

## Searching for Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*: a paper-chase and a proposition

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During the past 200 years various investigators have laboured to unravel the strands of confusion which have surrounded the identity and life-story of the violin maker known as Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*. Early-nineteenth-century commentators – Count Cozio di Salabue, for example – struggled to make sense of the situation through the physical evidence of the instruments they owned, the instruments’ internal labels, and the ‘understanding’ of contemporary restorers, dealers, and players; regrettably, misinformation was often passed from one writer to another, sometimes acquiring elaborations on the way. When research began into Cremonese archives the identity of individuals (together with their dates of birth and death) was sometimes announced as having been securely determined only for subsequent investigations to show that this certainty was illusory, the situation being further complicated by the Italian habit of christening a new-born son with multiple given names (frequently repeating those already given to close relatives) and then one or more of the given names apparently being unused during that new-born’s lifetime. During the early twentieth century misunderstandings were still frequent, and even today uncertainties still remain, with aspects of *del Gesù*’s chronology rendered opaque through contradictory or no documentation.

The following account examines the documentary and physical evidence.

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**NB:** During the first decades of the nineteenth century there existed violins with internal labels showing dates from the 1720s and the text *Joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos* (see p.11 of this account). The *Latin Dictionary* compiled by Charlton T Lewis and Charles Short indicates that the word *nepos* derives from the Sanskrit **nap-tar** (descendant) and from the Greek **νεψιός** (nephew). Lewis and Short provide copious citations drawn from Classical Latin (as written and spoken during the period when the Roman Empire was at its peak, i.e. the first two centuries AD) which demonstrate that *nepos* was used, equally, for ‘grandson’ and for ‘nephew’. The present writer is unaware of any philological information which shows that one of the meanings of *nepos* overwhelmed the other during the subsequent 1,500 years. It would seem, therefore, that the only appropriate response to *nepos* within a *Joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos* label is to accept the validity of both ‘grandson’ and ‘nephew’ as translations.

Fortunately, the Latin text which is repeatedly found on the labels inside the violins made by Nicolò Amati between 1640 and 1680 allows the present-day investigator to discard ‘grandson’ as a valid translation of *nepos*:

**Nicolaus Amatus Cremonen. Hieronymi  
Fil. ac Antonij Nepos Fecit. 16xx**

Nicolò Amati, Cremonese, Hieronymus  
son and Antonio nephew, made in 16xx

Nicolò Amati (b.1596) was the son of Girolamo (a.k.a. Hieronymus); Girolamo’s brother was Antonio and therefore Nicolò was a nephew of Antonio – exactly as stated on the labels.

Thus, in Cremona, in the mid-to-late seventeenth century, the word *nepos* was constantly being used by the luthier whose Europe-wide fame formed the context in which worked Stradivari and the various Guarneris – and Nicolò Amati’s usage of *nepos* unequivocally denoted ‘nephew’, not ‘grandson’. For subsequent Cremonese luthiers to not follow Nicolò’s linguistic policy is implausible.

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Italian commentators, when faced with *nepos*, used the word *nipote*, occasionally *nepote*.

In the Italian-English dictionary compiled by John (Giovanni) Florio – *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English* (Edw. Blount, London, 1598) – the word *nipote* is translated as ‘a nephew’. The word *nepote* is translated as: ‘a nephew, ones brothers childe. Also the sonne or daughters sonne, a grand-childe’ [this quotation is presented here exactly as printed].

In Florio’s subsequent dictionary – *Queen Anna’s New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (Edw. Blount and Will. Barret, London, 1611) – both *nipote* and *nepote* are translated as ‘a Neaphew. Also a Grand-child.’

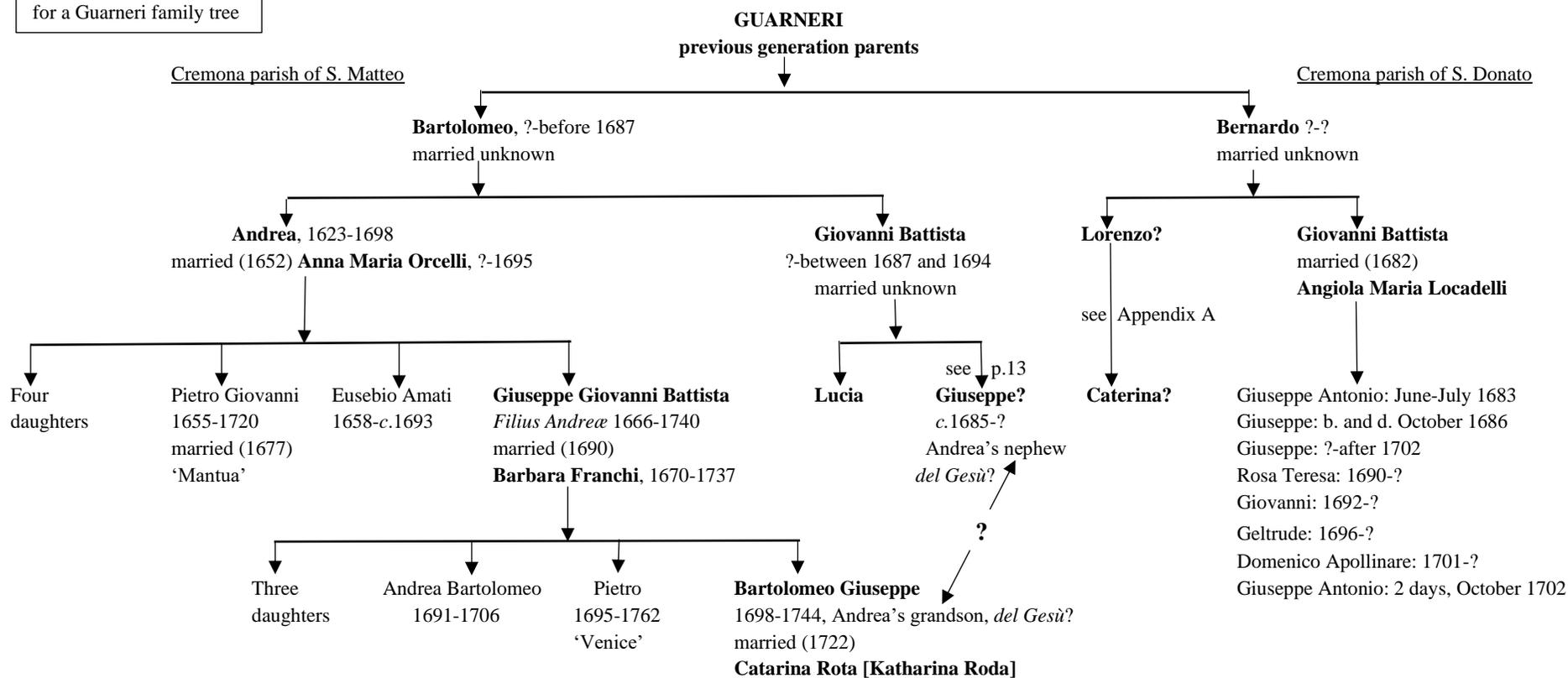
In Giuseppe Baretto’s *Dizionario delle Lingue Italiana, ed Inglese* (sixth edition, London, 1820) the Italian-English translation of *nipote* is ‘nephew, niece’; the translation of *nepote* is ‘nephew, grandchild’. The English-Italian translation of ‘nephew’ is *nipote*; ‘grandson’ is *figlio del figlio*.

In the *Dizionario Italiano-Francese* compiled by Francesco d’Alberti di Villanuova (Livorno, 1834) the Italian words *nipote* and *nepote* are both translated into French as ‘neveu, nièce’.

According to the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (in both the 1835 and 1878 editions) there is only one meaning for *neveu*: ‘Fils du frère ou de la sœur’ (i.e. nephew).

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Present writer's proposal  
for a Guarneri family tree



**NOTES:** 1. Giovanni Battista (Andrea's brother) is identified in Andrea's first Will of 1687; he is identified as 'the late' in Andrea's third Will of 28 October 1694.

2. Lucia is identified as a beneficiary in Andrea's first and third Wills (1687 and 1694).

## 1. II CONTE IGNAZIO ALESSANDRO COZIO di SALABUE

As is now well known, during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth, Il Conte Ignazio Alessandro Cozio di Salabue (1755-1840) wrote copious inventories, notes, memoirs, descriptions, and letters relating to his extensive collection of string instruments and his life-long obsession with classic Cremonese *lutherie*.<sup>1</sup> With respect to the personal histories of the luthiers, Count Cozio, as a member of the Piedmont aristocracy, would never have contemplated travelling to Cremona to inspect old parish documents, e.g. baptismal records, yearly census returns, burial records, etc. He, more likely, made use of the information known (or believed) by his contacts in the violin trade, among whom would have been

- the Mantegazza brothers: Pietro Giovanni (c.1730-1803), Domenico (active c.1780), Francesco (1762-1824), Antonio (1766-1790), and Carlo (1772-1814)
- Giovanni Battista Guadagnini (1711-1786)
- Tommaso Balestrieri (1713-1796)
- Giovanni Antonio Marchi (1727-1807)
- Antonio Merighi (1756-1833)

Even before he was 20 years of age the young Count had already established a commercial relationship with the violin-maker G B Guadagnini, and was in the middle of negotiations with Paolo Stradivari (and subsequently with Paolo's son, Antonio (II)) for the purchase of all the remaining instruments from the Stradivari workshop in Cremona together with all the tools, designs, and moulds. Subsequently, his research skills were officially recognised when he was appointed to edit the ancient statutes of the town of Casale-Monferrato (the Count's birthplace).

The Count's extensive knowledge of *lutherie* was built upon the information he received from various sources, and his string-instrument 'education' likely began around 1770. Some of the information offered to him would have been transmitted orally, some in written form. No matter how it was offered there is no reason to doubt the validity of the Count's resultant histories and determinations; certainly there are areas where the Count admits to a lack of knowledge, and certainly there are errors, but his texts are composed in good faith and to the best of his abilities.<sup>2</sup>

Count Cozio owned a substantial number of Guarneri instruments – in all likelihood more such instruments than were owned by any other individual anywhere – and these were itemised in his various documents. Even as early as 1775, in an inventory compiled on 18 June, he writes that he owns a *forma grande* violin made by *Guarnerio*.<sup>3</sup> In a February 1776 inventory of additional instruments the Count lists one medium-size violin and one large violin by *Guarnerio*.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, the Count describes two violins by Andrea Guarneri, and then, in 1803, describes in great detail a violin of 1709 made by Pietro Guarneri of Mantua. These are followed by Andrea Guarneri violas dated 1676 and 1690, an Andrea violin of 1658, Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* violins of 1690 and 1707, a Pietro (of Mantua) violin of 1722, a Guarneri violin of 1741 and three *Joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos* violins of 1727, 1728, and 1730 (see p.11 of this account). Finally, there is a viola, owned by the Count's banker and agent, Carlo Carli, about which the Count writes:

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<sup>1</sup> All the Cozio documents which have survived are archived at the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona, Libreria Civica [BSCr, LC].

<sup>2</sup> Count Cozio's writings were patronisingly evaluated by the Hill brothers in 1931: 'His interest was keen, his enthusiasm real; yet notwithstanding, we, who have studied his writings at the source and weighed their comments, find him superficial and frequently inaccurate, and his appreciation of the members of the Guarneri family forms no exception.' (*The Violin Makers of the Guarneri Family*, p. 89)

<sup>3</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 26.

<sup>4</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 28.

1816 18 giugno Milano

*Misure della viola appartenente al sig. Carlo Carli di Joseph Guarnerio nepote di Andrea col coperchio del Stradivario [...] il seguente Biglietto stampa bella e piccola in le tre righe:*

Measurements of the viola owned by Signor Carlo Carli, of Giuseppe Guarneri, nephew of Andrea, with a top plate by Stradivari [...] [with] the following label, beautiful small print, in three lines:

*Superiorem Tabulam Antonius Stradivarius circa annum 1724  
latera Joseph Guarnerius Andrea ~~filius~~ nepos<sup>5</sup>  
fecit Cremonæ circa annum 1730.<sup>6</sup>*

Front plate [made by] Antonio Stradivari around 1724,  
the sides by Giuseppe Guarneri, ~~son~~ nephew of Andrea,  
made in Cremona around 1730.

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In a lengthy document, dated 1816, Count Cozio outlined his knowledge of the history of violin-making in northern Italy, charting the identity and chronology of various violin makers who represented different schools of practice. Count Cozio begins his document with a statement of purpose:

*Memorie per servire alla dis[s]ertazione sulla conoscenza delli instumenti a corda delle diverse scuole italiane, e specialmente de più celebri autori di Cremona, e della sua scuola, che possono essere di qualche utilità a chi desiderasse di formarsi una raccolta de medesimi, e per indirizzo a quelli che volessero imparare per teorica una tale arte che pur troppo è d'assai declinata, tanto più nella sostanza, e da servire di parte prima alla dis[s]ertazione [...].<sup>7</sup>*

[These] commentaries are a contribution towards the understanding of string instruments of the various Italian schools, especially the most celebrated authors of the Cremonese school, which may be of some use to those who wish to form a collection [of instruments] of these people, as well as guiding those who wish to learn about the theory of an art which for too long has been in great decline, even more in its substance. [These commentaries] are an initial contribution to such an understanding [...].

There then follows an overview of the Brescian school of *lutherie*, followed by an overview of the Cremonese school. At the start of the latter section Count Cozio writes about the *Autori di prima classe* (these being the Amatis, Antonio Stradivari, and Francesco Stradivari) and then moves on to the *Autori di seconda classe*, beginning with Andrea Guarneri (1623-1698) who is followed by Andrea's youngest son, Giuseppe Giovanni Battista Guarneri *Filius Andreae* (1666-1740); the latter is followed by Francesco Rugieri, Pietro Guarneri (of Mantua), and then another Giuseppe Guarneri:

*Il Guarnerio Giuseppe, che qualche volta ne biglietti si qualificò per nipote d'Andrea ma che mai fece menzione di suo padre [...].*

Giuseppe Guarneri, who sometimes on his labels identifies himself as the nephew of Andrea but never mentions his father.

