

The *Kreutzer*/*Massart*/*Doyen*/*Clark* Stradivari violin of 1720/1731; also the 1686 *Clark* violin: a clarification

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The Cozio Archive within the Tarisio.com website identifies four Stradivari violins which are associated with Rodolphe Kreutzer (the dedicatee of Beethoven's Violin Sonata, Op. 47):

ID 41961: dated 1701.¹

ID 41382: dated 1714.²

ID 40535: the *Kreutzer*. One-piece back plate with tightly-packed narrow flames which descend, very slightly, from left to right; label-dated 1727.³

ID 41558: the *Kreutzer*. One-piece back plate; wide and somewhat faded flames which descend, very slightly, from left to right; label-dated 1720. This is the violin described in 1870 by Charles-Nicolas-Eugène Gand on p.24 of his *Catalogue descriptif des Instruments de Stradivarius et J. Guarnerius*:⁴

(année 1870) Monsieur Massart, Paris

Violon Stradivarius, 13 pouces, 3 lignes, année 1720

Fond d'une pièce, veines droites larges très douces (presqu'uni) éclisses semblables, table de deux pièces, très-beau sapin, deux petites cassures au menton, une petite à l'âme, très-belle tête. Beau vernis rouge doré.

*Ex Kreutzer*⁵

1896 Doyen 34,000^f

*1920 Maucotel, hioxz, pour Hill*⁶

(1870) Monsieur Massart, Paris

Antonio Stradivari violin, 13 *pouces*, 3 *lignes* [358.7mm], year 1720

The back plate is in one piece; the flames are straight, wide, and very mild (the wood almost plain); the ribs are very similar. The front plate is made from two pieces of very beautiful spruce; two small splits at the chin and a small [split] at the sound-post. Very beautiful head. Beautiful golden-red varnish.⁷

*ex Kreutzer*⁸

1896 Doyen 34,000 francs

1920 Maucotel [& Deschamp], 175,000 [francs], for Hill [?on behalf of W. E. Hill & Sons]

Were Maucotel & Deschamp selling a violin which belonged to the Hills?

¹ There is no extant documentary evidence which demonstrates Rodolphe Kreutzer's ownership of this violin.

² The present writer is unaware of any connection between this violin and Rodolphe Kreutzer.

³ For further information see the present writer's transcription and translation of the the Jacques Francais Sales Records (1845-1938); free-to-read at www.themessiahviolin.uk.

⁴ Les Amis de la Musique, Spa, Belgium, 1994.

⁵ Gand's text ends at this point.

⁶ These last two annotations were added by Albert Caressa and Henri Français when they copied out the entirety of Gand's *Catalogue* and then extended it with descriptions of new instruments; see www.themessiahviolin.uk.

⁷ Evidently, Charles Gand saw no discrepancy between the date on the violin's label and the physical characteristics of the violin itself.

⁸ Note that Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766-1831) had a brother, Jean-Nicolas-Auguste Kreutzer (3rd September 1778-31st August 1832), who was also a violinist and who played in various Paris orchestras and took over his brother's teaching at the Paris Conservatoire in 1826. On 24th March 1832 Charles-François Gand repaired the neck of a Stradivari violin brought to him by Jean-Nicolas, also fitting a new fingerboard, strings, and a bridge; the cost was 35 francs; Gand does not specify the violin's label date.

Approximately four years after purchasing the *Kreutzer/Massart* violin Louis Doyen self-published a 30-page booklet entitled *Le Violon et Les Grands Luthiers Italiens*. The following text is sourced from pp.20-21 (present writer's translation):

While some instruments from Stradivari's final period [defined by Doyen as 1720-1737] are less elegant and less perfect in their execution than those of the preceding periods, one must nonetheless acknowledge that there exist several marvellous specimens from the last period that recommend themselves to the admiration of connoisseurs [...]. One must mention the 'Stradivarius de Kreutzer' which is not only regarded as a masterpiece of the third period but also regarded by violin makers as one of the most beautiful of Stradivari's productions. If it was not dated 1720 it could be classified among the beautiful violins of the second period, which was Stradivari's 'golden' period.

