The Narratological Architecture of Musical *lieux de mémoire*

A Transmedial Perspective on Antonio Stradivari

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This paper investigates the narrative of Antonio Stradivari (c. 1644–1737) and the *topoi* related to his persona in audiovisual media from a historical and transmedial perspective.

The chosen sources are available online and are part of the historical collection of the Archivio storico Istituto Luce in Rome.[1] Despite having its own digital archive, the institution has, since 2010, made some documents available on the popular video sharing portal YouTube. This is a clear sign of how digitalization and social media have brought historical sources, which can no longer be ignored by research, into everyday life. This concerns not only the history of music but also the humanities more generally, bringing with it several questions. How and why should these sources be evaluated? What does it mean for (music) historiography if music-related audiovisual sources—material that has long been difficult to access—becomes available worldwide with a simple mouse click? What does it mean for (music) historians, trained to mainly deal with written sources? How can the Internet affect the established way of thinking about history and presenting it? These evident questions are only the tip of the iceberg.

These questions can hardly be answered in this short contribution. Nevertheless, the present article will attempt, on the basis of a case study, to demonstrate the added value of audiovisual sources for understanding the impact of medialized discourses on the shaping of Antonio Stradivari as a

1 In 2013, the Newsreels and Photographs Collection of the Istituto Luce was included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. "Chi siamo, Archivio storico Luce." www.archivioluce.com/chi-siamo/

musical *lieu de mémoire*—or 'site of memory'—in the 20th century and address the meanings related to this process.

The Myth of Stradivari

Nearly everyone, that is, people without any specific knowledge in the field of 'classical music,' has heard of Stradivari. His name has pervaded society, not least because of the narrative of his apparently lost 'secrets.'[2] We are often greeted with newspaper articles about how someone discovered them. And yet another respectable subgenre are the reports of fraudulent instruments, where Stradivari counts as *pars pro toto*.[3]

But why is the violin so fascinating? With the exception of singing, human beings express their musical creativity with the help of musical instruments. An instrument, as the word itself explains, enables the performer to overcome the natural limitations of the body and, in this specific case, the voice. With the use of an appropriate instrument the timbre and register of the voice are no longer the only means of artistic expression. For this reason, of all the musical instruments, the violin seems to have a special status; in his exhaustive monograph David Schoenbaum defines the violin in the subtitle as "the world's most versatile instrument."[4]

Remarkably, ever since its appearance in Europe in the 16th century, the violin hasn't changed significantly in its design.[5] Only minor changes in the length and inclination of the neck as well as innovations in the setup have taken place over the centuries. It is no coincidence that the first composer who earned his fame exclusively with his instrumental music, Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), was a violinist.[6] Since then the violin has occupied a central place in the orchestra, gaining the status of the quintessential embodiment of instrumental virtuosity. Because of the consistency of its design over the cen-

2 One of the most influential treatises on violin making from the 20th century is Simone Fernando Sacconi's *I 'segreti' di Stradivari*. With the title, the author signals his intention to disclose the alleged 'secrets.' Sacconi, *I 'segreti.'*

3 The violinmaker and restorer Roger Hargrave warns of the dangers of the highly speculative market for instruments made on the Italian Peninsula during the 17th and 18th centuries. Hargrave, "Pry Before You Buy."

4 Schoenbaum, *The violin*.

5 Dilworth, "Violins" 97.

6 Talbot, "Corelli" 457.

turies and its special status within the orchestra (and as a solo instrument), the violin—and more generally string instruments—have become objects of market speculation.

Present day media often report the exorbitant prices paid for instruments made by Antonio Stradivari in Cremona. For instance, the Nippon Music Foundation sold the virtually unblemished 1721 'Lady Blunt' Stradivari for charity after the tsunami and the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster for close to 16 million US dollars.[7]

The myth that made the instruments constructed in Stradivari's workshop so valuable most likely developed in the 19th century. In German-speaking areas, instruments built south of the Alps, on the territory of modern-day Italy, were highly prized, as the catalogs of string instruments available on the market at the end of the 18th century testify.[8] However, in the *Dizionario delle arti e de' mestieri*, printed in Venice 1770, Stradivari is not described as the most sought-after violinmaker; this position was granted to Jacob Stainer (1617–83), who worked in Absam in Tyrol.[9] Interestingly, the Guarneri dynasty—the instruments attributed to Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri 'del Gesù' (1698–1744) are highly valued today—isn't even mentioned in this source. Possibly due to the flat arching enabling a more powerful sound, a common feature of the instruments from Stradivari's and Guarneri del Gesù's workshops, the sound-ideal associated with higher arching, typical of the instruments made by the Amati dynasty and Jacob Stainer, went out of fashion. Due to a lack of sources, this gradual process of change is hard to reconstruct. The same is true for the evolution of the Stradivari myth in the 19th century. It is commonly known that Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1822), who became highly regarded as a soloist and composer in Paris and London, probably played a violin made by Antonio Stradivari.[10] Even if no sources prove this unequivocally—for instance, Count Cozio di Salabue (1755–1840) remarks that Viotti played instruments made by Gioffredo Cappa (1644–1717), although this evidence isn't reliable[11]—the *Stradivari* brand became synonymous with quality in both craftmanship and tone.

7 The 'Lady Blunt' Stradivarius was offered by the Tarisio auction house. "Notable sales: 'Lady Blunt' Stradivarius of 1721." https://tarisio.com/auctions/notable-sales/lady-blunt-stradivarius-of-1721/

8 *Musikalische Realzeitung*, 7 September 1791. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=muz&datum=17910907&seite=3

9 Griselini, "Liutiere" 198. https://books.google.at/books?id=wXCVfiJvb3IC&pg=PA196

10 Lister, *Amico* 79.

11 Ibid. 80.

This ascription of meaning is today more powerful than ever: to play a 'Strad,' as the instruments made by Stradivari are nicknamed, is perceived to be both a prestigious privilege and a sign of top-level professionalism.

In recent years, blind tests have shown that tonal differences between violins made by Stradivari and modern instruments are difficult to recognize for both performing musicians and for the public.[12] Such attempts, undertaken to deconstruct the myths surrounding string instruments from the 17th and 18th centuries, don't seem to be effective—quite the opposite. Only two months after news of the research project, which had taken place in Paris in 2017, appeared in *The Strad*, the violinist Frank Almond explained in a column in the very same magazine that only old Italian violins develop synergistically with the player. This characteristic, besides the tonal character of the instrument, is difficult to find in a newly built instrument—at least in the opinion of Almond.[13] The result of such explanations in the media is clear: the myth of Stradivari and Italian string instruments lives on.

