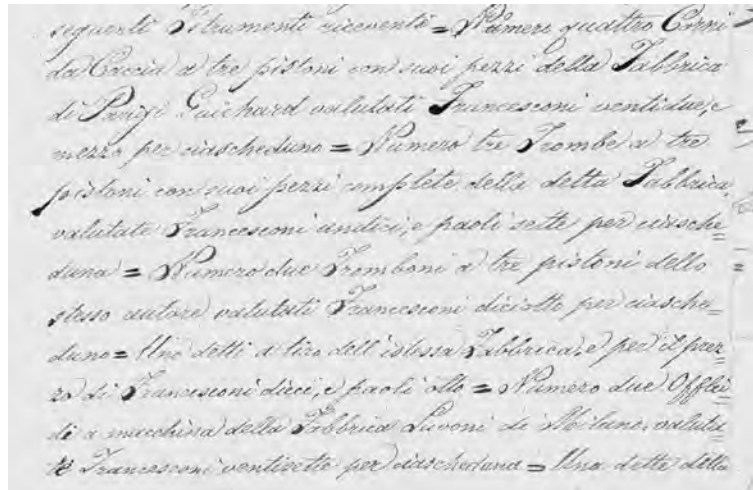
²⁸ Bruxelles, Musée des instruments de musique, n. 1239.

²⁹ Buti, Pisa, Band Archive.

³⁰ Vermillion (SD), National Music Museum, NMM 1275, cimbasso by Pietro Piana, Milan, ca. 1815, Arne B. Larson Collection, 1979.

FIGURE 13 Letter by Roberto Bartolini, Pietrasanta 1842. Buti, Pisa, band archive FIGURE 14 Cim-basso by Pietro Piana, Milan.

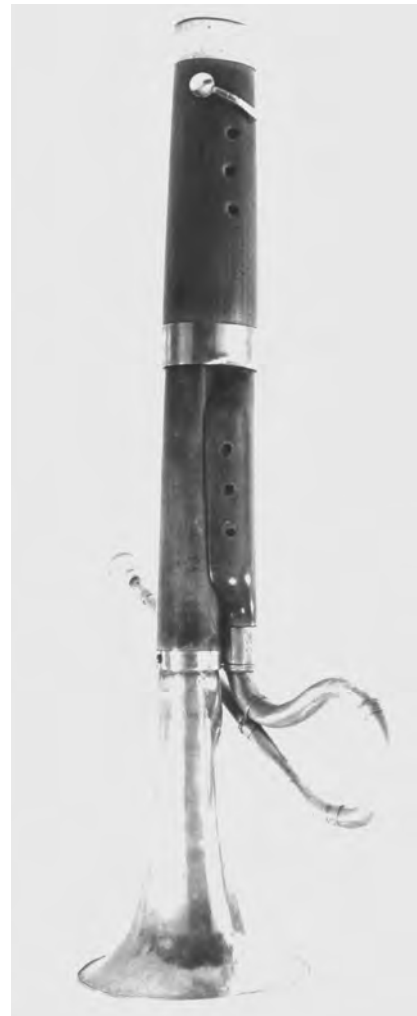
Courtesy of the National Music Museum, University of South Dakota, Simon Spicer, photographer



vided the greatest contribution to the success of the brass instrument industry in Milan, that gained great consideration in Europe, Near East and in the Americas.

The many awards received in international exhibitions by the Pelittis, Roth and many other makers are proof of the high qualitative levels achieved by the Milanese wind instrument industry during the 19th century. In the first half of the century most of the production of brass instruments was designed for bands, both military and civilian, the number of which rapidly increased throughout the century and gave rise to a growing demand.

However we may safely assume that new instruments, such as the deep bass horns, or the improved hunting horns, could be usefully employed in orchestras, as well as the more traditional valved trumpets and trombones, as suggested by several instrument methods and orchestration treatises that began to appear since the first decades of the century.³¹ Unfortunately few brass instruments and documents on the use of specific instruments of that period survive.



31 Meucci: *The Cimbasso*, pp. 143–179.

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Herausgegeben von Claudio Bacciagaluppi
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MUSIKFORSCHUNG DER
HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE BERN
Herausgegeben von Martin Skamletz

Band 4



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