The 'Kreutzer' Stradivari is a large robust instrument and of almost perfect conservation; the ribs are high, its arches of perfect curvature; its varnish, golden-red, is of great richness, and the strong intensity of its sonority is matched by its penetrating sweetness.

The violin carries the label-date of 1720 and was acquired by Kreutzer in 1795.⁹

Rodolphe Kreutzer was born at Versailles in 1766 [...] He was made a *chevalier de la Légion d'honneur* in 1824; he died at Geneva, 6th January 1831. [...] In 1832 Kreutzer's widow offered the violin to Lambert Massart, Kreutzer's favourite pupil [...]. Massart became a violin professor at the Paris Conservatoire in 1864, and, for the rest of his life, he treasured and conserved the 'Kreutzer' Stradivari [...]. Some time after Lambert Massart's death [1892] his nephew, M. A. Massart, agreed to sell the violin [for 34,000 French Francs]; the 'Kreutzer' Stradivari has been in my possession since 30th May 1896.

The Hills write of 'the "Kreutzer" owned by M. Doyen':

Some of the most representative specimens known to us of these last years are [...]. We are also acquainted with other equally characteristic examples of this period, but are unable to give their exact dates as the labels have either been changed or their figures tampered with. The excellent instrument of that distinguished artiste, M. Heermann, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is of one or other of these years – most probably 1731; also the "Habeneck" violin,¹⁰ that of Mr. Tangye,¹¹ and the solo violin of M. Ysaÿe; likewise the "Kreutzer", owned by M. Doyen – this latter an admirable example in every respect.¹²

A cursory reading of this paragraph is likely to leave the impression that the four violins mentioned after that of M. Heermann are all associated with the year 1731 (cf. overleaf, the paragraph marked §). The Hills do not provide any specific details for the *Kreutzer* violin's label (for which see later).

Historical information provided by Christie's auction house (New York) at the time of the 2014 auction of the *Kreutzer* violin shows that the instrument was purchased 'in 1920 by W. A. and Anna Clark for their then-teenaged daughter Huguette [...]. The pleased parents heralded the purchase of the legendary *Kreutzer* with a telegram to Huguette from Paris reading: *Darling ... bought you the most wonderful*

⁹ Doyen's evidence for this acquisition is unknown. In the 2014 Christie's (New York) *Kreutzer* auction catalogue Kerry K Keane writes: 'It is traditionally believed that the violin first[?] came into the possession of Rodolphe Kreutzer in about 1795. It is said that Kreutzer, while conducting for the *Theatre de Monsieur* in Paris, became aware of the instrument through his colleague and mentor Giovanni Battista Viotti. The owner, another Italian and a violinist in the *Theatre de Monsieur*, sold the Stradivari to Kreutzer.'

¹⁰ The *Habeneck* violin was made by Francesco Stradivari in 1742; see www.themessiahviolin.uk for the present writer's detailed research article which was originally published in the *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*.

¹¹ The *Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive* states that the 'Tangye, Hamma, Segelman' violin 'bears its original label, 1733.' Alessandra Barabaschi, writing in Jost Thöne's *Antonius Stradiuarius*, Vol. IV, 2010, p. 262, states: 'The instrument bears an original label dated 1733.' Ernest Doring (*How many Strads?* p. 318) refers to a "Tangye" violin which is 'attributed to works of 1732'. Andrew Hooker (*Mr Black's Violins*, 2009, p. 196) relates that on 8 April 1935 the Hills 'made a certificate for it, giving the date as 1733'.

¹² *Antonio Stradivari*, 1902, p. 89.

violin in the world.' In 1920 William Andrews Clark (1839-1925) was probably the richest man in the world; his second wife (40 years his junior) was born Anna Eugenia La Chapelle (1878-1963). The marriage produced two children: Louise Amelia (1902-1919) and Huguette Marcelle (1906-2011).

In December 1920 one US dollar would buy seventeen French Francs; therefore the *Kreutzer* violin, priced at 175,000 French Francs, cost Clark just 10,300 US dollars – little more than loose change.¹³ Huguette, who, according to her nurse, Hadassah Peri, 'never really like it [never really liked playing the violin], but she just did it for her mother',¹⁴ still owned the *Kreutzer* violin when she died, aged 104, on 24th May 2011.