A few of his early instruments contribute to the fame of the [Cremonese] school but the majority of the instruments, although of consistent dimensions [see footnote 34], can scarcely be placed [even] in the third category [for quality]. The traditional explanation for the marked decline in his workmanship is because he killed one of his competitors, who may have been the aforementioned Francesco Rugieri (but there is no proof of this), as a result of which Giuseppe was condemned to spend many of his final years in prison, where he died. He was allowed some tools [for violin making] but these were insufficient for perfecting his work. He had to sell his instruments – for no more than a few *lire* – to pay for food; twenty years ago, many of his instruments could still be obtained for just two or three *zecchini* each. As a result of the scarcity of [his] large violins, and the reputation which surrounded his best instruments, [people] began to search for [Guarneri]

<sup>5</sup> To clarify: in his document Count Cozio wrote the word *filius*, then struck it through and wrote *nepos* above.

<sup>6</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 47, folio 50r.

<sup>7</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 1; translations are by the present writer.

instruments which, though they might be of poor appearance, had a strong voice (but it was very difficult to extract a good tone from these). This [deficiency of tone] was addressed when the instruments came into the hands of the aforementioned celebrated and intelligent restorer Carlo Mantegazza who thinned and re-shaped the [front and back] plates following the measurements used by Stradivari (with whose work [Guarneri's] varnish, and some of his archings, can be compared). These instruments thus restored some credit to this maker [Guarneri] and he can be placed in the second category, but only with respect to the first and last instruments (the latter being those which were in such a sorry state) – no others.

*Questo Giuseppe Guarnerio, per distinguerlo dall'altro Giuseppe Guarnerio figlio d'Andrea, che sarebbe stato cugino germano del primo, si denomina del Gesù [...].*

This Giuseppe Guarneri [i.e. Andrea's nephew], to distinguish himself from the other Giuseppe Guarneri, the son of Andrea (who would be the cousin of the first) was known as *del Gesù* because in the majority of the labels found in his violins, especially the most ordinary [the 'sorry state' violins?], they have the following cipher 'IHS' [Count Cozio draws a four-pointed cross above the three letters].<sup>8</sup>

Count Cozio's firm belief, therefore, was that Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* and Giuseppe *del Gesù* were cousins, not father and son; as cousins, therefore, Giuseppe *del Gesù* was Andrea's nephew.

Note that the Count's historical documents were never published. No information about the generational relationships within the Guarneri families of Cremona was available until 1856 when F-J Fétis and J-B Vuillaume published their slim volume *Antoine Stradivari, Luthier Célèbre*, which contained six pages of (not very accurate) information.

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The BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 1 manuscript is followed by ms. Cozio 2 (according to the pencilled numbering applied by the personnel at the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona) which contains a more comprehensive exposition and evaluation of the work produced by the members of the Guarneri family.<sup>9</sup> Count Cozio begins with information about Andrea Guarneri, one of at least two sons of Bartolomeo Guarneri (see the present writer's proposed Guarneri family tree – p.3 of this account):

*Il Guarnerio Andrea, di cui ignoriamo ancor il nome de suoi antenati risulta da suoi più antichi biglietti entroposti ne suoi instramenti che dal suo lavoro di molti anni che inimitò ad eccellenza quello del Nicolao Amati che fù suo scolaro. Ho veduto un suo capo d'opera nella collezione del suddetto Signore Cavaliere, con la data 1658, che è la più antica che abbia nel suo registro, così bene inimitato nel lavoro, buona qualità, e forza di voce, che si accomprò e fu sempre creduto de scielti di Nicolao Amati [...].*

Andrea Guarneri: the names of his ancestors are still unknown. Working from the oldest-date labels which he placed inside his instruments [it can be seen that] he worked for many years, imitating the excellent work of Nicolao Amati – [Andrea] was of [Nicolao's] school.<sup>10</sup> I have seen one of [Andrea's] masterpieces in the [instrument] collection of the aforementioned nobleman, dated 1658, which is the oldest date in that register.<sup>11</sup> [Andrea's] imitation of [Amati] workmanship was so good, in terms of quality and strength of tone, that [some of his instruments] were bought as, and were believed to be, those of Nicolao Amati [...].

<sup>8</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 1, folios 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 2, folio 7v *et seq.*

<sup>10</sup> The long-term presence of Andrea Guarneri in the Amati workshop has, in recent times, been confirmed by both Philip Kass (Kass, p. 15 *et seq.*) and by Chiesa and Rosengard (Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 7).

<sup>11</sup> Count Cozio is formulating his text as if it comes from the pen of Vincenzo Lancetti; see pp. 15-17 of this account.

*Con tutto ciò gli stromenti diligentati di detto fabricatore Andrea Guarnerio, fatti ad imitazione degli Amati e con legni scelti forastieri, sono i migliori di qualunque altro inimitatore che finora vi abbia esistito esso però sono in gran preggio e possano collocarsi di secondo ordine e qualche capo d'opera di primo ordine, come quello dell'anno 1658 tutto sano, compreso come sopra nella additata collezione, e tutti quelli fabbricati del seconda stile in generale sono collocabili nella terza, eccetto che qualcuno nella seconda. E' tuttora altresì ignota l'epoca della di lui morte, ma si può presumere approssimativa a quella che si ritrovò a aver cominciato a porre i biglietti col suo nome il di lui figlio Giuseppe che per quanto finora risulta dal più volte citato registro, fù nel 1699.*

With all of the meticulously-made instruments by this maker – Andrea Guarneri – made in imitation of Amati with carefully-selected foreign wood – these are the best imitations that have ever been made, and, because of their excellence, they can be placed in the second category, and some of his masterpieces can be placed in the first category, as is the case with [the violin] of 1658, entirely undamaged, included with the above instruments in the aforementioned collection [i.e. Count Cozio's collection].<sup>12</sup> All of the [instruments] made in [Andrea's] second [later] style can be placed in the third category, except for some which are in the second category. We remain ignorant of the date of [Andrea's] death<sup>13</sup> but it is presumed that it was approximately when we find [dated] labels of his son, Giuseppe [*Filius Andreae*], and, as can be seen in the oft-cited register, this was in 1699.

Andrea Guarneri married Anna Maria Orcelli in 1652 (she died in 1695). The marriage produced four daughters: Angela Teresa [I], 1653-1654, Angela Teresa [II], 1656-after 1700, Elisabetta, 1660-before 1692, Anna Maria, 1663-after 1692,

and three sons: Pietro Giovanni, born 1655, married in 1677, relocated to Mantua, died 1720  
Eusebio Amati, born 1658, subsequent history is uncertain, died c.1693  
Giuseppe Giovanni Battista, born 25 November 1666, died April 1740.

Count Cozio then turns his attention to the last-born – Giuseppe Giovanni Battista, *Filius Andreae*:

*Il Guarnerio Giuseppe figlio d'Andrea non si crede abbia lavorato molti anni, poichè finora non risultano dal più volte citato registro che si siano veduti biglietti ne suoi instrumenti posteriori al 1712. Il suo lavoro non fù cotanto diligentato come quelli del padre, massime nell'esteriore, avendo tenute le ff più ristrette, e corte e collocate in fondo più distanti. Il riccio meno regolare, la cassa delle corde più ristretta superiormente ed anche per la voce possano generalmente collocarsi di terza cattergoria, con tutto ciò fece qualche capo d'opera anche per la buona qualità del legno merita esser colocati in seconda cattergoria, come si è quello intato compreso nella suddetta collezione colla data del 1707. La vernice è d'ordinario più rossa e di durata; e fabbrica specialmente delle viole e de contralti di notevole bontà, e forza di voce.*

Giuseppe Guarneri, son of Andrea, is not thought to have worked for many years, because in the oft-cited register [Count Cozio's register of instruments] there are none of his labels which are dated after 1712.<sup>14</sup> His workmanship was not as meticulous as that of his father especially in the external aspects [of an instrument]. The *f*-holes were narrower, and shorter, and the lower ends were positioned too far apart. The scroll was less precise [in its cutting], the pegbox too narrow in the upper part, yet, because of their tone, the [instruments] can generally be place in the third category. Nevertheless, there are some which are masterpieces, [which,] for their quality of wood, deserve to be placed in the second category (as is the case of an intact [violin] included within the

<sup>12</sup> Count Cozio included his 1658 Andrea Guarneri violin in the collection – *la Collezione, Primo Inventaro* – of thirty-four instruments which, in 1823, he consigned to his banker, Carlo Carli, for sale (BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 73); see Chapter 6 of N Sackman, *The 'Messiah' violin: a reliable history?* ([www.themessiahviolin.uk](http://www.themessiahviolin.uk)).

<sup>13</sup> 7 December 1698.

<sup>14</sup> The Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive website (accessed February 2021) identified 35 Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* violins dated between 1710 and 1720, just three instruments with dates between 1720 and 1730, and none at all between 1730 and 1740. The Hill brothers comment: 'The smallness of Giuseppe's output during the last twenty years of his life – i.e. 1720-1740, is really astonishing. What could he have been doing? Certainly not making instruments.' (Hill (1931), p. 62)

aforementioned collection with a date of 1707).<sup>15</sup> [Giuseppe's] varnish was usually deep red and hard-wearing, and he had a special talent for making violas; the contralto violas were particularly good, and strong of voice.

Count Cozio concludes with:

*Ignorasi ancora è l'epoca del suo decesso, e se abbia lasciato prole, però non si ritrovano instrumenti con biglietti d'alcun suo discendente.*

We still do not know when he [Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*] died and if he left behind any offspring; no instruments have been found with labels indicating any [male] descendants.

Count Cozio would undoubtedly have wished to know that Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* married Barbara Franchi (1670-1737) in 1690, that the couple were parents to six children, and that they lived for the rest of their lives in the Cremona parish of San Matteo, opposite the church of San Domenico. The three daughters born of this marriage (but all dying within just eight years) were Teresa Elisabetta (1690-91), Elisabetta Giovanna Rosa (1693-98), and Anna Cristina (b. & d. 1697).

With respect to Count Cozio's knowledge (or ignorance) of male violin-making offspring, the first son born to Barbara and Giuseppe Guarneri – Andrea Bartolomeo – died in 1706, almost 50 years before Count Cozio was born. The second-born son – Pietro 'of Venice' (who had departed Cremona in 1717) – died in Venice in 1762, when the Count was just seven years old; Pietro's death was probably not noticed by anyone in the Milanese string-instrument business and there are no Pietro 'of Venice' instruments listed in the Count's documents. Count Cozio's comment (above) confirms that he did not regard Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù* as a child of the marriage between Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* and Barbara Franchi.

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Research by Carlo Chiesa and Duane Rosengard<sup>16</sup> has shown that, from the start of the eighteenth century, the financial fortunes of the Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* household steadily deteriorated. Pietro Guarneri left home for Venice in 1717, and, five years later, Pietro's younger brother, Bartolomeo Giuseppe, also decided that his future lay elsewhere, especially after his marriage, on 3 October 1722, to Catarina Rota ('Katharina Rota'):<sup>17</sup>

[...] Giuseppe Guarneri of the parish of San Matteo of this city of Cremona, the son of Giuseppe and Barbara Franchi, husband and wife, and Catarina Rota, German, formerly of the city of Vienna,<sup>18</sup> were joined in matrimony by their vows before the Church and blessed by me Ignazio Cavallo, parish priest of the church of San Pantaleone [...].

The Hills suggest that 'the fact that both the sons abandoned the parental workshop does undoubtedly suggest that their presence there was either unnecessary, or, what is the more probable, uncongenial.'<sup>19</sup> Family tensions may have been splitting apart father and sons, yet Pietro always cited his father – 'Filius Ioseph' (or 'Joseph') – on his labels.<sup>20</sup> Following the departure of both Pietro and the newly-married Giuseppe, the *Casa Guarneri* was inhabited only by Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* and his wife Barbara; the violin business (and the family home) slowly crumbled away, propped up from time to time by borrowing money from Peter in order to pay Paul.

<sup>15</sup> This violin was also included in Count Cozio's 1823 *la Collezione, Primo Inventaro*.

<sup>16</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> A photograph of the marriage record (and a translation of the Latin text) is provided in Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> ... ~~Cate~~ *Catarina Rota Germana ex civitate Viennensi* ... (ibid.). In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Austria (capital Vienna) was the second-most powerful state within the loosely-knit German Confederation; Prussia was the most powerful.

<sup>19</sup> Hill (1931), p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> See the eight Pietro Guarneri label illustrations in Hill (1931), opp. p. 131.

The Hills reproduce the 1723 census return.<sup>21</sup> Giuseppe and Barbara are correctly listed as 56 and 53 years of age respectively; Bartolomeo Giuseppe – the last-born son – is not listed:

*Stato dell' Anime per l'Anno Corrente 1723*

*Casa Guarneri da essi habitata*

*Giuseppe Guarneri figlio del qd [quondam] Andrea P.F. d'anni 56<sup>22</sup>*

*Barbera [sic] Franchi figlia del qd Giovanni [sic] moglie d'anni 53*

The 'state of souls' for the current year 1723

The house of Guarneri, inhabited by these:

Giuseppe Guarneri, formerly [known as the] son of Andrea *paterfamilias*, of years 56

Barbara Franchi, formerly [known as the] daughter of Giovanni, wife, of years 53.