Stradivari as a *lieu de mémoire*

Due the ubiquitous presence of Stradivari in print media and, with the popularization of film, on screen, the question of whether Stradivari and the violin could be understood as a *lieu de mémoire* becomes relevant. In his *Realms of Memory,* Pierre Nora defines *lieux de mémoire* as: "[…] any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community […]."[14] Pessimistically, Nora also states that the mass media, in a process that he calls "mediatisation," undermine the ability to differentiate between relevant and less relevant collective memories. But we should not disregard the fact that that audiovisual documents distributed by the media shape collective memory. They make use of this abovementioned "symbolic element of the memorial heritage" in order to forge a shared identity. This happens, obviously, through the use of narratives and their transformation,

12 Fritz et al., "Soloist Evaluations;" Fritz et al., "Listener Evaluations;" Curtin, "Paris Projection."

13 Almond, "Sound Legacies."

14 Nora, "Realms of Memory" XVII.

adaptation, and realization in the light of new social situations, a view supported by many scholars: "Media can be understood as forms which do not simply represent the content of the narratives but indeed construct them in different ways."[15]

Therefore, it becomes relevant to analyze narrative strategies that shape *lieux de mémoire* in the media. One of the criticisms levelled against Nora is that the term itself is quite vague. The historian Patrick Schmidt noted in this regard that Nora, when using the term, doesn't differentiate between the media of memory on the one hand, and national myths, *topoi*, as well as institutions on the other. He simply subsumes these entities under the umbrella term *lieux de mémoire*.[16] This is *per se* not an unintended weakness: the broadness of the term is ultimately due to its vagueness, which enables various (re)interpretations.

However, this paper tries to negotiate a model which relates *topoi* to narratives in media. In doing so, different layers involved in the architecture of a *lieu de mémoire* become manifest: in fact, a 'site of memory' consists of an entity (person, place, or idea) related to *topoi* by narratives spread through different media in different times. This is also the case for Antonio Stradivari.

Stradivari and the Violin Making School

The early documents stored in the Archivio storico Luce in Rome are a product of fascist Italy. L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa (L. U. C. E., an acronym that means 'light'), was founded in 1924. The relevance of audiovisual material for the purpose of propaganda was however only recognized in 1933 when a diplomat, Giacomo Paulucci di Calboli (1887–1961), took over management of the institute.[17] At that time, Luce basically produced two kinds of material to be shown in cinemas around Italy: the *Giornale Luce* und the *Rivista Luce*. The *Giornale Luce* presented brief films on current affairs, while the *Rivista Luce* produced longer films with clear pedagogical objectives.[18] Aware of the need for the distribution of audiovisual material in the countryside (where cinemas didn't exist), the regime decided to reach the audience by organizing traveling cinemas.

15 Müller-Funk, *The Architecture of Modern Culture* 43.
16 Schmidt, "Zwischen Medien und Topoi" 35.
17 Dalla Pria, *Dittatura e immagine* 58.
18 Ibid. 63–64.

The popularization of what was once an elite culture grew out of the need for social cohesion, and as part of an attempt to develop industry to enable Italy's total economic autonomy, the use of propaganda and educational material in cinema was on the agenda. Reaching back to the past in order to define a shared, albeit invented, cultural heritage, such as the culture of ancient Rome, the medieval guilds, and the Renaissance, was an ongoing process. For instance, evoking medieval guilds and mixing them with the artistic achievements of the Renaissance, the regime tried to establish Florence as a significant European manufacturing center.[19] Furthermore, prominent musicians and individuals associated with high culture entered the repertoire of that imagined past. In the Lombard city of Cremona, both the opera composer Amilcare Ponchielli (1834–86) and the violinmaker Antonio Stradivari were used to promote large international events that included concerts and exhibitions.[20] The celebration of the 100-year anniversary of Ponchielli's birth took place in 1934 and served as a trial run for the *Bicentenario stradivariano*, the huge celebration of the 200-year anniversary of Stradivari's death between May and October 1937. According to estimates, during the *Bicentenario stradivariano* 100,000 people from all over the world visited Cremona. Interest in the event was also bolstered by the prominence of the invited guests. An exhibition of old Cremonese instruments, which took place in the Palazzo Cittanova, was curated by leading experts in the field, such as Simone Fernando Sacconi (1895–1974), Fridolin Hamma (1881–1969), Max Möller Jr. (1915–85), Paul Deschamp, and Leandro Bisiach Sr. (1864–1946).[21]

The promoter of the *Bicentenario* was the fascist politician Roberto Farinacci (1892–1945) who was also the founder of the newspaper *Il Regime fascista*, the party's chief mouthpiece.[22] As is apparent from archival materials, the organizing committee decided to open a violin making school instead of erecting a statue of Stradivari.[23] The reason for the foundation of the school in 1938 was pragmatic in nature. Based on the brands of Stradivari and Cremona, the school would be an attempt to bring contemporary instruments to the mar-

19 Palla, *Firenze nel regime fascista* 234.
20 Santoro, "Le grandi mostre del 1937" 14–15.
21 Ibid. 17.
22 Moglia, *La stampa quotidiana nella Repubblica Sociale Italiana*. http://www.larchivio.com/xoom/paolomoglia.htm
23 Bellomi, "Celebrazione del Bicentenario Stradivariano: Verbale di seduta del Comitato" 53.

ket. Convinced of the power of the medium, the committee also planned the production of a film about Stradivari's life. However, the plan failed.[24]