Christie's 2014 sealed-bid auction of the *Kreutzer* violin was not a success. According to a notice in the August 2014 issue of *The Strad*, 'the "Kreutzer" violin of 1731, valued at \$7.5m (£4.5m), failed to attract a buyer.'¹⁵

For the *Kreutzer* violin two certificate-cards were produced by the New York dealer Emil Herrmann; these are now archived within the Jacques Francais Rare Violins Inc. Photographic Archive and Business Records which are held at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History in Washington DC; the envelope in which the certificates are kept has 'Huguette Clark, Feb 27, 1946' written on the outside (in Herrmann's handwriting) which suggests that Huguette occasionally took, or sent, the violin to Herrmann for overhaul and repair.

§ On the first of Herrmann's certificate cards there are three monochrome photographs which show the front, the back, and the bass-side ribs of the violin which Herrmann identifies at the top of the card as the 'Kreutzer 1731'. The second card has a photograph of the bass side of the peg-box, and one further photograph showing the bass-side C-bout including the bass-side *f*-hole; Herrmann's written title at the top of this card is '1731 Kreutzer'. There is no certificate-card which provides any written information about the provenance or condition of the violin; there is no written information which explains why Herrmann identified the violin as dating, apparently precisely, from 1731.¹⁶

The extensive brochure which Christie's produced for their New York sealed-bid auction of the *Kreutzer* violin included (on p.35) dendrochronological information supplied by John Topham who identifies '1719' as the date of the 'youngest' front-plate growth ring (adjacent to the centre-joint on the treble side of the violin).¹⁷ Topham further posits that 'adding at least 5 years on to the date of the final [i.e. youngest] ring present in the sequence is appropriate' [for establishing the earliest date of manufacture]; therefore the *Kreutzer* is very unlikely to have been made prior to 1724. The following graph indicates that a decade-long interval, approximately, between the youngest ring and the label-date was most common in Stradivari's workshop (assuming that the dated label was inserted at the time when the violin was being made):

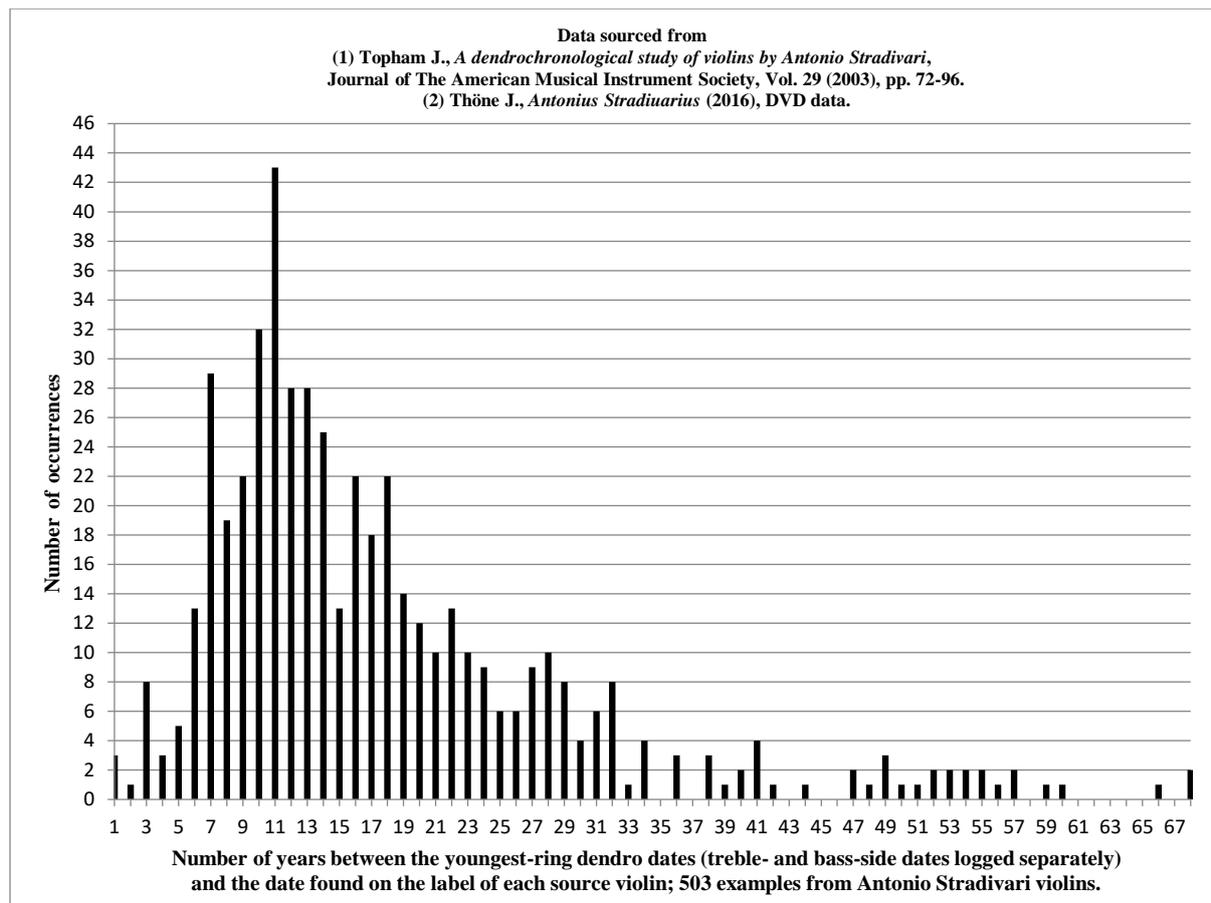
¹³ Exchange-rate details at: https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/FRB/pages/1920-1924/26040_1920-1924.pdf.