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Count Cozio's commentary (BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 2) continues:

*Vi fù bensì in Cremona altro Giuseppe Guarneri il quale per diversi anni del suo primiero lavorare, cioè dal 1727 circa al 1735 inclusive, che ne biglietti apposti a suoi stromenti si qualificò nipote di Andrea avendo tacciuto quello del padre forse perchè non fabricante li violini.*

It is certain that there was in Cremona another Giuseppe Guarneri who, for several years at the start of his career – thus from about 1727 to 1735 inclusive – indicated on the labels of his instruments that he was the nephew of Andrea. His father is not mentioned, perhaps because he did not make violins.

[one unreadable word] *istromenti che si abbiano nel registro predetto di tale ~~autore~~ [sic] fabbricante) costrutte nella sudetto epoca sono i meglio diligentati e nel lavoro interno ed esterno, ma non ebbero [missing word?] pria della ultima venuta de' francesi in Italia poichè si trovavano dagli Italiani molto duri a suonare perchè troppo grossi di legno, massime vicino alla circonferenza dello stromento per mancanza di necessaria scavatura e per aver ritenuto le curve troppo piane e larghe.*

The instruments which are listed in the aforementioned register, made by this maker during this period [i.e. c.1727-35], are the best constructed, both internally and externally, but they failed to achieve any [reputation?] prior to the recent arrival of the French in Italy. Italians found [his violins] too difficult to play because the wood was too thick, especially around the circumference of the instruments. To rectify this it was necessary to thin and re-graduate the archings, making them flatter and broader.

*Questi però essendo stati opportunamente assotigliati e cangiatavi la catena e rialzatosene il ponticello e allungati di tratta le corde dall assai intelligente agiustatore d'instromenti Carlo Mantegazza, [?] che cessò di vivere in età avero[?] giovanile, perdettero assai di tale durezza, e acquistarono forza massime nella quarta corda.*

The opportunity was taken to change the bass-bar for a thinner type, make the bridge higher, and lengthen the strings [by adding a neck-foot wedge?], these [alterations] being undertaken by the very intelligent instrument-restorer Carlo Mantegazza who died while still a young man. [As a result of this work] the instruments lost all their hardness [of tone-production] and acquired a strong sonority, especially on the fourth [G] string.

*Ed in virtù della loro grandezza e agiustateza di forma delle più grandi dell'Antonio Stradivari divennero, se non di prima categoria, ma almeno di seconda, come si può vedere da un coperchio e da un manico esistente nella più volte accennata collezione. La vernice sua era piuttosto rossiccia, ma non abbastanza consistente per conservarsi, e li legni di cui fece uso nella sudetta epoca sono scielti e forastieri, ma di questi ne lavorò non molti.*

<sup>21</sup> Hill, p. [57], illustration E; see also p.32 *et seq.* of this account for further information regarding census returns.

<sup>22</sup> See p.36 of this account for a consideration of the term *quondam*.

And by virtue of their size, and their similarity to the largest forms of Antonio Stradivari,<sup>23</sup> whilst these [instruments] are not in the first category they are, at the least, in the second (as can be observed in a [violin] top plate and a neck which are both to be found in the oft-mentioned collection). His varnish is rather red, but without the consistency necessary for long life. The wood which he made use of in the aforementioned period was carefully selected, and foreign, but of these [instruments] he did not make many.

*Li violini che dal 1731 circa fabbrico sino al 1743 (come dal suddeto registro appare) sebbene abbia ritenuto ordinariamente la stessa forma, sono generalmente malissimo lavorati, e dentro, ed al di fuori. Le ff, la profilatura, ed il riccio del manico assai male lavorati e senza proporzioni nelli spessori, ossia grosezze, e con vernice più rossa ma ancor più debole che si distacca facilmente dal legno, di modo che non potevansi nemmeno collocare fra la quarta cattergoria, a segno che anche per il loro assai inferiore lavoro pria della predetta epoca della venuta di francesi, si vendevano al vil prezzo di due or tre zecchini, e pendente che li lavorava li vendeva ad un zecchino e poco più, di modo tale che non sigiudi che rebbero a vederli per fabbricati dalla stessa mano de' primi.*

The violins made from about 1731 until 1743 (as listed in the aforementioned register) seem to have normally used the same source-mould [see footnote 34]; [they are] generally very badly made both inside and out. The *f*-holes, the purfling, and the scroll – all are very badly made, without [correct] proportions in their thicknesses, or sizes, and with varnish which is deep red but too weak – it easily flakes off the wood. These instruments are so badly made that they could not be put even in the fourth category. During the period prior to the arrival of the French<sup>24</sup> [these instruments] were sold for as little as two or three *zecchini*, and during [the maker's lifetime] they were sold for [just] one *zecchini* (barely any more). [These instruments] reveal no evidence for their having been made by the same hand as made the first instruments.

*Tanto più che dal 1732 circa, ommise nelli suoi biglietti l'indicazione d'esser nipote di Andrea e vi aggiunze dopo la data il bollo delle seguenti tre lettere con croce sopra I.H.S., per cui si dicono Giuseppe del Gesù, ma ritenuto la tradizione che questi instramenti li fabbricasse in prigione, a cui sia stato condannato in vita, dopo il 1735, per aver ucciso un fabbricatore d'instrumenti suo competitore ed emulo, che vuolsi fosse il Francesco o d'altro Rugeri detto il Per, per cui tali stromenti si dimandavano della serva, che si fosse quella del Bargello.*

Furthermore, from around 1732 [Giuseppe] no longer indicated on his labels that he was the nephew of Andrea, and from that date added a stamp with the following three letters, with a cross above – I.H.S. – as a result of which he was known as Giuseppe del Gesù.<sup>25</sup> According to tradition, these instruments were made in prison, to which he had been condemned for life, from 1735, for having killed a rival violin-maker – a 'Francesco', or another Rugeri (known as 'the Father') – and thus these instruments were known as ['maid-] servant' instruments. [The prison] was that known as the Bargello.<sup>26</sup>

Count Cozio concludes by praising the alterations which the Mantegazzas made to Guarneri *del Gesù* violins, such that the instruments –

improved greatly in quality and even more in reputation amongst French players and dealers, they recognising the strength of voice and the elimination of the difficulties of tone-production. As a result, many of these instruments were exported, which is not to our credit.

<sup>23</sup> Count Cozio's reference to the size of the 1727-35 Guarneri violins – comparable to Stradivari's largest – is noteworthy since most *del Gesù* violins have smaller-than-Stradivari dimensions: see the large sizes specified by the Count (overleaf *et seq.*); see also footnote 34.

<sup>24</sup> By 'arrival of the French' Count Cozio is assumed to be referring to the wars (1792-1802) fought in northern Italy between the French Revolutionary Army and a coalition of forces led by Austria and Russia. The eventual defeat of the coalition resulted in the establishment of the 'Kingdom of Italy' with Napoleon I as 'Emperor of the French and King of Italy'; its capital was Milan. The kingdom was overthrown in 1814.

<sup>25</sup> Note that Count Cozio here confirms his belief that Giuseppe *nepos* and Giuseppe I.H.S *del Gesù* were the same person.

<sup>26</sup> The Bargello prison is located in Florence; see p.22 for the comment made by George Hart re the 'gaoler's daughter'.

Count Cozio's critical opinion of the instruments made by Giuseppe *del Gesù* during the 1730s is certainly trenchantly expressed, but other, later, commentators were equally forthright when evaluating the instruments' physical characteristics.<sup>27</sup>

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On 16 April 1816 Count Cozio wrote a description of his 1727 *Nepos* violin of 'large form':<sup>28</sup>

Violin of Giuseppe Guarneri, nephew of Andrea; large form, one-piece back plate, the streaks [flames] are beautiful and very wide, the top plate is satisfactory, the *f*-holes are beautiful, the neck very rough, the varnish not so red (how it was left by the Mantegazzas)<sup>29</sup> with a label having the usual printing – without a seal<sup>30</sup> – which states:

joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos  
fecit Cremonæ anno 1727<sup>31</sup>

See folio 8 for a similar label [...].

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Folio 8r of the same ms. Cozio 47 inventory contains the Count's concluding text for another 'large form' Guarneri *Nepos* violin (the Count's descriptive commentary beginning on folio 7r with *1816, 6 Maggio, Del Prof. Giuseppe Moler; Violino di Giuseppe Guarnerio, nipote di Andrea, forma grande*):

The label is genuine, has not been disturbed,  
and in small and beautiful lettering states:

joseph Guarnerius, Andrae Nepos  
fecit Cremonæ Anno 1728

Without a seal. [see fn. 30]

Count Cozio has placed an ink dot under the 2 and another dot under the 8 to indicate that these numerals are handwritten.

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On 31 May 1816 Count Cozio measured two violin top plates – 'the back plates and the ribs [are yet] to be found' – which he identifies as having been made by *joseph Guarnerius nipote d'Andrea*. The Count uses the French *Pied du Roi* measuring system in which one *ligne/ponto* is 2.26mm, twelve *lignes/ponti* equal one *pouce/pollice* (27.07mm), and twelve *pouces/pollici* equal one *Pied du Roi* (324.84mm).

The four essential dimensions, extremity to extremity, for one of the two top plates, are:

Upper Bout maximum width: 169.15mm

Centre Bout minimum width: 111.72mm

Lower Bout maximum width: 207.57mm

Body length: 361.33mm.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See the comments made by Fétis/Vuillaume (p. 20 of this account) and George Hart (pp. 21-22); see, also, the comments made by Charles Reade in his third letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 August 1872.

<sup>28</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 47, folio 6r; present writer's translation. The source(s) of these *Nepos* violins is (are) unknown.

<sup>29</sup> ?after Carlo Mantegazza had finished re-graduating the thicknesses of the front and back plates?

<sup>30</sup> It is assumed that 'without a seal' indicates the absence of the IHS monogram and the four-pointed cross.

<sup>31</sup> Note that Count Cozio does not write a 'long S' in the name 'joseph'.

<sup>32</sup> ms. Cozio 47, folio 26v. A set of measurements for the second plate is not provided by Count Cozio.

On 8 February 1822 Count Cozio described and measured a third Guarneri *Nepos* violin (folio 129r); once again, a ‘large form’ instrument:

Violins belonging to General Robert,  
this one being of Giuseppe Guarneri, with a label,  
the letters are beautiful but rather small, stating  
joseph Guarnerius, Andraeꝝ Nepos  
fecit Cremonae Anno 1730<sup>33</sup>

Large form, for which, below, are the measurements:

Count Cozio defines the transverse width of the Upper Bout, excluding the border-wood on the outside of the purfling, as *policì sei* (162.42mm); the border width, counted twice (bass side and treble side), is defined as *ponti tre* (6.78mm); thus the UB transverse maximum, extremity to extremity, is **169.2mm**.

The Centre Bout minimum width is *policì tre, ponti nove* (101.55mm); add 6.78mm for the two border widths; the CB transverse minimum, extremity to extremity, is **108.3mm**.

The Lower Bout maximum is *policì sette, ponti cinque ed un terzo* (201.53mm); add 6.78mm for the two border widths; the LB transverse maximum, extremity to extremity, is **208.3mm**.

The length upwards from the bridge to the outer line of the purfling is *policì sette meno mezzo ponto* (188.36mm); the length downwards from the bridge to the outer line of the purfling is *policì cinque e ponti dieci* (157.95mm). The thickness of the bridge (at the feet) is *ponti due* (4.52mm); the thickness (width) of the border (counted twice – top and bottom) is 6.78mm. The total length of the soundbox is *policì tredici, ponti due e mezzo*: **357.5mm**.

Count Cozio’s measurements – **169.2, 108.3, 208.3, and 357.5mm** – indicate a violin of Stradivarian size and proportion; such a size is significantly larger than the majority of *del Gesù*’s violins, hence the appropriateness of Count Cozio’s comment – *forma grande*.<sup>34</sup> For comparison, Stradivari’s *G* mould generated violins with measurements of 168.3, 110.3, 208.3, and 357.3mm; his *P* mould generated violins of 168.3, 109.3, 207.3, and 355.3mm.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps, during the 1720s, the Giuseppe who was nephew to Andrea was employed in Stradivari’s workshop and was allowed to use, or copy, Stradivari’s moulds in order to build his own violins.

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If the three *Nepos* instruments belonging to Count Cozio were made by Andrea’s nephew then that familial relationship would have been through either a brother or sister of Andrea. Such a brother, by name Giovanni Battista Guarneri (and this brother’s daughter, Lucia) is identified within the first Will drawn up by Andrea on 15 June 1687:

After his [Andrea’s] death L.100 was to be paid to the Signorina Lucia de Guernieri, niece of the testator and daughter of his brother, Signor Giovanni Battista Guernieri.<sup>36</sup>

The daughter Lucia, and her (by then) recently-deceased father, are further identified in Andrea’s third and final Will of 28 October 1694:

He [Andrea] [...] leaves to his niece, Lucia, daughter of the late Giovanni Battista, his brother, the sum of L.50.<sup>37</sup>

Thus Andrea’s brother, Giovanni Battista, died between 1687 and 1694.

<sup>33</sup> Note the particular spelling of the word *Andraeꝝ*; cf. the label-text referenced by footnote 54.

<sup>34</sup> Measurement data for the 24 *del Gesù* violins which are featured in Vol. Two of Chiesa *et al.* demonstrates an average back-plate length of 352mm from a range of just 350-354mm; the 24 violins are dated between ‘c.1727’ and ‘1745’.

<sup>35</sup> See N Sackman, *The ‘Messiah’ violin: a reliable history?*, Chapters 2 and 5.

<sup>36</sup> See Hill (1931), p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

**A proposition:** Andrea's brother, Giovanni Battista, fathers a son a few years before his own death, i.e. the son is born *c.* 1685. If this son was named Giuseppe and subsequently (*c.* 1710 onwards) became a violin maker, he would have had no choice but to demonstrate on his labels his relationship to his uncle Andrea rather than to his father since the latter was already dead and even if Giovanni Battista had still been alive he, as far as is known, never had any connection with *lutherie*.