Before closely examining a newsreel from 1941 about the newly founded violin making school, it may be of interest to consider some core aspects of audiovisual material. An audiovisual source represents a network of meaning conveyed by two different layers. The (a) audio layer conveys spoken words, music, and noises—as, for instance, background noise. These need not only be sounds that have been deliberately recorded by the producers to add a particular meaning to their presentation. In older sources, sounds resulting from the original recording technique are present, and in the later sources they may be the result of dubbing. Interestingly, these sounds represent *per se* a kind of medial *topos*—e.g., the sound of a movie projector implies a whole world of meanings. The (b) visual layer conveys iconography. Also, in this case, optical effects—the most obvious being filming in black-and-white—create associations. Both (a) the audio and (b) the video layer are subject to historical changes and both reflect and reproduce the use of iconographic and auditory impressions common at the time of their production. In this manner, they consolidate inherited cultural themes, or *topoi*. The *topoi* from the audiovisual productions of the past—specific stereotypical sound and iconographic motifs—would be used in later times for purposes of nostalgia or with the goal of recreating visual and sonic environments with specific historical references. Of course, these kinds of references could only be detected by an audience aware of and previously socialized with their historical dimension. Even if both layers make sense separately, in combination they create a new, much more sophisticated, and deeper meaning. Without the spoken word, a film would hardly convey the same meaning, and the same is true if the audio layer were presented without images.[25]

The question arises: which ideas and *topoi*—in the sense of literary motifs—are conveyed by the different layers of the abovementioned film and which narratives—in the sense of an organized use of words or of film iconography—are used to convey them?

The relatively short newsreel about the violin making school, which will be presently discussed, was produced in 1941, in the third year of the institu-

24 Loffi, "Agosto 1935, il primo grande film su Stradivari." http://cremonamisteriosa.blogspot.com/2015/11/era-il-novembre-del-1936-quando.html

25 See also: Cook, *Analysing Musical Multimedia* 20–23.

tion's existence, and is called a *Cinegiornale Luce*.[26] The format was produced between 1940 and 1945 for propaganda purposes; its main novelty was the participation of directors in both shooting and editing.[27] A year earlier, in June 1940, Italy had declared war on France and England, so the film may be considered not only as propaganda material meant to increase awareness of the craft tradition in Italy, but also as an attempt to feign normality in everyday life.

At this point, a few scenes will be discussed.[28] The film's opening shows the hard work of conceiving the design of the instrument in a classroom (00:04–00:14). The instructor demonstrates on the board how the outline of the instrument should be drawn (00:04–00:08). At least two or three dozen well-dressed students in suits and ties—as the dress code of the time demanded—carefully listen to the teacher's explanation. The following scenes (00:15–00:31) show students, now wearing work coats, working on their instruments in the workshop while the head of the workshop, Carlo Schiavi (1908–43), gives them instructions. The audio layer conveys an additional message: the second movement of J. S. Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto* No. 6 refers to the achievements of 18th-century music, in this manner alluding to the time period in which Stradivari worked.[29]

It should be noted that interest in the music of the past was growing fast at that time. For instance, Alfredo Casella (1883–1947) set a precedent for the reception of Antonio Vivaldi's (1678–1741) music. He was one of the promoters of a music festival that took place for the first time in Siena in 1939 (*Settimana Musicale Senese*), just two years before the production of the newsreel.[30] The

26 Gemmiti, *Cremona: Una visita alla scuola di liuteria*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000014203/2/cremona-visita-alla-scuola-liuteria.html

27 "Cinegiornale Luce C (1940–1945)." https://www.archivioluce.com/giornale-luce-c/

28 Due to length restrictions, the transcription will not be printed; only the most important statements—in the opinion of the author—will be recounted.

29 Music by German composers is strongly represented in the audiovisual sources of the Archivio Luce. For example, Beethoven's Symphony No. 3 and 5 serve as soundtrack in a documentary film about Gabriele D'Annunzio, the 'poeta vate' strongly mythologized by the regime (01:54–06:00). Unsurprisingly, the music is associated with D'Annunzio's alleged 'heroism.' The second movement of the Concerto for 2 violins RV 522 by Vivaldi was used as the opening theme; the same piece is also heard as D'Annunzio's 'sala della musica' (musicroom) is shown; the camera turns to Beethoven's and Liszt's death masks decorating the room (11:50–12:39). Cerchio, *Ritorno al Vittoriale*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL3000090705/1/ritorno-al-vittoriale.html

30 Talbot, *The Vivaldi Compendium* 41.

event made the newly discovered musical works from the past accessible to a wide audience as well as fashionable. At the same time, fresh interest in the well-known works of the past was aroused.

At the very beginning of the film, the narrator's voice explains that Cremona is the birthplace of the most prominent violinmakers. As the camera turns to a single artisan (00:23–00:24, medium shot), the narrator explains how a real violinmaker should have "l'anima del liutaio" (the soul of a violinmaker); for this reason, at least as stated in the newsreel, only a few selected craftsmen are suited for apprenticeship and then the profession. After showing the construction process of the violin, Carlo Schiavi tunes an instrument made by a student. As he does so, the background music stops playing; the sound of the newly built violin comes to the sonic foreground (00:32–00:46). Then, Bach's music begins to play again while the production of varnish in a modern laboratory and the varnishing process is displayed (00:46–00:57). The next few scenes are filmed in a huge room with hundreds of instruments hanging from the roof—a common practice to let the varnish dry (00:58–01:04). The technically advanced approach in analyzing sound quality is conveyed by the image of a violinist playing the Ciaccona—a core piece of the repertoire, for a long time erroneously attributed to Tommaso Antonio Vitali (1663–1745)—in front of a microphone (01:05–01:12).[31] Accompanied by the Ciaccona, the molds used by Stradivari are shown in the next scene (01:13–01:20). Stradivari's manuscript (01:21–01:25) and a painting (01:26) of him by Edouard Jean Conrad Hamman (1819-88) close the newsreel.[32]

As mentioned, in 1941 the school was in its third year of existence. A total of 8 students, separated into three classes, were studying there (the total duration of the course was four years).[33] Due to this very small number, it may safely be assumed that the newsreel is largely staged—the classroom and the workshop at the beginning of the film are full. The impression was created that two or three dozen apprentices were studying and working there. Also, the huge amount of instruments hanging from the roof couldn't have accurately represented the amount of instruments built by relatively few students within the short period of three years. Even though the school is most likely

31 Suess, "Vitali, Tomaso Antonio" 799. The piece became very popular after Ferdinand David (1810–73) published it in his *Hohe Schule des Violinspiels* (*Advanced School of Violin Playing*) Vol. 2.

32 Hamman, *Stradivarius*. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8425075w

33 Nicolini, *The International School of Cremona* 31.

not accurately depicted, the creation of an 'invented tradition' through the new technology of film can be seen. Under the illusion of reproducing 'objective reality,' the sounds and images transmitted by film mediate a constructed utopia in this case.