¹⁴ Bill Dedman and Paul Clark Newell, Jr., *Empty Mansions*, Ballantine Books, 2014, p. 269.

¹⁵ To clarify: the minimum bid for the violin was set at \$7.5m, with increments above that starting bid set at \$100,000.

¹⁶ Ernest Doring (p. 303) writes: '1731 period. *ex* KRUETZER [sic]. The eminent brothers of the name, Rudolphe and Jean, who were both professors at the Paris Conservatoire, owned fine violins and are recorded as having possessed Stradivari. This specimen was later owned by the French collector M. Doyen.'

¹⁷ 'Youngest' indicating the centre-joint-adjacent ring which has a dendro date closest, chronologically, to the present day.



The graphical evidence points towards a manufacturing date for the *Kreutzer* of around 11 years after the youngest ring-date, i.e. around 1730. The usual date found in present-day references – 1731 – is likely very close to the truth (but note that Emil Herrmann knew nothing about dendrochronology when the *Kreutzer* was in his hands in February 1946). The chronology of manufacture was probably as follows:

1. In 1725 Stradivari takes delivery of a length of trunk from a spruce tree which had only just been cut down; the outermost/‘youngest’ ring (underneath the bark) is thus carrying the dendro date of 1725.
2. Stradivari cuts wedges of wood from out of the trunk and leaves them to season for five years, stacking them, perhaps, in the shelter of the *seccadour* on the roof of his house where they will be aired and heated by the Italian sun but not exposed to its burning rays; nor will they be exposed to the cold winter rains.
3. In 1730 Stradivari selects a wedge and planes off the six outermost rings, i.e. the rings formed during 1725, 1724, 1723, 1722, 1721, and 1720) thus creating a flat edge which will be glued to a second wedge, similarly planed, this being the mirror-image half width on the bass side of the front plate.¹⁸

¹⁸ The Christie’s brochure does not indicate the date which was determined by Topham for the youngest ring on the bass-side half width.