If the maker of the *Nepos* instruments was a grandson, not a nephew, of Andrea (i.e. he was the third- and last-born son of Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* and Barbara Franchi) then the 1698 date of his birth will not fit with the 'J. Guarnerius' violins dated from 1710 onwards which are identified and described by Charles-Nicolas-Eugène Gand (see p.22 *et seq.*); nor will a 1698 date of birth fit with the *Giuseppe Guarnerio* violin of 1704(?) identified by Carlo Carli as belonging to Niccolò Paganini.<sup>38</sup>

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The Hills, in their *Guarneri family* monograph, specify '1726' as the date of the earliest *del Gesù* violin known to them, and comment on the condition of this violin's label:

The earliest dated violin of Giuseppe del Gesù hitherto seen by us is of the year 1726 [...]. And we note that the text of this label never varies in any detail whatsoever throughout the master's whole career; he abandons the tradition of his predecessors who worked under the auspices of the patron Saint Teresa, and adopts instead the cipher 'J.H.S.' surmounted by the Cross.<sup>39</sup>

Thus the Hills' 1726 violin apparently had an 'IHS' label. However, the earliest label of this type which the Hills illustrate is dated 1729:

Joseph Guarnerius fecit +  
Cremonæ anno 1729 IHS<sup>40</sup>

These two 'IHS' labels, of 1726 and 1729, sit against the Guarneri labels of similar date which have *Andrea Nepos* labels (i.e. the three violins owned by Count Cozio).

The Hills' commentary does not suggest that their two dates – 1726 and 1729 – might have become tangled together, for, within their monograph, the Hills confirm the date of the earlier instrument and also confirm the unvarying consistency of *del Gesù* labels:

We have previously recorded that he did sign a violin in 1726 with his own distinctive label' [i.e. an 'IHS' label].<sup>41</sup>

Giuseppe del Gesù, contradictory though it seems, was most consistent as regards the form, figures, and composition of his label; he began by ignoring his parentage and Patron Saint, and he did not once vary the wording, or make any alteration whatsoever throughout his career.<sup>42</sup>

In the two-volume *Guarneri del Gesù* publication of 1998 an unidentified writer describes the Guarneri *Dancla* violin: 'An imitation label placed inside is dated 1726 [...].'<sup>43</sup> Within the same publication Roger Hargrave confirms that the *Dancla* violin contains a facsimile of the 'IHS' label, dated 1726;<sup>44</sup> regrettably, this imitation/facsimile label is not photographed. Perhaps the Hills' aforementioned *del Gesù* violin of 1726 (containing what the Hills apparently believed to be a genuine 'IHS' label) was the

<sup>38</sup> See the present writer's website article: *Paganini's 'Canone' violin and David Laurie's 'Canon' violin; some considerations*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, opp. p. 130. It is likely that this label is from the Guarneri *Baron Heath/Brown* violin (Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive ID 42986).

<sup>41</sup> Hill, p. 74.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. One, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 151.

*Dancla* violin. According to the 1998 publication an imitation ‘IHS’ label dated 1726 is also found in the *Stretton* violin.<sup>45</sup>

The anonymous commentary continues:

Although the Hills in their book *The Violin Makers of the Guarneri Family*, the standard work on this subject, mention labels of 1726 and 1729, some doubt now attaches to these,<sup>46</sup> and the earliest unquestionable label extant comes from 1731, bearing the IHS device from which Guarneri’s common epithet “del Gesù” derives.<sup>47</sup>

Subsequently within the same commentary:

Although none of these labels [the *Andrea Nepos* labels] appears to have survived to the present day [see overleaf for the ‘genuine Andrea Nepos label’ inside the 1728 *Kubelik/von Vecsey* violin], the “Dancla” might have originally carried a label of the “nepos” type, which was probably removed by a speculative dealer in the nineteenth century, anxious to associate the violin more directly with the hand of del Gesù himself, rather than the more ambiguously titled Joseph Guarnerius Andrea nepos.

The “Dancla” is made on a large pattern [...].<sup>48</sup>

The major dimensions of the *Dancla* violin have been calliper-defined as: 164, 107, 200, and 354mm.<sup>49</sup> These measurements can be compared with those shown on p.12 of this account.

Roger Hargrave comments:

In the light of the facts now known about del Gesù’s life, it seems most likely that after leaving the family workshop he did indeed use the “nepos” form of label. [...] When del Gesù’s work became highly sought-after in the nineteenth century it is likely that many early violins with the ambiguous “nepos” label were “upgraded”. This was simply done by removing the offending label, and only in some cases replacing it with a suitably dated copy of the IHS label. The “Dancla” and “Stretton” violins fall into the latter category. Both carry facsimiles of the IHS label with the date 1726 – a date now thought to be too early for either violin, and certainly too early for this form of label.<sup>50</sup>

The Hills, in 1931, firmly rejected the *Andrea Nepos* labels:

[...] no *original* [Hill emphasis] Guarneri label so worded has ever been seen by the present writers [...].<sup>51</sup>

The Hills add a footnote – ‘We have seen fictitious labels so worded’ – but do not provide any details or illustrations of these labels, and do not explain how they were able to establish their ‘fictitious’ status.

The Hills further comment:

Only after long observation do we venture to state our conviction that most of the instruments of the last period of Giuseppe Filius [?when he was ‘certainly not making instruments’? – see fn. 14], and also a considerable number of those of del Gesù – notably his earliest works – were sent into the world without labels, and the labels which these instruments bear to-day were inserted during

<sup>45</sup> See Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. One, p. 17, and Roger Hargrave in Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 151. The *Stretton* violin is illustrated by the Hills (Hill, opp. p. 82) with a caption which might reasonably be assumed to be a replication of the violin’s (imitation) label-text: *Joseph Guarnerius del Gesù fecit Cremonæ 1726*.

<sup>46</sup> From the visual evidence of the 1729 label as shown by the Hills (1931, opp. p. 130) it is difficult to see any text element which would prompt doubts about the label’s authenticity.

<sup>47</sup> The cited violin of 1731 is the *Baltic*; see Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. One, p. 29: ‘The violin bears a good label, with the IHS symbol which gives del Gesù his common title. Under ultraviolet light two pen strokes appear just behind the last two handwritten figures of the date. Similar marks are found on most of the genuine labels, of which this is the earliest example.’

<sup>48</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. One, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>51</sup> Hill, p. 66.

the nineteenth century [...]. They [the two makers] frequently did not trouble to sign their productions unless asked to do so.<sup>52</sup>

In a 4-part set of articles published on the Tarisio.com/Carteggio website<sup>53</sup> John Dilworth and Carlo Chiesa identify the 1728 *Kubelik/von Vecsey* violin as ‘possibly the earliest example of Guarneri’s fully independent work.’ The two authors also point out that this violin ‘has the only known example of a genuine Andrea Nepos label which predates the famous IHS one.’ The website photographs<sup>54</sup> show the text of this violin’s label:

Joseph Guarnerius Andrææ Nepos  
fecit Cremonæ Anno 1728<sup>55</sup>

From the evidence of the photographs the third and fourth date-numerals appear to have been hand-written; it is extremely difficult to perceive the specific numerals ‘28’. If this label is genuine then it is reasonable to conclude that the label inside the 1730 violin belonging to General Robert (see p. 12 of this account) is also genuine.

Calliper measurements (supplied to the present writer) of the small 1728 *Kubelik/Vecsey* violin are:

164, 109, 201, and 353mm.

It is noticeable how close these dimensions are to those of the small 1726 *Dancla* violin:

164, 107, 200, and 354mm.

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## 2. VINCENZO LANCETTI

In 1819 the Cremonese biographer Vincenzo Lancetti (1767-1851) published the first volume of an alphabetical survey of important families and persons within Cremonese society:

*Biografia Cremonese*  
*ossia*  
*Dizionario Storico*  
*delle famiglie e persone*  
*per qualsivoglia titolo memorabili e chiare*  
*spettanti alla città di Cremona*  
*dai tempi più remoti fino all’ eta’ nostra*  
VINCENZO LANCETTI  
*Direttore dell’ I. R. Archivio di Guerra*

Cremonese Biography, or Historical Dictionary,  
of the families and individuals, of any title,  
who are memorably and clearly associated with the city of Cremona  
from the remotest times to the present day  
Vincenzo Lancetti  
Director of the Imperial War Archive

Volume One of Lancetti’s Biography covered only the letter ‘A’, concluding on page 414 with ‘Paolo Azzoni’. Volume Two was published in 1820, concluding on page 588 with the ‘Buvoli’ family (the

<sup>52</sup> The evidence which underpins this final statement is unknown.

<sup>53</sup> Accessed February 2021.

<sup>54</sup> The photographs are by Peter Biddulph; also viewable on Tarisio.com, instrument ID 71858.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the label-text referenced by footnote 33.

Bergonzi family of violin makers is not mentioned).<sup>56</sup> The first part of Volume Three was published in 1822 (as far as ‘Canisani’). No further biographies were published.

Lancetti’s monumental endeavour evidently came to the attention of Count Cozio since, in December 1822, the Count copied out Lancetti’s text regarding the Amati family.<sup>57</sup> The Count then entered into correspondence with Lancetti (copies of a few letters from Count Cozio to Lancetti are archived at the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona). This correspondence reveals that Lancetti had abandoned his *Biografia Cremonese* in favour of a more manageable study of Cremona’s *luthiers* (but this also was never completed nor published). Count Cozio was not slow to ‘offer’ his corrections to the information assembled by Lancetti, the Count clearly expecting that Lancetti should use the corrected text without alteration:

*Milano: 1823, Gennajo 15. Progetto di rettifica, ed aggiunta alla biografia Cremonese riguardo alli suoi celebri fabbricato d’instrumenti da corda ad arco.*<sup>58</sup>

Milan: 1823, January 15: Plan of correction and addition to [Lancetti’s] Cremonese biography regarding its celebrated makers of bowed string instruments.

Count Cozio begins his corrective account (which is largely an elaboration of his previously-written history) with copious information about Gioachino (or Giofredo) Cappa (1644-1717) followed by the Amati and Stradivari families. The Count then moves on to the Guarneri family:

Another pupil of the aforementioned Nicolao Amati, and the one who imitated [Nicolao’s] work the most (not only in his workmanship but also in the quality and projection of tone), was the celebrated Andrea Guarneri of Cremona, who thus identified himself in his masterpieces, and especially in [an instrument] dated 1658 which is in the aforementioned collection of Count Cozio and which is equal to the masterpieces of Amati and Stradivari (as any expert can easily verify).

Andrea’s ancestry, and his date of birth and of death, are unknown. From the [evidence contained within the] aforementioned register we can be certain that he had already started to work in 1658 and continued until 1670 at least. Around 1670 he changed his [constructional] style to one which was more personal. [...] Those instruments which were carefully made in the style of Amati can be numbered in the first category [of quality], provided that they are not damaged (as has happened to various instruments made by Amati and by Stradivari). [...] Following on from Andrea was his son, named Giuseppe, probably at that point still a young man because the first instruments which can be found in the aforementioned register are dated 1699 [when aged 33], and none can be seen which are more recent than 1712 which suggests that he did not live very long [d.1740]. His work follows on from his father, and some [of his instruments] can be placed in the first category, with the remainder in the second and third. One [instrument], which is dated 1707 has beautiful workmanship, is of the highest quality, with red varnish, and can be seen in the collection of Count Cozio.

We have reason to believe that there was another son of Andrea, also a violin maker, by name Pietro (although he worked almost entirely in Mantua) [...]. From the register it can be seen that he worked from 1687 to 1722 at least [...].<sup>59</sup>

It is certain that this Andrea had a nephew, also named Giuseppe, who worked in Cremona at the same time as Giuseppe his cousin, who identified himself on his labels as the nephew of Andrea, and Cremonese. His [instruments], especially those made between 1727 and about 1730<sup>60</sup> can, for the most part, be defined as masterpieces as a result of their imitation of the work of Stradivari, but

<sup>56</sup> Federico Sacchi (Sacchi, p. 13) states that ‘[Lancetti’s] notices on the Amatis and the Bergonzis had been found by Count Cozio very deficient [...]’

<sup>57</sup> Lancetti, Vol. I, pp. 209-210; BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 4.

<sup>58</sup> BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 4; present writer’s translation.

<sup>59</sup> Pietro Guarneri ‘of Mantua’ died in 1720.

<sup>60</sup> The three violins owned by Count Cozio were dated 1727, 1728, and 1730.

with some [instruments] it is not difficult to see differences, especially in the scroll and in the *f*-holes, and these subsequently had their wood thinned, especially in the top plate, by the renowned restorer of instruments, Carlo Mantegazza. But then, during his [Giuseppe's] last period, up until 1743 (as can be seen in the register), the workmanship deteriorated markedly, as did the tone of these instruments, and, as a result, these [instruments] have no value and might be thought of as having been made by an inferior maker, and could not be put even in the third or fourth category. Nonetheless, after they were thinned (as described above) they improved in tone and some equalled the fine quality and strength of voice of the first instruments of this maker, and as a result they were greatly prized by the French (at the time of the last war) their being most suitable for use in an orchestra (given the French manner of drawing out the tone of an instrument).

According to an oral tradition, the reason why the workmanship deteriorated instead of improving was because after 1730 Giuseppe was condemned to prison for life for having killed one of his violin-making colleagues; however, we still do not know the name.

It is easy to recognise the instruments of this maker, especially those made after 1730, by the poor construction of the peg-box and the scroll, the length and hooks [wings] of the *f*-holes, the inaccurate purfling and [?], and in the varnish which detaches easily from the wood. The same defects can be seen in the pre-1730 instruments, but to a lesser extent; in addition, the archings and borders were too flat, and this was a persistent characteristic.