Working Alone

An image of Stradivari working alone at night under the starry sky, derived from Hamman's rendition, seen at the end of the short newsreel about the violin making school, was used as advertising material for the *Bicentenario* in 1937, and was reproduced on a large-format poster.[34] It was created by Giulio Cisari (1892–1979), a prolific engraver and illustrator who was particularly active in the interwar period.[35] The iconography certainly resembles that of the long-haired Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), who, since the 1830s, embodied the quintessence of the romantic artist.[36] The narrative of his talent and will, which enabled him to rebel against social and artistic norms as well as fate itself—he became deaf—to produce great achievements in the field of music, was pervasive. In accordance with this idea of the creative genius who is not content to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, the Stradivari on Cisari's poster is pondering his work, sitting in his solitary shop. Behind him—he is presumably sitting in front of a large window—is the Cremonese cathedral with its *torrazzo*, one of the tallest brick towers in Europe, and the baptistery shines a bluish light that emphasizes the surreal atmosphere of the night. The picture also refers to the *topos* of Stardivari's 'lost secrets.' On Stradivari's right-hand side, we see a small bottle laid on the window ledge. It reminds us of his much-admired and highly regarded varnish. However, considering that the output of his workshop was about 600 instruments, it is hard to believe that he worked alone. As Steward Pollens suggests, he and his assistants spent, on average, between 2 to 3 weeks on a single instrument.[37] So time spent pondering was reduced to a minimum. And even though he may have had a good look at the final product, he certainly did not do so at night because the light would have been too dim.

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34 Cisari, *Bicentenario Stradivariano Cremona*. http://www.collezionesalce.beniculturali.it/?q=scheda&id=11256

35 Pallottino, "Cisari, Giulio." http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cisari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

36 Jungmann, *Sozialgeschichte der klassischen Musik* 91.

37 Pollens, *Stradivari* 38–41.

The iconographic rendition on Cisari's poster—Stradivari working in front of Cremona's cathedral—can be read as a sign of the times. In 1929 the Lateran Treaty between the fascist regime and the pope was signed. Thereby the conflict between the church and the Italian national state that had lasted for over six decades, since the middle of the 19th century, was resolved. Italy recognized the sovereignty of the Vatican and the Vatican recognized the national state of Italy.[38] The state permitted religious instruction in primary and secondary school. Correspondingly, religious instruction also took place at the violin making school in Cremona. The development of Stradivari's iconography from Hamman to Cisari, from a dark and chaotic workshop to an open, public space—in fact an Agora in front of the church—also reflects the changed function of music and culture in fascist-era society: a formerly elite culture was popularized and thus stylized as an important part of everyday public life.

As may be expected, the new historical circumstances are also present in film. The media representation of violin making is put in relation to the Lateran Treaty, as is seen in a documentary film stored in the Archivio Luce. The film *La bottega della melodia* (*The workshop of melodies*) was released in 1942, one year after the newsreel about the violin making school.[39] The film is part of the collection of *Documentari INCOM* (*Industria Corti Metraggi*), whose general director was Sandro Pallavicini (1908–66). *Documentari INCOM* produced shorts between 1938 and 1965. It was a private enterprise, which at its inception followed the regime's propaganda directives. The short films stand out in their tendency to recreate short stories about their subjects. Documentaries about the Spanish Civil War, Italian industry, art, and the development of mass media were the main subjects of *Documentari INCOM* during the regime. Additionally, directors like Roberto Rossellini (1906–77) worked there. The collection was later bought by the Archivio Luce.[40] Unlike with the short newsreel, the credits of this documentary film are known. Michele Gandin (1914–94), was a prolific director of documentaries who—according to IMDb—was still active in the 1980s.[41] Gandin also worked with Vittorio De Sica (1901–74), the director and actor associated with Italian neorealism. Even though it seems

38 Ray, "Lateran Treaty." https://www.britannica.com/event/Lateran-Treaty

39 Gandin, *La bottega della melodia*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL3000051047/1/la-bottega-della-melodia.html

40 "Documentari Incom (1938–1965)." https://www.archivioluce.com/documentari-incom/

41 "Gandin, Michele." *IMDb*. https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0304170/

that the music was explicitly produced for the documentary film, the composer remains unknown. In comparison to the newsreel about the violin making school, which was shaped by music of the past, the documentary film is characterized by the aesthetic of neorealism—even on the musical level. If the short newsreel showed (as previously demonstrated) a largely constructed version of the activities in the newly founded violin making school, Gandin's film seems to pursue the pedagogical aim of explaining—and making tangible and visible—the circumstances in which Stradivari worked. But in doing so, the contemporary imagination of history paired with elements of ideological propaganda was, as I will show, projected into the past. And how could it be otherwise, considering that the circumstances under which Stradivari ran his workshop are completely unknown, and regarding the fact that every narrative structure is *per se* embedded in the time in which it is conceived?

At the opening of *La bottega della melodia*, the references to Christianity are immediately evident. At the very beginning, an expressive orchestral introduction evokes tension. The musical idiom is close to a late romantic aesthetic. On an iconographic level, that is, on the visual layer of the film, a crucifix with the sky in the background appears (00:46–00:52) as the music changes into a solo violin melody with an ascending flourish at its beginning. It conveys a feeling of transcendence. The spotlight expands and shows us that the crucifix is the one held by an angel standing atop the baptistry (the same building seen on Cisari's poster); it is the archangel Gabriel (00:53–00:58). Then, other angels appear on screen, this time painted ones (00:59–01:16). While a painting with angels playing rebecs and violins is shown, the narrator declares that divine inspiration, the reason why the violin was brought into being, is also the reason why artists of the past chose to paint angels playing these instruments. As the scholar Steward Pollens noted, one of the earliest representations of the violin is found in a painting by Gaudenzio Ferrari (1477/78–1546) in Vercelli's San Cristoforo Church, *La Madonna degli aranci* (*The Madonna of the Orange Tree*), where an angel plays a violin with three strings.[42] Particularly during the 17th century, the violin had become increasingly used in the iconography associated with revelation of the divine.[43] Then, the narrator's voice tells us of a legend: it was an angel that revealed the secrets of violin making to the violinmakers of Cremona (00:19–00:52). The link to the bibli-

42 Pollens, *Stradivari* 5–6.

43 Carter and Butt, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* 506.

cal story is evident: like the virgin Mary, violinmakers had conceived by the archangel.