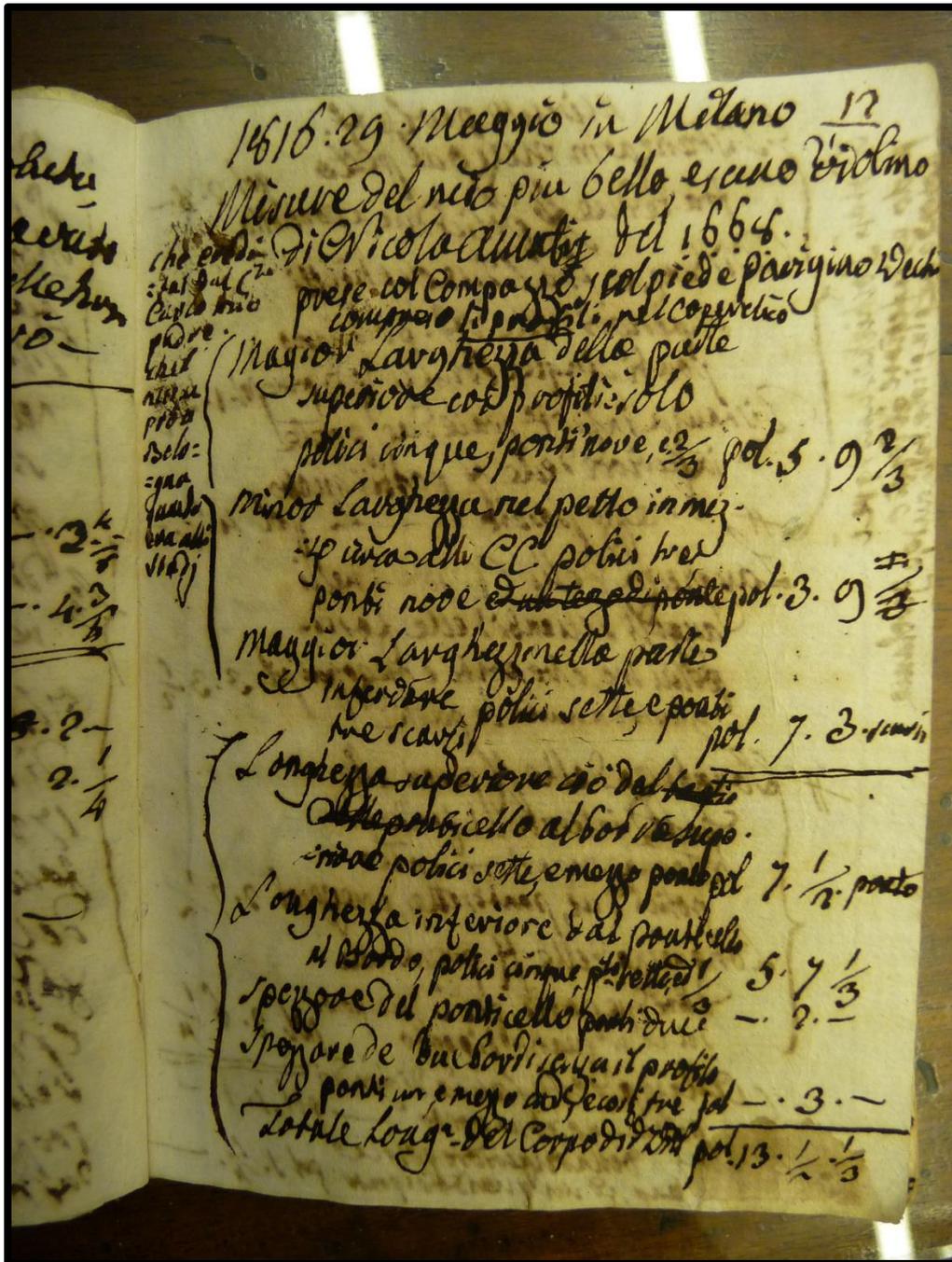
The label which is found inside the *Kreutzer* violin is problematic (see below). Clearly, the label-date (at least) has been altered:

- the first numeral – ‘1’ – is in Roman form (correctly)
- the second numeral appears to have been initially drawn as a rather small ‘7’ which has then been overwritten by someone using a pen with a smooth-edged nib
- the third numeral can be understood as a ‘2’ but the shaping bears no resemblance to the numeral ‘2’ when drawn by Stradivari on his labels (see Hill (1902) between pp. 216 & 217). The curious shape of the ‘2’ is reminiscent of the manner in which the numeral was drawn in the early nineteenth century (see the number ‘2’ as drawn by Count Cozio in the manuscript shown overleaf)
- the final ‘0’ is imprecise and vague.
- the four numerals are much wider apart than is observed in the Hill illustrations
- the monogram is very unconvincing
- does the changing colouring of the label – especially evident along the bottom edge under the date numerals – indicate that water was used to wash away the original, inked, numerals? Could water-staining explain why ‘**arius Cremonensis**’ and ‘**Anno 17**’ have thicker, very slightly blurred outlines (when compared to ‘Antonius Stradiv’ and ‘Faciebat’)?