The information sent by Count Cozio to Vincenzo Lancetti was subsequently used by Giulio Fusetti.

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### 3. GIULIO FUSETTI

Signor Giulio Fusetti was the curate<sup>61</sup> at the cathedral in Cremona in the mid nineteenth century. In 1853 Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume visited Cremona, met with Signor Fusetti, and put to him a number of questions with regard to locating documents and obtaining information relating to Cremonese violin makers. Fusetti subsequently sent his answers to Vuillaume, in Paris, and Vuillaume replied on 7 September 1853:

I have received the letter which you so kindly sent me, containing the information which I took the liberty of requesting from you during my visit to Cremona. I thank you profoundly for all the details that you have provided. There is much [in your letter] about which even our most erudite men [in France] know nothing.<sup>62</sup>

Vuillaume continues his letter by asking Signor Fusetti to make further enquiries: 'You have been so kind, and so helpful, that I am emboldened to ask if it is possible for you to send me ...' (there follows a list of Vuillaume's requirements). Fusetti made for himself a list a 'bullet points' which summarised Vuillaume's questions. Under 'bullet point 6' Fusetti writes:

*Carteggio che il Sig. Conte Cozio di Salabue ebbe con il nostro Vincenzo Lancetti nel 1823. Sarebbe opportuno di verificare se abbia fondamento la tradizione che Giuseppe Guarneri per aver ucciso un altro Violonaro sia stato condannato alla prigione in vita carceri di Cremona. Si conghiettura che la sua detenzione abbia avuto luogo dal 1732 epoca della degenerazione dei suoi lavori.*<sup>63</sup>

The correspondence that Count Cozio di Salabue had with our Vincenzo Lancetti in 1823. It would be appropriate to verify whether there is any basis for the traditional story that Giuseppe Guarneri, having killed another violin-maker, was therefore condemned to prison for life, incarcerated in Cremona. It is thought that his detention took place in 1732, the point in time when his workmanship deteriorated.

<sup>61</sup> Federico Sacchi describes Giulio Fusetti as 'Vicar-General' (Sacchi, p. 20, footnote 9).

<sup>62</sup> Translated from Bonetti *et al.*, 1937, p. 103.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

In his reply to Vuillaume (evidently having inspected the correspondence between Count Cozio and Vincenzo Lancetti) Fusetti makes extensive use of the Count's historical information. In addition to sending Vuillaume the dates of birth and death for various members of the Amati family Fusetti also writes:

*Il Giuseppe Guarneri. Del celebre Andrea Guarneri fu nipote per parte di fratello un altro Giuseppe Guarneri diverso e distinto dal Giuseppe Guarnero figlio di Andrea, di cui era figlio il Pietro Guarnerio.*

*Questo Giuseppe Guarneri lavorò in Cremona e ne' suoi biglietti si distinse e qualificò sempre per nipote di Andrea e Cremonese, per distinguersi dal cugino suo altro Giuseppe figlio di esso Andrea. I suoi lavori fino al 1730 posson dirsi capi d'opera e non la cedono ai migliori lavori dei più pregiati violini Cremonesi. La causa per cui i suoi lavori dopo il 1730 non sono più della perfezione de' primi si attribuisce a ciò che egli dopo quell'epoca lavorasse in prigione, ove lo si dice condannato a vita per aver ucciso un suo college Violinaro di cui però se ne ignora ancora il nome.<sup>64</sup>*

Giuseppe Guarneri. Of the celebrated Andrea Guarneri there was a nephew, by way of a brother [of Andrea], [this nephew being] another Giuseppe Guarneri, different and distinct from Giuseppe Guarneri, son of Andrea, of whom there was a son, Pietro Guarneri [of Venice].

This Giuseppe Guarneri worked in Cremona and on his labels he always distinguishes and qualifies himself as nephew of Andrea, and as Cremonese, to differentiate himself from his cousin, the other Giuseppe, the son of the aforementioned Andrea. His work up until 1730 can be described as masterpieces, and are as fine as the best work to be found in the most esteemed Cremonese violins. The reason why his work, after 1730, was no longer as perfect as his earlier work is attributed to the fact that after that date he worked in prison where he had been condemned for life for having killed one of his colleagues – a violin maker whose name we still do not know.<sup>65</sup>

In 1999 the Bonetti/Cavalcabò/Gualazzini publication of 1937 – *Antonio Stradivari: Notizie e Documenti* – was made available in an English translation. Fusetti's letter-text appears therein with an unambiguous translation of *nipote* as 'nephew':

Giuseppe Guarneri. He was the nephew of the famous Andrea Guarneri by way of his brother [Andrea's brother], [the nephew being] another Giuseppe Guarneri, different and distinct from Giuseppe Guarneri, son of Andrea, whose [own] son was Pietro Guarneri [of Venice]. This Giuseppe Guarneri [i.e. Andrea's nephew] worked in Cremona and his labels always distinguish and qualify him as the nephew of Andrea and Cremonese, to distinguish him from his cousin the other Giuseppe the son of that same Andrea. His work up to 1730 can be said to be masterpieces and stand up to the best work of Cremona's most precious violins. The reason why his works after 1730 are no longer of the level of perfection of his first works is attributed to the fact that after that time his work was carried [on] in prison, where he is said to have been condemned for life for having killed a fellow violin maker, whose name, however, we do not know.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, from Count Cozio, through Vincenzo Lancetti and Giulio Fusetti, to J-B Vuillaume, the information passes – acquiring solidity and believability on the way – that Andrea Guarneri had a brother who fathered a son named Giuseppe, this son being a nephew to Andrea and a cousin to Andrea's own son, Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*. This family chronology is advanced by Bonetti and his two colleagues in 1937 despite the 1931 publication of the Hills' *The Violin-Makers of the Guarneri Family (1626-1762)* in which Giuseppe *del Gesù* is identified as the last-born son of Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* (and thus a grandson to Andrea), born on 21 August 1698 and dying 16 October 1744.

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<sup>64</sup> This is the Italian text as presented by Bonetti *et al.*, 1937, p. 105. The original note written by Giulio Fusetti is archived in the Curia Vescovile di Cremona.

<sup>65</sup> Present writer's translation. Whether Fusetti verified the 'traditional story' before writing to Vuillaume is not known.

<sup>66</sup> Bonetti *et al.*, 1999, p. 104.

#### 4. FRANÇOIS-JOSEPH FÉTIS and JEAN-BAPTISTE VUILLAUME

*Antoine Stradivari, Luthier Célèbre, connu sous le nom de Stradivarius*, written by François-Joseph Fétis under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume, was published in 1856. Despite the title of this slim book Fétis includes a short chapter – just six pages – on the Guarneri family (using the information received by Vuillaume from Giulio Fusetti):<sup>67</sup>

*André Guarnerius, naquit à Crémone dans la première partie du dix-septième siècle, et fut un des premiers élèves de Nicolas Amati. Il travailla depuis 1650 jusqu'en 1695 environ. Ses instruments se recommandent par une bonne facture dans la manière des Amati [...].*

Andrea Guarneri was born in Cremona in the first part of the seventeenth century and was one of the first pupils of Nicolò Amati. He worked from 1650 until approximately 1695. His instruments are notable for their fine workmanship in the style of Amati.<sup>68</sup>

*On considère généralement Joseph Guarnerius comme le fils aîné d'André, et l'on dit qu'il fut élève de son père. Il travailla depuis 1690 jusqu'en 1730.*

Joseph [i.e. Giuseppe] Guarneri [*Filius Andreae*] is generally considered to have been the eldest [youngest] son of Andrea and it is said that he was a pupil of his father. He worked from 1690 until 1730.<sup>69</sup>

Fétis then briefly mentions 'Pierre Guarneri' of Mantua, followed by another 'Pierre Guarneri' (of Venice), before writing more extensively about the man whom Fétis (or Vuillaume) identifies as 'Joseph-Antoine Guarneri *del Gesù*':

*Il me reste à parler du grand artiste de cette famille, 'Joseph-Antoine', appelé communément en Italie 'Giuseppe del Gesù', parce que beaucoup de violons sortis de ses mains portent sur l'étiquette cette marque IHS.<sup>70</sup> Jusqu'à ce moment on n'a eu sur ce luthier célèbre aucun renseignement positif, et l'on n'a recueilli sur sa vie que des bruits vagues plus ou moins romanesques. Lui-même avait donné l'indication la plus positive sur son origine en nous apprenant qu'il était neveu d'André, par cette inscription placée dans ces instruments: 'Joseph Guarnerius, Andreae nepos'; mais l'on n'avait aucune indication sur la date de sa naissance. Grâce aux recherches persévérantes de M. Vuillaume, un document authentique est venu lever tous les doutes sur ces derniers points: il est prouvé aujourd'hui que Joseph Antoine Guarneri, fils légitime des époux conjoints Jean-Baptiste Guarneri et Angela Maria Locadella, naquit à Crémone le 8 Juin 1683, et qu'il fut baptisé, le 11 du même mois, dans la paroisse de Saint-Donat, succursale de la cathédrale.*

It remains for me to speak of the great artist of this family, 'Joseph-Antoine', in Italy commonly called 'Giuseppe del Gesù' because many of the violins which left his hands carried on the label the following brand: IHS. Until now there has been no reliable information about this celebrated maker; we have uncovered nothing more than vague rumours, more or less romantic, about his life. He himself provided the most positive indication of his origin by informing us that he was the nephew of Andrea, by means of this inscription placed inside his instruments – 'Joseph Guarnerius, Andreae nepos' – but we have had no information regarding the date of his birth. Thanks to the persistent researches of M. Vuillaume an authentic document has resolved all doubts on these last points: it is now proven that Joseph Antoine Guarneri, legitimate son of the marriage between Jean-Baptiste [Giovanni Battista] Guarneri and Angela Maria Locadella was born in Cremona on 8<sup>th</sup> June 1683 and was baptised on the 11<sup>th</sup> of the same month in the parish of Saint Donat, adjunct to the Cathedral.

<sup>67</sup> Fétis, pp. 105-111. The identification of individuals within the Guarneri family now becomes even more confusing since Fétis changes their Italian given names into French equivalents, and in the 1864 English translation of *Luthier Célèbre* the translator, John Bishop, converts the names into English equivalents. Thus the original 'Andrea' becomes 'André' who then becomes 'Andrew'; 'Giovanni Battista' becomes 'Jean-Baptiste' and then 'John Baptist'.

<sup>68</sup> All translations (by the present writer) are from Fétis, p. 105, *et seq.*

<sup>69</sup> See family tree on p.3 of this account.

<sup>70</sup> A four-point cross is drawn above the three letters.

Here Fétis provides, in a footnote, the text of the Cremonese baptismal record which had been located by Fusetti in the Cremonese archives, this text then being relayed to Vuillaume:

*Guarneri (Giuseppe Antonio) figlio de' legittimi conjugii Giovanni Battista Guarneri ed Angela Maria Locadella nacque nella parrocchia di San Donato aggregata all' cattedrale il giorno 8 Giugno 1683 e battezzato il giorno 11 del detto mese. – Libro di nati dall' 1669 al 1692.*

Guarneri (Giuseppe Antonio) son of the lawful marriage between Giovanni Battista Guarneri and Angela Maria Locadella, born in the parish of S. Donato, adjunct to the Cathedral, on the eighth day of June 1683, and was baptised on the eleventh day of the aforementioned month.

Fétis continues:

Jean-Baptiste [Giovanni Battista] Guarneri, the father of Joseph del Jesu (the subject here) was a brother of Andrea. It seems certain that he was a stranger to the making of instruments for we know of not one which is signed with his name. [...]

Joseph Guarnerius del Jesu worked in Cremona from 1725 until 1745. His first productions were not marked by any sign of characteristic individuality, apart from his being somewhat careless in his choice of materials [i.e his wood], in his variable forms, and in the varnish. Some years later we find instruments which are made with care; the excellent quality of wood used for the ribs and the back plate is cut 'on the quarter', the spruce of the front plate is well chosen, the varnish is of a fine consistency, elastic, and of the most beautiful tint, and can rival that of Stradivari. [...] Just one criticism can be applied to these instruments: namely that the thicknesses, particularly in the centre of the back plate are too great – a fault which impedes flexibility and free vibration and consequently impairs the sonority [of the instrument]. When 'set-up' in the manner commonly used at the time when they were made these instruments must have exhibited deficiencies of tone and in their ability to project their sound. [...] <sup>71</sup>

In the third period of his career, Joseph Guarnerius presents us with a surprising variety in the forms of his instruments [...] [which are] equally meritorious as the most beautiful products of 'Antoine Stradivarius' [...]

Suddenly, immediately after this glorious period of his career, Guarnerius undermines his reputation with the instruments which then left his hands, instruments which would be unrecognisable [as his] if it was not that his spark of originality (which, in certain details, he preserved until his final days) provides us with the certainty that the [instruments] really are his. The poor quality of the wood – similarly the workmanship and the varnish – these [failings] readily catch the eye of the connoisseur. These violins [may be regarded as] degenerate fruit produced by a once-great talent.

Fétis then outlines the traditional story about Guarneri's imprisonment and relays an assessment of *del Gesù*'s character which apparently came from the grandson of Carlo Bergonzi, this grandson having been born 14 years after Giuseppe *del Gesù* died:

*Le vieux Bergonzi, mort à Crémone en 1738 [sic], à l'âge de quatre-vingts ans, et qui était petit-fils de Charles, élève de Stradivarius, rapportait que Joseph Guarnerius del Jesu avait une existence peu régulière ; que, paresseux, négligent, il aimait le vin, les plaisirs, et que sa femme, née dans le Tyrol, n'avait pas trouvé le bonheur près de lui, quoiqu'elle l'eût souvent aidé dans ses travaux.*

The old Bergonzi [Carlo II] who died in Cremona in 1738 [1838] at the age of eighty,<sup>72</sup> and who was the grandson of Carlo (I) – the latter having been a pupil of Stradivari – related that Joseph Guarnerius del Jesu had a very irregular existence; he was lazy, careless, a lover of wine and pleasure, and his wife, born in the Tyrol, did not find happiness by his side although she often helped him in his work.