In the next series of scenes, an old man is seen in his workshop at the end of a winding corridor (01:53–02:23). A crucifix dominates the wall of the workshop. The narrator's voice then explains that the luthier's trade stopped for a long time. Later on, the violinmaker is shown working behind a barred window (02:24–02:35). The *topos* of the prison as a place of enlightenment is very common in the life of the saints. For instance, Saint Francis of Assisi (1181/82–1226) prayed in the hermitage *Eremo delle Carceri*. The solitary prayer of Francis was increasingly practiced by members of the Franciscan order in Italian convents during the 17th century.[44] As a development of these ideas, working in solitary confinement to reach lofty artistic goals became a *topos* during the 19th century, as we see in the legends of Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) practicing violin and of Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri 'del Gesù' making violins in prison.[45] The devoted artisan working alone behind bars—as a security measure a rather common architectural feature of ground-floor workshops even today—embodies the link between angelic music and the music played by human beings. On the musical level, the melodic theme played by the solo violin at the beginning (00:45–01:00) is later developed by the orchestra. Several instruments adopt the theme. The thematic development of the solo violin melody with its ascending flourish could be interpreted as a musical symbol for the angel from whom everything in the narration develops.

Related to each other, the text, the music, and the iconography of the briefly analyzed initial sections of the documentary suggest that violin making in Cremona developed because of an angel, that is, because of religion. In the following scenes (02:36–03:15) the idea is conveyed that after Stradivari—in the 19th century, the era of the Italian *Risorgimento* (a term which ironically means resurrection)—violin making perished because of religion's absence. To emphasize this idea on an iconographic level, the camera draws back from the crucifix (03:04–03:11). In the further course of the film, the idea is implicitly conveyed that now, with the treaty with the Vatican and the

44 Mertens, *Solitudo seraphica* 148–150.

45 See also the 1830 lithograph by Boulanger (1806–67). Boulanger, *Niccolo Paganini en prison*. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423316f. As described by Lütgendorff, Count Cozio di Salabue, the author of the most valuable source for violin making in 18th century—his *Carteggio*—made the story about Guarneri working in prison well known. Lütgendorff, "Guarneri, (Bartolomeo) Giuseppe 'del Gesù'" 221.

foundation of the violin making school, the holy spirit will help Cremona once again, just as it helped Stradivari in the 18th century.

Stradivari after the World War—Continuities and Discontinuities

World War II didn't give the violin making school of Cremona the chance to expand and evolve as its founders had intended. Nevertheless, despite wartime circumstances the school continued to function, even if (presumably) not as presented in the audiovisual source from 1941. After the war, in order to adapt to the new situation and to possibly achieve the missed targets of previous years, a celebration of the 300-year anniversary of Stradivari's birth took place in Cremona in 1949.[46] At that time, the idea that Stradivari was born in 1648 and not in 1644 was under discussion; the exact year of his birth remains unknown even today. As part of this celebration, an exhibition of instruments built after 1880 was organized. As in 1937, the aim was to attract an international audience in order to bolster economic exchange.

To give the event visibility on a national level, a short newsreel was produced by *Settimana INCOM*, which was founded by Sandro Pallavicini in 1946 and remained active until 1965. Although Luce still produced newsreels (e. g. *Notiziario Nuova Luce*), the institution gradually turned into an archive.[47] *Settimana INCOM* focused on current affairs—the presence of politicians belonging to the Democrazia Cristiana (Christian Democracy) such as Alcide De Gasperi (1881-1954) and Giulio Andreotti (1919–2013), is striking—as well as fashion and sports.[48]

As the audiovisual documents produced by *Settimana INCOM* testify,[49] the celebration of Stradivari's birth was to be understood as a sign of both continuity and discontinuity with the past. Cremona was a key cultural center in fascist Italy: the nationally distributed newspaper *Il Regime fascista* was printed there and its director Roberto Farinacci, the organizer of the *Bicentenario stradivariano*, was a party official with connections to Mussolini and German officials. Due to the massive promotion of handicrafts and art in fascist Italy—not only violin making—the art contest *Premio Cremona* was held

46 Santoro, "La mostra di liuteria del maggio 1949."

47 Hüningen, "Luce." https://filmlexikon.uni-kiel.de/index.php?action=lexikon&tag=det&id=2410

48 "La Settimana INCOM (1946-1965)." https://www.archivioluce.com/la-settimana-incom/

49 *Cremona: Mostra concorso di liuteria*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000013285/2/cremona-ostra-concorso-liuteria.html

in Cremona between 1939 and 1941.[50] It is therefore not surprising that in the search for a new identity after the horror of war, the same topics relevant to the cultural identity of the small city in the fascist era were to be reinterpreted in the new post-war context.

In the newsreel, the cultural heritage of the city comes to the fore, as expected. The film opens with a series of views of the *torrazzo* from ground level (00:08–00:13). While Antonio Vivaldi's *The Spring* from the *Four Seasons* serves as the soundtrack, a voice exclaims: "Bella questa Cremona" (beautiful this Cremona). On the visual layer, the buildings from the past, like the cathedral with the *torrazzo* and the baptistry are presented as the most important physical monument of the small Lombard city. By contrast, as stated by the narrator, Stradivari—"maestro della nobile e quasi magica arte della liuteria" (master of the noble and almost magical art of violin making)—embodies its most meaningful immaterial heritage (00:19–00:25).

After showing Cremona's buildings, the newsreel focuses on the exhibition of musical instruments. Many elements here share similarities with the already mentioned sources. In the second part of the newsreel, for instance, the violinist Marco Brasi (1905–58) tries out—accompanied by a harp, which can be seen in the frame—an instrument built by violinmakers who participated in the violin making contest (00:53–01:07). His posture and movements resemble those seen in the 1941 newsreel about the violin making school (a violinist playing the Ciaccona in front of a microphone). The musician's gestures and the position of his hands seem to be unusual: in this manner, audiovisual documents from the past are an important source for the study of performance practice during the 20th century. In the last part of the newsreel (01:36–01:43), the narrator refers to angels playing violins in paintings of the past—a *topos* with a long history, as mentioned above. In this last scene, the image of a violin is distorted by a kaleidoscopic camera effect.