It is difficult to believe that Charles Gand did not have serious suspicions about this label when he saw Massart’s *ex Kreutzer* violin in 1870, yet, in his *Catalogue*, he makes no mention of any concerns.



Source: the Christie’s (New York) brochure for the sealed-bid auction of the *Kreutzer* violin in 2014, p. 32.



Il Conte Ignazio Alessandro Cozio di Salabue
 1816 dal P^o [Primo] Aprile, Agionta al Libro Reg^o [Registro] d'istromenti di Milano.
 Biblioteca Statale di Cremona, Libreria Civica. ms. Cozio 47, folio 12r.

Herrmann's photograph of the *Kreutzer* violin's one-piece back plate shows some faint and widely-spaced flames which descend, very slightly, from left to right. The bass-side ribs are mostly plain but three flames in the upper-bout rib can be seen to be leaning down towards the C-bout; the C-bout rib has five or six very faint flames which lean towards the scroll; the lower-bout rib is almost plain. The front plate, at the tail-piece, clearly shows a width of wood underneath and slightly to each side of the tail-piece which is of a lighter colour than the wood further out.

Herrmann's photograph of the peg-box, on its bass side, shows that the hole for the tip of the E-string peg has been bushed and the peg re-positioned lower down the wall; strangely, it is difficult to see any evidence for this bushing in the colour photograph found in the Christie's brochure (p.26); it is as if their photograph has been treated with image-editing software.

At the time of their auction of the *Kreutzer* violin – June 2014 – Christie's of New York produced a video which can still be viewed on You Tube (as at October 2021):

<https://www.christies.com/features/violin-known-as-kreutzer-by-antonio-stradivari-4555-3.aspx>

The video, in colour, shows clearly (much more clearly than Herrmann's monochrome photographs) the 'tired' condition of the violin (it also shows clearly the E-string peg-tip bushing). The violin's provenance might be distinguished but since, as Charles Reade wrote in 1872, string instruments are 'heard by the eye' it is not surprising that the violin's worn appearance – with the original varnish remaining only across the centre bout of the front plate (and blackened with old resin) and around the perimeter of the back plate – did not appeal. The post-2014 ownership of the violin is unknown to the present writer.

It is this 1720 *Kreutzer/Massart/Doyen* violin which is identified on Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive as ID 41558. The website identifies an internal label, glued to the violin's upper block, which contains the text 'Kreutzer-Doyen 1795-1896'; a photograph of this label is provided in the Christie's brochure. The Tarisio website lists the violin's owners as:

1795-1831	Rudolphe Kreutzer
1831-1892	Joseph Lambert Massart
1896-1920	Louis Doyen
1920-1921	Maucotel & Deschamp
...	...
In 1946	Current owner

It is not known why the 1920 purchase of the violin by Mr W A & Mrs A E Clark is omitted from this list. It is not known why the apparent involvement of the Hills is not mentioned.

Huguette Clark's 1686 Stradivari violin

Huguette Marcelle Clark was born on 9th June 1906, at the Clark family's summer residence in Paris. In that same year Huguette's mother, Anna, bought a 1686 Stradivari violin from Silvestre & Maucotel.¹⁹

At a much later date this violin, like the *Kreutzer*, also passed through Emil Herrmann's hands; his undated (but, clearly, post-1928) certificate²⁰ defines the violin's label as '1686 original':

1905 ca. sold by Silvestre & Maucotel, Paris, to Mrs. Anna E. Clark of New York for daughter, now Mrs. Huguette M. Clark.²¹

Herrmann specifies the essential measurements of the violin as 161, 108, 201, and 355mm.