<sup>71</sup> Obviously, this technical evaluation did not originate with Giulio Fusetti; the opinions expressed could only come from someone who had inspected many Guarneri instruments – i.e. Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume. It is noticeable that Vuillaume's identification of 'deficiencies of tone' closely echoes the opinion expressed by Count Cozio.

<sup>72</sup> Carlo Bergonzi (1683-1747) had two sons, Michele Angelo (c.1722-1758) and Zosimo (c.1724-1779); Zosimo was father to Carlo (II) Bergonzi (1758-1838).

## 5. GEORGE HART

George Hart (1839-1891) was the foremost violin dealer in London in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The first edition of his book, *The Violin: Its Famous Makers and their Imitators*, was published in 1875.<sup>73</sup> Hart writes in the shadow of Count Cozio, Giulio Fusetti, Vuillaume, and Fétis:

GUARNERIUS, Andreas, Cremona, 1630-1695.

Andreas Guarnerius, like Andrew Amati, was the pioneer of the family, and but for his influence we might never have had the extraordinary works of his nephew, Joseph. [...] Andreas Guarnerius for some years worked upon the model of his master [Nicolò Amati] though he afterwards changed the character of the sound-hole. At the same time the form of the instrument became flatter, and the scroll showed signs of originality. [...] The Violins are of average size, and are among the finest efforts of this maker.<sup>74</sup>

GUARNERIUS, Joseph, son of Andrea, 1680-1730.

This maker possessed a greater amount of originality than Andrea. His earliest works evidence that power of thinking for himself which, later, led him to construct instruments entirely distinct from those of his father. [...] The sound-hole has a singular combination of the Amati and the Guarnerius in its conception. We have here a reappearance of the pointed form which originated with the grand old Brescian master, Gaspard di Salò, and was left by him to be revived and perfected by his followers. Andrea's son, in adopting this long-neglected form, showed much judgment. It must be admitted that he improved upon it, and left his cousin, Guarnerius del Gesù, an easy task in completing and perfecting it.<sup>75</sup>

GUARNERIUS, Petrus, Cremona and Mantua, 1690-1728

In this maker, again, there is much originality, his work, together with his model, differing entirely from that of his brother, and in outline from that of his father, Andrea.

GUARNERIUS, Petrus, Mantua, 1725. Son of Joseph Filius Andreae.

He followed to some extent the form of the instruments of his uncle, Petrus, from whom, while in Mantua, he probably learnt his art.<sup>76</sup>

GUARNERIUS, Joseph Anthony, better known as Giuseppe del Gesù, his labels having the cipher IHS upon them. [...] This famous maker of Violins was born at Cremona in the year 1683, and died in 1745. To M. Vuillaume, of Paris, we are indebted for the identification of his birth, which he succeeded in obtaining in the year 1855.

The extract from the register proves that Joseph Anthony Guarnerius, legitimate son of John Baptist Guarnerius and Angela Maria Locadella, was born at Cremona on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, 1683, and was baptized on the 11<sup>th</sup> of the same month in the parish of Saint Donato, at the Chapel of Ease of the Cathedral.<sup>77</sup>

The Father of Guarnerius del Gesù does not appear to have had any knowledge of the manufacture or stringed instruments [...].

In the last epoch we find Violins of an altogether bolder conception, dating from about 1740 and a little later. They are massively constructed, and have in them material of the finest acoustical properties. The sound-hole loses the pointed form so much associated with Guarnerius; the purfling is embedded, the edges heavy, the corners somewhat grotesque; the scroll has a mixture of vigour, comicality, and majesty, which may force a smile and then a frown from the connoisseur. The

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<sup>73</sup> Dulau and Co./Schott and Co.

<sup>74</sup> Hart, pp. 79-80.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85. Here Hart reproduces the Italian text of the June 1683 baptismal record (which had previously been published by J-F Fétis and Vuillaume); see previous page of this account.

comparison may seem a little forced, but the head of a thoroughbred English mastiff, if carved, might give some idea of the appearance sought to be described.<sup>78</sup>

These splendid *chef d'œuvres* are strangely mixed with those commonly known as the “*prison fiddles*” – a sorry title. The name arose from the story current in Italy that Guarnerius made some fiddles whilst undergoing imprisonment for some political offence, and that the gaoler’s daughter procured him the necessary materials and implements, which were of the coarsest description. There is no reason to doubt this story, which the rough character of the work confirms.<sup>79</sup>

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## 6. CHARLES-NICOLAS-EUGÈNE GAND

Charles-Nicolas-Eugène Gand (1825-1892) was George Hart’s equivalent in Paris.

Charles François Gand (‘Gand Père’) was born in 1787, the son of the violin maker Charles Michel Gand. Charles François worked with Nicolas Lupot (1758-1824) in Paris, subsequently marrying Lupot’s adopted daughter. The marriage produced two sons, Charles-Adolphe (1812-1866) and Charles-Nicolas-Eugène (1825-1892). In 1855 the two sons joined forces as ‘Gand Frères’ and, after the death of Charles Adolphe, Charles-Nicolas-Eugène partnered Gustave Adolphe Bernardel (1832-1904) and his brother Ernest Auguste Bernardel (1826-1899) as ‘Gand & Bernardel Frères’. After Ernest Auguste retired in 1886 the firm became ‘Gand & Bernardel’, subsequently Caressa & Français.

Towards the end of his life C-E Gand compiled a *Catalogue descriptif des Instruments de Stradivarius et J. Guarnerius*.<sup>80</sup> This *Catalogue* consists of concise descriptions of Stradivari and Guarneri instruments which had either passed through Gand’s shop or which he had inspected when they were with other dealers in Paris. Each description begins with the year-date when Gand inspected the instrument (and, it is assumed, drafted his observations); the earliest such date is 1845, this being the date when he wrote his description of the Stradivari 1717 *Sasserno* violin; the last year-date is 1891. Gand’s *Catalogue* gives every indication of having been carefully compiled and finalised (and the ‘fair copy’ made) during the final year of his life.

The total number of instruments described by Gand in his *Catalogue* is 252.

There are 171 Antonio Stradivari violins, 6 violas, and 25 cellos.

There is one Omobono Stradivari violin, and one Francesco Stradivari cello.

There are 48 ‘J. Guarnerius’ violins, the label-dates of these being

1710, 1712, 1716, 1724, 1725, 1729,  
1730<sup>(x2)</sup>, 1731<sup>(x2)</sup>, 1732<sup>(x6)</sup>, 1733, 1734<sup>(x4)</sup>, 1735<sup>(x5)</sup>, 1736, 1737<sup>(x2)</sup>, 1738, 1739<sup>(x2)</sup>,  
1740, 1741<sup>(x4)</sup>, 1742<sup>(x6)</sup>, 1743, 1744<sup>(x3)</sup>, 1745.

The 1710 violin is described by Gand:

(année 1878) M<sup>r</sup> Wilmotte, Anvers

Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces, année 1710

Fond d’une pièce, belle ondes larges, éclisses semblables, table de deux pièces très beau sapin, tête bien faite n’ayant pas le caractère ordinaire, gorges très plates.

Vernis jaune doré clair. (Complètement intact).

Ex Desöer

1881 M<sup>r</sup> C. G. Meier 15,000 <sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. Note that Hart does not indicate where even just one of these ‘rough character’ violins can be found.

<sup>80</sup> Gand’s *Catalogue* was published in 1994 as a photographic facsimile by Les Amis de la Musique, Spa, Belgium.

<sup>81</sup> Gand, p. 47.

(1878) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 *pouces* [352mm],<sup>82</sup> year 1710

The back plate is in one piece; beautiful wide flames; the [wood of the] ribs is very similar. The front plate is made from two pieces of very beautiful spruce. The head is well made, not having the usual characteristic[s];<sup>83</sup> the grooves [at the top of the scroll] are very flat.<sup>84</sup>

The varnish is light golden-yellow. (Completely intact).

Ex Desöer<sup>85</sup>

1881 M. C G Meier, 15,000 [subsequent owner, and price paid, in French Francs]

At the time when Gand wrote this description – 1878 – the birth-date for Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù* was believed to have been 8 June 1683 (as had been stated by Fétis/Vuillaume); Gand, therefore, would have understood his ‘Joseph Guarnerius’ to have been 27 years of age when he made this violin in 1710. Evidently Gand saw nothing in the violin’s physicality, nor in the violin’s label, which raised his suspicions regarding its authenticity.

Gand’s descriptions of the 1712, 1716, 1724, 1725, and 1729 violins are:

*(année 1878) Monsieur Siemens, Londres*

*Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces, année 1712*

*Fond de deux pièces, veines douces presque droites, descendant légèrement à droite, petite cassure dans le bas à droite du joint. Eclisses bois un peu plus veiné. Table de deux pièces, sapin serré ayant des cassures assez importantes à l’âme, à la barre et au menton.*

*Tête très lourde. Vernis rouge brun doré.*<sup>86</sup>

(1878) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 *pouces* [352mm], year 1712

The back plate is made from two pieces, mild flames, almost horizontal, descending slightly to the right; a small split in the lower bout to the right of the centre-joint. The wood of the ribs has flames which are slightly more pronounced. The front plate is made from two pieces of narrow-growth spruce, having quite significant splits at the sound-post, at the bass-bar, and at the chin. The head is very heavy. The varnish is golden red-brown.

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*(année 1873) Monsieur Wolkoff, Moscou*

*Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces 1 ligne, année 1716*<sup>87</sup>

*Fond de deux pièces très beau, ondes descendant, très belles éclisses, table ayant des cassures à l’âme, au menton et au dessous de l’f droite. Très belle tête. Beau vernis rouge doré.*<sup>88</sup>

(1873) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 *pouces 1 ligne* [354.2mm], year 1716

The back plate is made from two pieces, very beautiful, the flames descending [from the centre-joint]. Very beautiful ribs. The front plate having splits at the sound-post, at the chin, and below the treble-side *f*-hole. Very beautiful head. Beautiful varnish; golden red.

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<sup>82</sup> For his measurements Gand used the French *Pied du Roi* system (as had previously been used by Count Cozio).

<sup>83</sup> Gand’s phraseology – ‘well made, not having the usual characteristic[s]’ – appears to indicate that the head did not have the rather grotesque appearance of scrolls made by *del Gesù* in the 1740s, with their upturned eyes and skeletal design (see George Hart’s previously-quoted description of these scrolls).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the Hill brothers (Hill, p. 78) discussing the generality of the ‘heads’ found on Guarneri *del Gesù* instruments made during the 1720s: ‘The fluting is flat and not remarkably true [...]’

<sup>85</sup> ‘Desöer’ may be F J Desöer, who was active in Paris at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a book publisher.

<sup>86</sup> Gand, p. 80.

<sup>87</sup> Albert Caressa and Henri Français copied out the entirety of Gand’s *Catalogue descriptif* after they bought the Gand & Bernardel business in 1901; the copy (subsequently greatly extended) is now part of the Jacques Français Rare Violins, Inc., Photographic Archive and Business Records held at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, USA. In this extended copy M. Wolkoff’s violin was initially dated ‘1716’ but the date was subsequently altered to ‘1736’. A transcription and translation of the entire copy (bequeathed to the Smithsonian by Jacques Français) is available at [www.themessiahviolin.uk](http://www.themessiahviolin.uk).

<sup>88</sup> Gand, p. 49.

(année 1878) Monsieur Frédéric Lehmann, Londres

Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces, année 1724

Fond de deux pièces, belles veines descendant, belles éclisses. Table de deux pièces, cassure au dessus de l'*f* gauche et une en bas. L'*f* très longues et excentriques. Tête très caractérisée. Vernis jaune.<sup>89</sup>

(1878) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces [352mm], year 1724

The back plate is made from two pieces, beautiful flames which descend. Beautiful ribs. The front plate is made from two pieces, with a split above the bass-side *f*-hole, and one in the lower bout. The *f*-holes are very long and eccentric. The head is very characteristic. Yellow varnish.

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(année 1870) Monsieur Myèvre, Paris

Violon Joseph Guarnerius, 13 pouces 1 ligne, année 1725<sup>90</sup>

Fond d'une pièce belles ondes remontant de gauche à droite, belles éclisses. Table de deux pièces très bien conservée, ayant deux petites fentes près du filet en bas des deux côtés. Belle tête. Très beau vernis rouge.<sup>91</sup>

(1870) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces, 1 ligne [354.2mm], year 1725

The back plate is in one piece, beautiful flames rising from left to right. Beautiful ribs. The front plate is made from two pieces, very well conserved, having two small cracks next to the purfling in the lower bout on both sides. Beautiful head. Very beautiful red varnish.

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(année 1875) Monsieur Street, Paris

Violon Joseph Guarnerius, 13 pouces, année 1729

Fond d'une pièce, ondes larges, éclisse du menton fendue. Table doublée sous l'estomac. Cassures sous l'âme et au menton. Belle tête. Vernis rouge orange foncé.<sup>92</sup>

(1875) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces [352mm], year 1729

The back plate is in one piece, wide flames, the rib at the chin has been cut. The front plate has been doubled [reinforced] under the chest; splits underneath the sound-post and at the chin. Beautiful head. The varnish is red/dark orange.