The 1949 Cremona exhibition was important in the fight against speculation with instruments made on the Italian Peninsula in the 17th and 18th centuries. Giovanni Iviglia, who at that time worked in Switzerland, was chosen to preside over the event. In 1948 he launched a campaign against the forgery of old instruments. He claimed that many instruments attributed to

50 A critical examination of the art of that time took place in Cremona in 2018. An exhibition of the paintings was organized, and a publication was printed. Sgarbi, *Il regime dell'arte.*

Stradivari, Amati, and other violinmakers were, in fact, the work of other artisans. In the 1950s he took the most important instrument dealers of the time—Fridolin Hamma (1881–1969), Emil Hermann (1888–1968), and Albert Philips Hill (1883–1981)—to court.[51] The whole process clearly had economic motivations: from that point on the Italian Chamber of Commerce could defend the quality and authenticity of products, past and present, made in Italy. However, in the 1949 newsreel, Iviglia's name is only briefly mentioned without reference to his campaign. Later on, Iviglia published a critical essay on the subject.[52] Even if the reception of a given audiovisual document is difficult to reconstruct, the newsreel's aim was undoubtedly to sensitize the general public to cultural heritage issues.

Stradivari in the '60s

The use of Vivaldi's music seems to have been common in post-war Italy in the context of lutherie, at least from the few sources available online: *The Autumn* was also used as a soundtrack at the beginning of the newsreel about the exhibition of Stradivari's instruments on the Isola Bella on the Lago Maggiore in 1963.[53]

This source is, like *La bottega della melodia* from 1942, part of the *Documentari INCOM* collection.[54] It opens with an orchestral theme on the audio level, and, on the visual level, with a headshot of Michelangelo's David (00:08–00:14), not unlike the 1942 film. This isn't the only reference to the Renaissance. As Vivaldi's music plays, images of the Lago Maggiore are shown while the narrator explains the crucial role played by industrialists, "uomini d'affari che hanno l'animo dei signori del Rinascimento" (businessmen with the souls of Renaissance lords) in organizing the event in the

51 Gatani, "La guerra dei violini." https://www.larivista.ch/la-guerra-dei-violini-1948-1955-la-lotta-della-ccis-contro-le-falsificazioni/

52 Iviglia, *Cremona, wie es nicht sein soll*.

53 Orengo, *Antonio Stradivari una eccezionale rievocazione*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL3000053122/1/antonio-stradivari-eccezionale-rievocazione.html

54 The same footage was also used for two shorter newsreels: *Mostra di Stradivari nell'isola Bella sul lago Maggiore: Il maestro Sandor Vegh dirigerà un concerto; i musicisti, allievi della scuola di Zermatt, suoneranno degli autentici Stradivari*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000039233/2/mostra-stradivari-nell-isola-bella-sul-lago-maggiore-maestro-sandor-vegh-dirigera-concerto-i-musicisti-allievi-della-scuola.html; *Italia: Quarantadue Stradivari a Stresa*. https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000049798/2/italia-quarantadue-stradivari-stresa.html

Palazzo Borromeo (00:57–01:00). Forty-five instruments made by Cremonese violinmakers were exhibited there. They were insured for 1.3 billion Italian lire (03:40–03:49). This would be worth about 15 million euros today (with inflation taken into account)[55]—less than the amount paid in 2011 for just one Stradivari violin (albeit a particularly special one), the 'Lady Blunt' from 1721.

Besides the sum involved, the impression of elitism is striking. As the audiovisual document unfolds, the lawyer Italo Trentinaglia de Daverio, the founder of the 1962 *Stresa Festival*,[56] explains while sitting in a salon how Prince Vitaliano Borromeo (1892–1982) permitted the exhibition and a series of concerts in the Salone degli Arazzi in the Palazzo Borromeo (01:26–02:09).

While we see visitors arriving at Isola Bella on a small ship on the video layer of the film, the narrator explains how Stradivari merged the characteristics of the Brescian and Cremonese violin making schools—quite a bold theory (02:43–02:51). Before an interview with Sándor Végh (1912–97), who was in charge of conducting the festival's chamber orchestra, a rehearsal of the second movement of W. A. Mozart's Divertimeno KV 137 is shown. The members of the orchestra were pupils of the Sommer school in Zermatt and were allowed to play Stradivari instruments for the occasion. In the interview, Végh mentioned that it was the first time since the *Bicentenario stradivariano* in 1937 that a whole orchestra played instruments made by the Cremonese violinmaler (05:49–06:00).

In order to show the tonal qualities of the exhibited instruments, Végh plays two excerpts from the Ciaccona by J. S. Bach on his 1724 Stradivari, nicknamed 'Paganini,' which was also part of the exhibition, and on a 1715 Stradivari, the 'Cremonese' (07:43–08:18). This instrument, which belonged—among others—to the violinist Joseph Joachim (1831–1907), was acquired by the Provincial Tourism Board of Cremona in 1961 and is today considered one of the most historically interesting pieces in the collection of the Museo del Violino in Cremona.[57]

As expected, in this film the *topos* of Stradivari's 'secrets' comes into play. While the instruments are shown behind glass, the narrator mentions a few

55 "Inflationhistory." https://inflationhistory.com/

56 "La storia." http://www.stresafestival.eu/festival/storia/

57 "Antonio Stradivari 1715 'Cremonese.'" https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/antonio-stradivari-1715-cremonese-violin-front/xwF8x4QbRZOmwg

theories (09:16–09:52). But in the end he concludes that "il segreto era nelle mani dell'artista" (the secret was in the hands of the artist).