¹⁹ See Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive ID 43058.

²⁰ https://edan.si.edu/slideshow/viewer/?eadrefid=NMAH.AC.0872_ref507 (Smithsonian Institution).

²¹ The quoted text is reproduced verbatim (including the underscores). Huguette Clark married William MacDonald Gower on 18th August 1928 but the couple separated the following year and were divorced in August 1930.

From the evidence of Herrmann's certificate photographs the flames on the violin's bass-side rib all slope towards the tail-pin; there are claw marks wandering up the centre of the one-piece back plate; the flames on the neck are very distinctive, tightly packed, with a marked change of colour at each end.

Herbert Goodkind (*Violin Iconography*, pp. 208-9) provides photographs of the 1686 violin; the photographs are Herrmann's. Goodkind's list of owners (p. 726) identifies just one: *H. M. Clark*. The photos found in the Cozio Archive of Tarisio.com (ID 43058) are Herrmann's.

In 2005 Huguette gifted her 'third-best' Stradivari violin – the 1686 violin – to David Peri, the son of her full-time nurse and carer, Hadassah Peri.²² A document prepared for Huguette's signature by her attorney, Wallace Bock, itemises four gifts from Huguette to Hadassah; the first item is described as:

July 1 2005

Dear Hadassah,

This will confirm that I am making a gift to you today of the following musical instruments. [...]

1. A violin by Antonio Stradivari known as the Cremona, dated 1686.

[...] ²³

I trust that you will enjoy and make good use of this gift.

[...]

Sincerely yours,

Huguette M. Clark

Testimony subsequently given under oath by Daniel Peri, Hadassah's husband, includes:

Question: 'What did Hadassah tell you about the [gifted Stradivari] violin?'

Answer: 'She told me this is special violin, this is madam travelling violin, she went with this all over Europe, this is special from madam, that's her own travelling ... this is madam travelling violin.'²⁴

Thus Huguette's 'Traveller' (or 'Traveler') violin was her 1686 violin, not the *Kreutzer*. The current whereabouts of the 1686 violin are unknown to the present writer.

During 2021 it was announced that Beares Publishing was engaged in producing a six-volume catalogue of instruments made by Antonio Stradivari: *The Complete Works*. The publication's dedicated website (accessed from October 2021 onwards) contained/contains images of what might be assumed to be draft pages from the volumes: there are photographs and provenance data, as well as historical information, for the 1690 *Tuscan Medici* violin and the 1692 *Bennett* violin. However, the pages devoted to the 1687 *Bertier Kubelik* violin do not include any historical information, likewise with the 'c.1686 *Castelbarco, Clark*' violin (the fourth and last featured instrument).²⁵ The illustrative monochrome photographs of the last-named violin are those which were made by Emil Herrmann (see above). A provenance for this violin is presented by Beares Publishing as:

----	Count Cesare Castelbarco
1862	Puttick & Simpson Auction, London
1862	Alfredo Carlo Piatti
1872	Joseph Ludwig

²² See Dedman and Newell, p. 269. The 'first-best' violin is assumed to have been *La Pucelle*, the 'second' the *Kreutzer*.

²³ The other items were two harpsichords and a clavichord.

²⁴ The present writer is grateful to Bill Dedman for sharing this under-oath exchange.

²⁵ Note that Emil Herrmann clearly states that the label inside Huguette Clark's violin is '1686 original' (see previous page of this account); it is unclear why Beares Publishing should add *circa*.

1882	W E Hill & Sons, London
1883	David Laurie, Glasgow (according to WEH)
----	Murray, a Scottish ‘amateur’ (according to WEH)
----	Rev. Willan (according to WEH)
1909	Hart & Son, London (according to WEH)
----	R A Bower (Bauer) (according to WEH)
----	Beyer, Berlin
----	Miss Schoenfeldt
----	R A Bower with W E Hill & Sons (according to WEH)
1914	Sylvestre & Maucotel, Paris
1914	Mrs A E Clark for her daughter, Huguette
2001	Unknown owner (according to Tarisio)