In none of these six descriptions does Gand raise any doubts about the identity of the maker (but, regrettably, he provides no information about the internal labels other than the name and the date). If these are genuine *del Gesù* violins, and if *del Gesù* was born in 1698, then M. Wilmotte's 1710 violin was (implausibly) made when Giuseppe was twelve years of age. Gand's *Catalogue* contains descriptions of 48 'J. Guarnerius' violins – approximately one third of the extant *del Gesù* total – and these 48 instruments include examples dated up to 1745. With that breadth of hands-on experience and knowledge is it plausible that Gand could have been repeatedly deceived by forgeries? The Hills comment on the surge of interest in *del Gesù* violins during the nineteenth century:

But though the master's instruments were used [...] by certain of the more discerning players, it still required the advent of Paganini to attract universal attention to the maker of his famed violin [the *Cannone* violin]; and from that moment Guarneri *del Gesù* leaped into renown. The demand for 'Guarneris' became an ever more insistent one, and copies were soon produced by all the principal makers of Europe. But the more imaginative worker soon perceived that the real demand was for something that would more or less pass muster as an original work; in a word, the colourable imitation [i.e. a deliberate forgery] rather than the honest reproduction. He ['the more imaginative worker'] also realized that the master's eccentric irregularities gave rein to the would-be falsifier, and, as a result, not only were authentic 'Guarneri' made up of old parts called into being, but

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>90</sup> In the Caressa & Français copy of this text the label-date is specified as '1745'.

<sup>91</sup> Gand, p. 23.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

admirable imitative copies bearing all the appearance of age were made by Vuillaume, Georges Chanut, and other French and German contemporary makers [...].<sup>93</sup>

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## 7. GUGLIELMO QUARENGHI

Guglielmo Quarenghi (1826-1882) was a cellist and composer, now chiefly remembered for his *Metodo di Violoncello* (Editoria Musicale, Milano, 1877) which became an approved method for teaching the cello at the Conservatorio di Musica in Milan. The *Prefazione* to the *Metodo* contains a brief history of string instruments and violin makers. Quarenghi (at times closely following the information previously published by Fétis/Vuillaume) devotes part of this history to the Guarneri family, writing:

*Andrea Guarneri nato a Cremona nella prima parte del secolo XVII, uno de'primi allievi di Nicola Amati. [...] Lavorò dal 1650 al 1695 circa.*

Andrea Guarneri was born in Cremona in the first part of the seventeenth century; he was one of the first pupils of Nicolò Amati. [...] He worked from 1650 to c.1695.

*Giuseppe Guarneri di Andrea – L'etichetta di questo Giuseppe porta l'aggiuntivo di S.<sup>ta</sup> Teresa. Più che del padre, la sua maniera sente di Stradivari suo contemporaneo, nonchè di suo cugino Giuseppe figlio di Giovanni Battista (detto del Gesù). Lavorò dal 1675 al 1730. [...]*

Giuseppe Guarneri, of Andrea [i.e. Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*]; the label used by this Giuseppe has the 'S. Teresa' annotation. More than his father, his workmanship is reminiscent of Stradivari, his contemporary, as well as his cousin Giuseppe, son of Giovanni Battista (and known as *del Gesù*). Worked from 1675 to 1730.

*Antonio Guarneri di S.<sup>ta</sup> Teresa. 1678.*

*Pietro Guarneri d'Andrea si stabili a Mantova. Lavorò dal 1670 al 1725.*

*Caterina Guarneri, allieva de' fratelli Giuseppe e Pietro, ha pure lavorato in Cremona, nonchè:*

Caterina Guarneri, pupil of the brothers Giuseppe and Pietro, also worked in Cremona (and elsewhere).<sup>94</sup>

*Pietro Guarneri figlio di Giuseppe Guarneri di S.<sup>ta</sup> Teresa dal 1725 circa.*<sup>95</sup>

*Giuseppe Guarneri nipote d'Andrea (da non confondersi coll'altro Giuseppe del Gesù) sul principio del 1700.*

Giuseppe Guarneri, nephew of Andrea (not to be confused with the other Giuseppe *del Gesù*) at the start of the eighteenth century.

*Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù per la marca IHS che poneva sulla sua etichetta. È nipote di Andrea, nato l'8 giugno 1683. Il migliore dei Guarneri. Allievo di Antonio Stradivari [...]. Di quest'autore non si conoscono che violini. – Sventuratamente finì male i suoi giorni. [...]*<sup>96</sup>

Giuseppe Guarneri [known as] *del Gesù* through the brand IHS which was placed on his labels. He was the nephew of Andrea, born 8 June 1683. The best of the Guarneri family of violin makers. A pupil of Stradivari [...]. Of this maker only violins are known. Unfortunately, his life ended badly. He was locked away in prison for an unknown reason, endeavouring to relieve his misery with the art [of violin-making] which might restore his fame. To that end he received support from the gaoler's daughter, who begged pieces of wood for him, and, with tools which were little suited for the work, he made the best of his violins, these being covered with whatever varnish his assistant [the gaoler's daughter] was able to find, and [the violins] sold for next to nothing. These final

<sup>93</sup> Hill, p. 98.

<sup>94</sup> It is unclear where Quarenghi sourced this information about Caterina Guarneri; see also Appendix A. to this account.

<sup>95</sup> This is Pietro Guarneri 'of Venice'.

<sup>96</sup> Quarenghi, pp. 14-15.

products – the ‘servant’ violins – although displaying various traces of the genius of their maker, are [in appearance] a long way from the ideal of beauty which was admired in those times. He died in 1745.

Quarenghi’s information should be treated with caution; he does not cite any original sources. In addition, his proposition that Andrea had two nephews is indicative of confusion, even as late as 1877.

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## 8. GIOVANNI de PICCOLELLIS

New information was published in 1885 by Giovanni de Piccolellis (1839-1912) in his *Liutai antichi e moderni*, Piccolellis making use of archival research which had been carried out in Cremona by Gaetano Bazzi, canon of the cathedral in Cremona and secretary to the Archbishop of Cremona.<sup>97</sup>

Piccolellis writes an initial commentary on the ‘Guarnieri’ family,<sup>98</sup> identifying Andrea Guarneri, who ‘learned his art from the brothers Antonio and Girolamo Amati’. Piccolellis describes Andrea’s instruments as: ‘the voice of his violins is excellent, ringing clearly and harmoniously’, and he states that Andrea ‘worked from 1660 to 1700’. Piccolellis then briefly mentions Giuseppe Guarneri, Andrea’s ‘first-born son’ (actually the third-born – *Filius Andreae*) who ‘was a maker even more perfect [than Andrea] and who worked in various styles [...]. He worked between 1695 and 1730’.

The work of Pietro Guarneri – ‘second-born son of Andrea’ (actually first-born) – is then outlined, but Piccolellis conflates Pietro of Mantua with Pietro of Venice. Unexpectedly (but citing Quarenghi as his source) Piccolellis then identifies a daughter, Caterina, the daughter of Lorenzo.<sup>99</sup>

In 1886 the Piccolellis publication of 1885 was extended with three supplements (*Note Aggiunte*) entitled *Genealogia degli Amati e dei Guarneri*; the third supplement is titled *Genealogia dei Guarneri: rettificazione e documenti*. Piccolellis provides dates of birth, marriage, and death (and cites the archival records from which his information was sourced).

For the *Famiglia di Andrea Guarneri (figlio di Bartolommeo)* Piccolellis correctly states that Andrea Guarneri married Anna Maria Orcelli in 1652 and that the marriage produced seven children:

Angiola Teresa [I]	b. 1 October 1653, <i>morta nel 1654</i>
Pietro Giovanni [‘of Mantua’]	b. 18 February 1655
Angiola Teresa [II]	b. 20 November 1656
Eusebio Amato	b. 22 May 1658
Monica Elisabetta	b. 2 May 1660
Anna	b. 21 July 1663
Giuseppe Giovanni Battista	b. 25 November 1666. <sup>100</sup>

Piccolellis also correctly states that six children were born from the 1690 marriage between Giuseppe Giovanni Battista Guarneri (*Filius Andreae*) and Barbara Franchi:

Teresa Elisabetta	b. 12 October 1690
Andrea Bartolommeo	b. 16 October 1691
Elisabetta	b. 22 June 1693
Pietro [‘of Venice’]	b. 14 April 1695
Anna Caterina	b. 19 March 1697, <i>morta nel 1698</i>

<sup>97</sup> See Kass, p. 5.

<sup>98</sup> Piccolellis, p. 45 *et seq.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, *Note Aggiunte*, pp. 24-25. Piccolellis sourced all his details from the *Atti Parrocchiali di S. Matteo*.

Bartolommeo Giuseppe                      b. 21 August 1698.<sup>101</sup>

Piccolellis does not identify the sixth-born child – Bartolommeo Giuseppe – as the future Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*.

Piccolellis indicates that Barbara Franchi died *circa nel 1738* (actually 31 December 1737) and that her husband ‘probably died in the following year’ (actually April 1740). Piccolellis then proposes a sequence of events which cannot be correct:

*Nel 1738 questa famiglia uscì dalla Cura di San Donato, nè si è saputo ove trasferì la sua dimora, e quindi riesce impossibile trovare altri documenti. La loro casa fu poi abitata da un tale Carlo Alberti, e nel 1741 fu venduta agli Arrighi [...].*<sup>102</sup>

In 1738 this family left the parish of S. Donato and it is not known where they moved to; it has proved impossible to find further documentation. Their [vacated] house was then inhabited by one Carlo Alberti, and in 1741 it was sold to the family of Giacomo Antonio Arrighi *Maestro della Cappella* of the Cathedral of Cremona and a pupil of the celebrated Padre Martini.<sup>103</sup>

The house to which Piccolellis refers was actually the *Casa Guarneri*, in the Cremona parish of S. Matteo (not S. Donato) where Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* and his wife, Barbara Franchi, had lived for the entirety of their married lives. The Hills state that six weeks after the death of Giuseppe *Filius Andreae* (24 May 1740) the *Casa Guarneri* was sold to Antonio Arrighi.<sup>104</sup> The Hills quote, in translation, from the deed of sale:

[entered into by] Josepho Guarneri son of the late Josephi, living in the Parish of S. Prospero, and Petri Guarneri brother of the said Josephi, living in the city of Venice.<sup>105</sup>

‘Josepho Guarneri’ is identified by the Hills as Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*, ‘the late Josephi’ as Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*, and ‘Petri Guarneri’ as Pietro ‘of Venice’, born 1695 and the older brother of Giuseppe *del Gesù*.

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Piccolellis then provides details of another Guarneri – Gian [Giovanni] *Battista Guarneri, padre di Giuseppe Guarneri detto del Gesù*:

*Gian Battista Guarneri fu parente in secondo grado dei precedenti. Suo padre si chiamò Bernardo, ed era cugino di Andrea Guarneri. Gian Battista ebbe per moglie Angiola Maria Locadelli, e sposarono il 3 Agosto dell'anno 1682. Da questo matrimonio nacquero i seguenti figliuoli:*<sup>106</sup>

Gian Battista Guarneri was related, at the second level, to the preceding [i.e. Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*]. His father was called Bernardo, and he [Gian Battista] was a cousin of Andrea Guarneri. Gian Battista took for his wife Angiola Maria Locadelli, and they were married on 3 August 1682. From this marriage were born the following children:

1. Giuseppe Antonio, *nato il di 8 Giugno 1683, morì dopo pochi mesi* (‘died after a few months’).<sup>107</sup>
2. Giuseppe (*che poi fu il celeberrimo liutaio detto del Gesù*), *nato il 16 Ottobre 1687*.  
Giuseppe (who later was the celebrated violin maker known as *del Gesù*), born 16 October [1686].

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Padre Martini (1706-1784); musician and composer.

<sup>104</sup> Hill, p. 72. However, see Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 19 and endnote 182, where Chiesa and Rosengard state that the purchasers of the house were Antonio and Don Giuseppe Arrighi, ‘respectively a prominent architect and the parish priest of the church of San Carlo’.

<sup>105</sup> Hill, p. 72.

<sup>106</sup> Piccolellis, *Note Aggiunte*, p. 29.

<sup>107</sup> The birth-date is sourced by Piccolellis from *Atti Battesimali del Duomo*, vol. II, p. 81 and 82.

*Anno 168 sesto. Die decima septima Octobris. Joseph [Giuseppe] Filius Joannis Baptistæ [Giovanni Battista] de Guarneris et Maria de Locadellis Jugl.m Baptizatus fuit p. me Joan Baptistam Barozium Præpositum. Patrinus fuit Franciscus Barozius hujus Vicinæ et obstetrix pro Rev. Matre Clara Teodora Nicola Professa in Monasterio Sancta Mariæ Cistelli.*<sup>108</sup>

The year 1686. On the day 17<sup>th</sup> October. Giuseppe, son of Giovanni Battista Guarneri and Maria Locadelli, husband and wife, was baptised by me Giovanni Battista Barozzi, Provost [...].

The Hill brothers state that the Giuseppe who was baptised on 17 October 1686 died three days later, and they illustrate the burial record (see p.31 of this account); Piccolellis does not mention this death. Clearly, this second-born Giuseppe cannot be ‘the celebrated violin maker known as *del Gesù*’, as claimed. Piccolellis continues:

In the documents for the family of Battista Guarneri, in the *Stati d’anime di San Donato*, the name of Giuseppe is found until 1702. From that date onwards we lose all trace of Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù and it is certain that he never returned to live with his parents.<sup>109</sup>

3. Rosa Teresa, born 2 March 1690<sup>110</sup>
4. Giovanni, born 9 January 1692<sup>111</sup>
5. Geltrude, born 24 October 1696<sup>112</sup>
6. Domenico Apollinare, born 10 March 1701.<sup>113</sup>

See the Guarneri family tree (p.3) which includes additional offspring as identified by the Hills.