Domenico Fantin—a Link to the Present

The most recent document about violin making—besides some behind-the-scenes material about Giacomo Battiato's (1943–) 1988 film *Stradivari*—presently available online in the Archivio Luce dates from 1970.[58] It is a black-and-white newsreel presenting the work of the violinmaker Domenico Fantin, born in Varese in 1928. Fantin continues to work today, as his online presence shows.[59] The newsreel was produced by *Radar Cinematografica*, which was active between 1965 and 1982, and whose collection has been recently bought by the Archivio Luce. The focus of *Radar* was politics and current affairs as well as fashion and art.[60]

The 1960s were prosperous years in which the Italian 'economic miracle' reached its peak.[61] But even though the Cremonese violin making school became recognized internationally, craftmanship was regarded as a remnant of the past, and the poor artist *topos* remains unaffected in this source. The staging of the newsreel about Fantin is based on this idea. At the very beginning, the sounds of a synthesizer—sounds today recognized as typical of the 1970s—play the program's theme melody (00:00–00:12). The difference between the synthesized sound and the sound of the cembalo that serves as the soundtrack for the first part of the newsreel couldn't be clearer. On an iconographic level, the violinmaker, wearing a work coat, is working on a piece of wood; he is tracing the outline of the back of a violin (00:12–00:25). His hunched-over position closely resembles Stradivari's in the 19th-century Hamman painting, which also served as a model for the *Bicentenario stradivariano* poster. In a mood of cultural pessimism, the narrator explains that the 500-year-old art of violin making is a legacy which is known to few people; in his opinion it is today "un'arte che scompare" (a dying art). He refers to the poor poet *topos* by associating violinmakers with poets (00:24–00:27) and defines

58 *Italia: Un liutaio varesino fabbrica violini come Stradivari.* https://patrimonio.archivioluce.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000041014/2/italia-liutaio-varesino-fabbrica-violini-come-stradivari.html

59 Homepage: http://www.domenicofantin.com/en/Home.html

60 "Radar (1965–1982)." https://www.archivioluce.com/radar/

61 Sapelli, "Le basi del 'miracolo economico'" 143.

violin making as "un'arte che non da pane, o ne da poco" (an art that doesn't make bread, or a little bread).

The most popular rendition of the idea of the poor poet is Carl Spitzweg's (1808–85) 1839 painting *Der arme Poet* (*The poor poet*), displayed at the Neue Pinakothek in Munich.[62] It shows an author occupied with his work, lying on a mattress, covered with a white blanket. The open umbrella hanging from the ceiling leads the viewer to suspect a leaky roof. Books are stacked next to his mattress. On the wall, on the right side of the painting, a gold medal hangs from a nail in the wall—the poor poet had earned an award. This romanticized picture of an artist working apart from 'productive civil society' seem to be a warning to aspiring artists; it is needless to point out that writers of that time often belonged to the more affluent social classes.[63] It isn't difficult to show that the idea of the 'poor artist' does not necessarily correspond to historical circumstances, at least not in the field of lutherie—if one is inclined to call violin making an art rather than a craft. The Amati and Stradivari dynasties became very wealthy. And as the letter written by the acclaimed virtuoso Yehudi Menuhin (1916–99) shows, Fantin was already well known in 1969, a year before the footage was shot.[64] That he wasn't financially well-off is hard to imagine—Menuhin bought an instrument from him and made him famous in the blink of an eye. But the *topos* of the poor artist seems to be much more powerful—and fascinating—than historical evidence shows (although clearly not every violinmaker in the history of violin making was financially successful).

As the film develops, the claim of inspiration received in a dream is revealed. The narrator explains that Fantin learned how to build exquisite violins by this means (00:34–00:38). As is later explained (02:07–02:11), Stradivari appeared to Fantin as the 'euangelos'—the 'good messenger.' The dream *topos* is closely associated with artistic activity. It is often the artists themselves who report their inspirational dreams; one of the earliest known examples is

62 Spitzweg, *Der arme Poet*. www.pinakothek.de/kunst/meisterwerk/carl-spitzweg/der-arme-poet

63 Gustave Flaubert is here one of the many examples. Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur* 832.

64 Menuhin's letter, full of compliments on Fantin's work, is viewable on Fantin's homepage. http://www.domenicofantin.com/en/Clients.html

Albrecht Dürer's (1471–1528) 1525 watercolor *Traumgesicht* (*Dream face*).[65] The most popular such story in the field of violin music is likely Giuseppe Tartini's (1692–1770) dream. The devil himself is said to have inspired him to write the *Devil's Trill Sonata*, the only one of his sonatas which remains in the canonized repertoire and is therefore well known to a relatively large audience. A popular rendition of Tartini's dream is the 1824 *Le songe de Tartini* by Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761–1845).[66] As the film continues, the narrator explains how a violin is made. Even though research has shown that the origins of the instrument are obscure, the narrator's voice states that Gasparo Bertolotti da Salò (1540–1609) 'invented' the form of the violin (00:46–00:51).[67] The iconographic motif seen in the 1941 film *La bottega della melodia*—the artisan working in his workshop behind a barred window—is repeated in this film (01:29–01:43). At the end, after discussing the importance of the varnish and its 'secrets,' (02:41–02:57) Fantin plays the Gavotte from the Sonata No. 10, Op. 5 by Corelli on his violin—the same Gavotte serves as the theme for the 50 variations by Tartini, *L'arte dell'arco* (02:58–03:41). The narrator reports that Fantin worked on his violins for years by night, instruments which he later destroyed because they didn't have the proper sound; only after Stradivari told him 'the secret' in his dream was he able to build his excellent instruments (03:18–03:25). His work embodies, as stated by the narrator, that Italian art which spread throughout the whole world. At the same time, on the iconographic level, the image of Fantin playing the violin is distorted and multiplied as if seen through a kaleidoscope (03:21–03:41); the kaleidoscopic effect was already seen at the end of the newsreel about the celebration of the 300-year anniversary of Stradivari's birth.

Fantin remains active today. The musicians who play his instruments post their recordings on video portals.[68] On the title page of Fantin's website, an image of him in front of his tools working on a violin takes center stage. He wears a work coat very similar to the one seen in the 1970 film. On the left, a cello and two violins are stored in a display cabinet ornamented with baroque elements; in the middle of the photograph we see a picture of Antonio Vivaldi,

65 Schneider, "Zum Verhältnis von Traum und künstlerischer Aktivität" 14. A reproduction is available online: Dürer, *Traumgesicht.* https://www.wikiart.org/en/albrecht-durer/traumgesicht-d%C3%BCrer-dokumentiert-einen-seiner-albtr%C3%A4ume-1525

66 Boilly, *Le songe de Tartini.* https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426664g/

67 Pollens, *Stradivari* 5–8.

68 The young musicians Caroline Adomeit and Christian Kim posted recordings of themselves playing Fantin's instruments on YouTube.

a crucifix, and a violin hanging from the ceiling. Although it is a color photo, the impression of a yellowish patina, which suggests a longstanding tradition, is present.