For comprehensive and detailed information regarding the 26 June 1862 Puttick & Simpson ‘Castelbarco’ auction please see the present author’s research article **The Gertrude Clarke Whittall Collection: the *Castelbarco* violin and cello** (available at www.themessiahviolin.uk). Suffice it to say that no Stradivari violin label-dated 1686 was included in the 1862 P&S auction; the to-be-auctioned violins were dated 1685, 1699, 1701, 1712, and 1713. Alfredo Piatti was certainly present at the auction; his name is unambiguously entered in the P&S ledger as the successful bidder, at £135 (UKPs), for the 1685 violin which was Lot 8:

A Violin by ANTONIUS STRADIUARIUS, anno 1685
yellowish red varnish, in the most perfect preservation

The Puttick & Simpson auction catalogue and the associated ledger are archived at the British Library, St Pancras, London.

Beares Publishing identify the following supportive documents for their ‘c.1686 Castelbarco, Clark’ violin:

1. ‘Davidson p. 138 (mentioned as 1688).’

Peter Davidson writes:²⁶

Other excellent instruments of this maker [Stradivari] are in the possession of the following gentlemen: [...] one belonging to J. J. Murray, Galashiels, dated 1688.

‘J J Murray’ and ‘Galashiels’ points towards John Murray (1818-1892), the father of Henry Smith Murray.²⁷

Ernest Doring writes:²⁸

Peter Davidson records a violin of 1688 to have been owned by J J Murray of Galashiels, Scotland.

It is entirely unclear how a violin dated ‘1688’ connects to a violin which, according to Herrmann, is label-dated ‘1686’.

²⁶ *The Violin: its construction theoretically and practically treated* [...], 5th edition, 1895, p. 138.

²⁷ Henry Smith Murray was born in 1858. His family’s business, under the guidance of his father, John (d. 1892), was in the woollen trade, with extensive interests in the Australian sheep market. As a result, the firm of Sanderson & Murray became internationally famous and the family enormously wealthy. H S Murray collected together a quartet of Stradivari instruments: the 1712 *Darnley* violin, the 1695 *Goetz (Hawaiian)* violin, the 1728[?] *Gibson* viola, and the 1696/98 *Saint-Senoche* cello. The family’s residence was at the newly built Scots-baronial house named ‘Glenmayne’ just outside the town of Galashiels on the banks of the river Tweed. At an unknown date towards the end of the century H S Murray took up the position of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 1st Roxburgh and Selkirk Rifle Corps; he died at ‘Glenmayne’ on 10 March 1924.

²⁸ *How many Strads?*, p. 65.

2. 'Doring p. 49 (mentioned as 1685).'

This is Doring's brief mention of the 1685 *Castelbarco* violin, i.e. the violin bought by Alfredo Piatti.

1685 ex CASTELBARCO. One of the instruments of the Castelbarco collection sold at London in 1862 at auction. The violin fetched £135 at the sale.

The 1685 *Castelbarco* violin is not the 1686 violin that was subsequently owned by Huguette Clark.

3. 'Goodkind p. 208.'²⁹

This source has Emil Herrmann's aforementioned three photographs of the 1686 *Clark* violin for which Herbert Goodkind provides no provenance other than '*H M Clark*'.

4. 'Henley p. 23.'

W. Henley writes only of a 1685 violin:³⁰

1685 ex Castelbarco

Owned by Count Castelbarco of Milan and sold by auction in London, 1862, realising 130 guineas.

5. 'Herrmann archive.'

It is unclear why Beares Publishing should replace Herrmann's date of 'c.1905' for the Sylvestre & Maucotel sale of the 1686 violin to Anna E Clark with the date of '1914'.

6. 'Hill archive.'

The present writer has been unable to gain access to any Hill archives.

7. 'Tarisio 43058.' The Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive provenance for the 1686 'Clark' violin is:

until 1906 Sylvestre & Maucotel

in 1906 Anna E Clark

from 1906 current owner [i.e. Huguette Clark, until 2005; see p.8 of this account]

²⁹ *Violin Iconography of Antonio Stradivari*

³⁰ *Antonio Stradivari, Master Luthier*, Amati Publishing, 1961.