Closing Remarks

By means of reaching back to 17th and 18th century violin making, the process of popularizing an imagined national heritage took place in Italy through the media of cinema and later, in the second half of the 20th century, television. This process obviously did not take place overnight and should be understood as the continuation of a discourse that had begun in the late 18th century.[69] Because of this longstanding process of popularization, the name 'Stradivari' (paired with the image of the violin) became pervasive. This results in a paradox: on the one hand, his presence attests to his position as a *lieu de mémoire* and, on the other, reinforces it.

In the above-analyzed audiovisual sources different *topoi*, designed and transported by different narratives, came to the fore. For instance, the *topos* of the genius—and sometimes poor—artist appears in both the audio layer (via verbal narration) and on the visual, iconographic level.

In the film about the violin making school, the narrator refers to "l'anima del liutaio," which is a narrative expressing the *topos* of the genius artist. In the film *La bottega della melodia* the idea is suggested that only a violin-maker 'with the right soul' will be touched by an angel at night, an angel who will reveal secrets to him. Working in solitude behind barred windows—like a monk—enables the artisan to achieve the loftiest artistic goals. The irony is that the fascist regime tried to establish a huge manufacturing center in Cremona that by definition couldn't have been run by a single, or even a few, 'genius' artisans.

69 In the print media of the 19th century we find an increasing interest in Stradivari. For instance, the term 'Stradivari' in the search engine of the Austrian National Library's print media digitization project *Anno* shows that there are 25 matches between 1791 and 1832, 231 between 1833 and 1874, and 595 between 1875 and 1917. This result represents only a random sampling. Presumably only a small number of the originally published sources have been digitized. Also, due to the nature of the institution, sources in German are predominant. "Stradivari." http://anno.onb.ac.at/anno-suche#searchMode=simple&query=Stradivari&from=1

On a visual level, the iconography of Hamman's rendition of Stradivari is recurrent; it is obviously based on the concept of the creative genius working in the darkness of his workshop apart from the 'normal' bourgeoise life that permeated the 19th century. Interestingly, as part of the general fascination with magic and horror stories, violin virtuosos were associated with the dark power of the devil. Giuseppe Tartini's *Devil's trill Sonata* was published in France only in 1803,[70] and the famous painting by Louis-Léopold Boilly depicting Tartini in bed while the devil teaches him was painted in 1824, six years after Niccolò Paganini's *24 Capricci* (1818),[71] the pinnacle of violin virtuosity, had been published in Milan by Ricordi. Hence, the *topoi* and their narratives, expressed through different media (such as literature and painting) are obviously to be understood as a part of a "[t]ransmedia storytelling," that is, "narratives in different media types working together to form a larger whole," as Lars Elleström suggests in his recent work on transmedial narration.[72]

Music from the 17th century—performed in the fashion of the mid-20th century—came to be regarded as the quintessence of the 'sonic' atmosphere of 18th century North Italy. Seen in this light, the music of Stradivari's contemporaries best evoked the 'zeitgeist' of the (imagined) past. Thus, the music from the 17th and 18th centuries, which served as soundtracks, became a *topos* itself. From a historical point of view, this music was involved in the rise of instrumental music and brought with it the importance of the violin. All of this conveyed the image of a glorious Italian (imagined) past. But the Italian national state didn't yet exist in the 18th century, and Italy was a geographical rather than a political concept.

As the photo on Fantin's homepage shows, *topoi* conveyed through the different layers of audiovisual media are powerful entities that influence the present. Scenery similar to that of Fantin's photo, except in black-and-white, had already appeared in the earlier audiovisual sources stored in the Archivio Luce. It is hard to imagine that Fantin staged himself in this manner with explicit knowledge of these audiovisual sources. It should rather be assumed that he was inspired by the idea of the violin and violin making, an idea which

70 Tartini, "Le Trille du Diable." http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_2880719

71 Paganini, *24 Capricci*. https://archive.org/details/24capriccipervio00paga/page/n3/mode/2up

72 Elleström, *Transmedial Narration* 6.

was also (re)produced and (re)interpreted by the abovementioned audiovisual sources. Recently, the documentary *El Complex de Stradivarius*, the subject of which is the Catalan luthier David Bagué i Soler, makes use of a similar iconography: Bagué i Soler is, for instance, shown working behind the barred window of his workshop (27:06–27:18).[73] Remarkably, the color of the workshop walls and the lighting evoke the yellowish hue that characterizes Fantin's homepage photo.

It is readily apparent that *topoi* developed at different times in different media through the use of different narratives. Due to their constant revival and reinterpretation, *topoi* become part of the collective imagination. These 'imagined' entities, reinterpreted through narratives specific to their era and put in relation to places, sounds and historical figures—like Stradivari—play a decisive role in shaping *lieux de mémoire*. Their function in society is to convey the idea of a longstanding tradition and to legitimize the present and give it credibility. But, as has been shown, the staged traditions possibly never existed, at least not in the form presented by print and audiovisual media.

To, as it were, draw the bow back to our starting point, it is worth noting that the Stradivari example is only a case study. But when various case studies based on digitized audiovisual sources marked with standardized metadata are put in relation to each other on a digital platform, deeper insights into the role of *topoi* and narratives and the resulting *lieux de mémoire* in the media will be possible. As shown in this case study, the relationship between music, iconography, and voice narration are a product of historical circumstances and exert a notable influence on contemporary culture. This kind of analysis isn't focused on a simply chronological historiography, but rather on continuity and the achronological reappearance of similar, reinterpreted, phenomena.

Postscript: In light of what has been said, it becomes questionable whether written historiography remains an appropriate means of showing the intricate web of meanings found in the print and audiovisual sources available today. Considering that the analysis of written sources produces written historiography, the next logical step would be the use of new media in the anal-

73 Padró, *El complex de Stradivarius*. https://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/el-documental/el-complex-de-stradivarius/video/4584351/

ysis of audiovisual sources—my writing is certainly not a good example of this.[74]

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74 An attempt to synthesize all the problems and possibilities of the ongoing process of digitization for historiography was made by the historian Siegfried Mattl in 2015. Mattl, "What's next: Digital History?"

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