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## 9. ANTOINE VIDAL

In 1889 Antoine Vidal – French music historian (1820-1891) – published his *La Lutherie et les Luthiers*.<sup>114</sup> Vidal had obviously read the *Antoine Stradivari: luthier célèbre* publication from Fétis/Vuillaume, and the publication of 1885 from Giovanni de Piccolellis (including the 1886 *Note Aggiunte*). Vidal writes sequentially about Andrea ‘Guarnieri’, Pietro (of Mantua), Giuseppe *filis d’André*, and Pietro (of Venice).<sup>115</sup> These are followed by a commentary which is clearly drawn directly from Piccolellis:

### GUARNIERI

(younger branch) [i.e. the family who lived in the Cremonese parish of S. Donato]

GUARNIERI (GIAN BATTISTA) – the father of ‘Joseph del Gesù’ – was related, at the second level [*au deuxième degré*] to the preceding [persons]. His father was called Bernardo and was younger brother of Andrea [*Son père s’appelait Bernardo et était frère cadet d’Andrea*].

Gian Battista married Angiola Maria Locatelli on 3 August 1682.

From this marriage there were six children: two daughters and four sons:

Giuseppe Antonio, born 8 June 1683, died a few months after his birth

Giuseppe (del Gesù), born 16 October 1687 [1686].<sup>116</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Atti Parrocchiali di San Donato*, vol. II, p. 83.

<sup>109</sup> Piccolellis, *Note Aggiunte*, p. 30.

<sup>110</sup> *Atti Parrocchiali di San Donato*, vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>113</sup> *Atti Parrocchiali di San Donato*, vol. III, p. 5.

<sup>114</sup> Maison Quantin, Paris.

<sup>115</sup> Vidal, pp. 75-78.

<sup>116</sup> In copying from Piccolellis Vidal has failed to notice the former’s mistake concerning the year of birth.

Giovanni, born 9 January 1692

[Geltrude?]

Domenico Apollinare, born 10 March 1701.

Of all these male members of the younger branch only one was a violin maker:

GUARNIERI (Giuseppe), born 17 October 1686,<sup>117</sup> known by the name of ‘Joseph Guarnerius del Gesù’.

The vicar, Fusetti, from whom Fétis [actually Vuillaume] requested information, copied from the archives the birth-date of the first-born son of Gian Battista Guarneri, named Giuseppe Antonio, born on 8 June 1683 but dying a few months later; if Fusetti had pursued his researches further, he would have found the true baptismal record of ‘Joseph del Gesù’ (who had only one forename – that of Giuseppe).<sup>118</sup>

It is too easy for Vidal to be critical of Fusetti’s archival investigations. Vidal surely was not aware that the birth and baptism records, the yearly census returns, the marriage records, and the death and burial records from each Cremonese parish were never collated and cross-referenced by a central authority within the town. To provide Vuillaume with comprehensive archival evidence Fusetti, having found the S. Donato 8 June 1683 baptism record for Giuseppe Antonio, would have needed to look through the Easter 1684 census return from that parish (Giuseppe Antonio having been born two months after the Easter 1683 census) to find the return from the Guarneri/Locadelli house, i.e. the census return in which Fusetti could expect to find Giuseppe Antonio listed as *figlio infante*. If he had done this, Fusetti would have discovered that the name of Giuseppe Antonio did *not* appear in the Easter 1684 census return (because the child had already died many months earlier). Fusetti would then have needed to search through the S. Donato burial records to ascertain if a Giuseppe Antonio Guarneri was recorded as having died, and been buried, on a date between 8 June 1683 and Easter 1684. As shown by the Hill brothers in 1931 (see overleaf) the S. Donato Register of Deaths includes a record of *Joseff Antonius* [Giuseppe Antonio] *Guarnerius* [...] *Filius Joannij Baptitte Guarneri* dying on 7 July 1683 and being buried on 8 July 1683.<sup>119</sup> Thus Giuseppe Antonio, the first-born son of Giovanni Battista Guarneri and Angela Maria Locadelli, lived for just one month. Having found this death record and thus established the short duration of Giuseppe Antonio’s life, Giulio Fusetti would then need to start the search process all over again.

Vidal continues (still copying Piccolellis) by concentrating on the second-born son: ‘Giuseppe’:

Among the documentation relating to this younger branch of the Guarneri [family] – which can be found in the archives of the San Donato parish in Cremona – one can see the name of ‘Joseph’ until the end of 1702; from that date onwards there is absolutely no trace.

Vidal also presents the ‘prison’ story, describes the violins of *del Gesù* as ‘magnificent and mediocre at the same time’, and comments: ‘We know absolutely nothing of the career of ‘Joseph del Gesù; with whom did he serve his apprenticeship? – when did he start to produce his own instruments?’

Note that Vidal’s information, published as recently as 1889, was still characterised by errors, misunderstandings, and the uncritical repetition of previously-published information. If 19<sup>th</sup>-century violin dealers were replacing *Nepos* labels with ‘IHS’ labels (see p. 14 of this account) then their actions were not based on historical knowledge and certainty.

<sup>117</sup> Vidal has assumed that the day of baptism was also the day of birth; the new-born boy died three days later.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 9: ‘[...] there is abundant proof that Bartolomeo Giuseppe [i.e. *del Gesù*] went by the name Giuseppe throughout his life: he is referred as such on every existing census made during his lifetime, on his marriage record, and in the majority of notarised deeds dating from his adulthood.’

<sup>119</sup> See Hill, p. [69], illustration B. Piccolellis makes no mention of this record; he states that Giuseppe Antonio ‘died after a few months’ (*Aggiunte*, p. 29).

**10. GEORGE HART** (continuing)

George Hart's *The Violin: Its Famous Makers and their Imitators* of 1875 was subsequently revised and republished in 1884, and again in 1909. In the latter edition Hart returns to the matter of the date of birth of Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*, the son who, baptised as 'Giuseppe Antonio', had been born to 'John Baptist Guarnerius' and 'Angela Maria Locadella' on 8 June 1683. Hart now revises his understanding in the light of the information provided by Piccolellis, but, like Antoine Vidal, fails to notice that Piccolellis has mis-represented the newly-proposed date of birth:

This extract which was supposed to refer to the subject of this notice relates to a child who died in infancy, and it is now satisfactorily settled that Joseph del Gesù first saw the light on October 16, 1687 [1686]. The date of death is merely conjectural, and unsupported by definite evidence.<sup>120</sup>

The father of Guarneri del Gesù, namely Gio. Battista, was the son of Bernardo [and thus] a cousin of Andrea Guarneri. He does not appear to have had any knowledge of the manufacture of stringed instruments [...].<sup>121</sup>

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**11. WILLIAM HENRY HILL, ARTHUR FREDERICK HILL, and ALFRED EBSWORTH HILL**

In 1931, following the publication in 1902 of their monograph on the life and work of Antonio Stradivari, the three Hill brothers published their monograph on the Guarneri family: *The Violin-Makers of the Guarneri Family (1626-1762)*. The archival research which informs their text was aided through the involvement of Giovanni Livi (1855-1930) an Italian historian living in Bologna.

Chapter IV of the monograph – *Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù* – begins by addressing the issue of his identity and his life-span dates. The Hills reject the information initially publicised by Fétis/Vuillaume:

- that Giuseppe *del Gesù* was Giuseppe Antonio Guarneri, born 8 June 1683, baptised 11 June 1683, son of Giovanni Battista Guarneri and Angiola Maria Locadelli
- 'Fétis adds that the master himself inscribed on certain of his labels "Joseph Guarnerius, Andreae nepos", thus indicating that he was a nephew of Andrea.'<sup>122</sup>

'Neither of these statements is correct.'<sup>123</sup>

Echoing the critical line taken by Vidal, the Hills chide 'the old priest' who searched the Cremonese records for too-quickly assuming that the discovered Giuseppe Antonio was Giuseppe *del Gesù*.

The Hills then turn to Giovanni Piccolellis and acknowledge 'the proof' provided in *Liutai Antichi e Moderni* – that Giuseppe Antonio Guarneri 'died in infancy'.<sup>124</sup> The Hills provide an illustration of the burial record from the Cremona parish of S. Donato but they misunderstand the priest's handwriting, identifying the date as 'July 16th 1683'.<sup>125</sup>

*Anno 1683 die 8 Julij*

*Joseff Antonius Guarnerius de mense [...?] dedit ultima [...?] die 7 Julij  
incomunionem manet mortuant[?] in S. Donato iacent.*

*Filius Joannij Baptitte Guarneri huius parochie.*<sup>126</sup>

<sup>120</sup> In the 1875 (first) edition of *The Violin* (p. 84) George Hart, copying Fétis, states that *del Gesù* died in 1745.

<sup>121</sup> Hart, p. 133.

<sup>122</sup> See pp. 2, 11-13, and 19 of this account.

<sup>123</sup> Hill, p. 66.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* Piccolellis does not cite a death record for Giuseppe Antonio.

<sup>125</sup> Did it not occur to the Hills that, in the extreme heat of an Italian summer, a corpse would be buried within 24 hours, not after nine days?

<sup>126</sup> Hill, p. [69], illustration B; 'facsimile of entry in the Register of Deaths'.

The year 1683, the day 8 July  
 Joseff Antonius Guarnerius, in the aforementioned month, died on the day 7 July,  
 his bodily remains lying with those from S. Donato,  
 the son of Joannis Baptitte Guarneri, of this parish.

There seems little reason to doubt that ‘Joseff Antonius Guarnerius’, who died on 7 July 1683, is the same child as ‘Giuseppe Antonio Guarneri’ who had been born one month earlier, on 8 June 1683 (cf. p.20 of this account).

The Hills continue:

We are then faced by the second son, whose birth was first revealed by Piccolellis, born to the same parents on the 14<sup>th</sup> [16<sup>th</sup>!] of October 1686, and baptized on the 17<sup>th</sup> in the name of Giuseppe.<sup>127</sup> But here again death stole into the household; and this second son of Giovanni Battista Guarneri and Maria Locadelli was buried, as the certificate records, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of the same month.<sup>128</sup>

*Adi venti 8bre 168 sei*

*Giuseppe Guarneri, figlio di [Signor?] Gio. Batta, e passato la questa a migliore vitta [...?] d'età de giorni cinq. et e sepolto nella Chiesa Parrochli di S<sup>to</sup> Donato il g<sup>no</sup> 20 come sopra*

On the day 20 October 1686

Giuseppe Guarneri, son of Giovanni Battista, passed from this to a better life,  
 aged five days, and is buried in the parish church of S. Donato on the 20<sup>th</sup> day, as above.

The Hills identify ‘a third son of the family bearing the name of Giuseppe, though we have failed to find the date of his birth’:

In 1702 he disappears, and no doubt had died,<sup>129</sup> otherwise another son would not have been given the same name; for on the 25<sup>th</sup> October of the same year [1702] a fourth son is born, yet again to be christened Giuseppe Antonio, and fated to survive only two days [...].<sup>130</sup> For the year 1703 no ‘Giuseppe’ figures in the census returns; and in the following year the family leaves the Parish of San Donato to disappear into the unknown.’

The burial record for the Giuseppe Antonio who survived for only two days is presented by the Hills (not by Piccolellis):

*Die vig. septem. 8bre 1702*

*Obijt Joseph Ant.<sup>s</sup> puer bidiurnus fil.<sup>s</sup> Jos. Bapt. de Guarnerijs, et cade die sepultrus est in hic Parochli eccl.<sup>a</sup> 131*

On the day 27 October 1702

Died Joseph Antonius [Giuseppe Antonio], two-day-old son of Joseph [Giuseppe] Battista Guarneri and the body today buried in this parish church.

**NB:** The husband of Angiola Maria Locadelli was named *Giovanni* Battista Guarneri, not Giuseppe Battista Guarneri – just a simple clerical error? – cf. the text referenced by footnote 159 (p.36) and the end of **Appendix B.** (pp. 37-38).

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<sup>127</sup> On p. 66 of their monograph the Hills alternatively, but still incorrectly, specify the date of birth as ‘11<sup>th</sup> October 1686’. The baptismal record for this second Giuseppe is shown on p. 28 of the present account.

<sup>128</sup> Hill, p. 70, referencing p. [69], illustration C. This death record is not mentioned by Piccolellis.

<sup>129</sup> The ‘Giuseppe’ whom Piccolellis described (*Aggiunte* p. 30) as ‘disappearing’ in 1702 was the second son, identified as Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù*.

<sup>130</sup> Piccolellis makes no mention of a fourth son named Giuseppe Antonio; see p.28 of this account.

<sup>131</sup> Hill, p. [69], illustration D.

The Hills indicate their firm belief that Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù* was the last-born child of Giuseppe *Filius Andreæ* and Barbara Franchi and was born on 21 August 1698. The baptism record translates as:

On the twenty-first day of August 1698

Bartolomeus Joseph, son of Joseph Guarneri and Barbara Franchi, married, was born on the twenty-first day as above and was baptised on this day by me Francesco Arquati, Provost of S. Matteo, the god-parent being Petrus Joannes [Pietro Giovanni], son of Andrea de Guarneri, inhabitant of Mantua.<sup>132</sup>

It is perhaps indicative of the high level of infant mortality in the late seventeenth century that Bartolomeo Giuseppe was apparently baptised on the same day as he was born. Evidently, Pietro was at home – rather fortuitously – rather than at his adopted town of Mantua (40 miles from Cremona).

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In addition to the baptismal records there is also the documentary evidence provided by the census records – *Stati d'Anime* – which were compiled each year in each parish of Cremona (and throughout Italy).

Also called a family registry, the *Stati d'Anime* was essentially an annual census conducted by the parish priest on the Monday following Easter, a day which is still a holiday in Italy. Through it the church could keep close account of its parishioners and maintain political and financial authority over 17th-century society. This record keeping was one of the many rules arising from the Council of Trent in 1563. After a slow start, this custom [was] maintained up to the 19th-century [...].<sup>133</sup>

Every year, after Easter, the parish priest would devote his day to visiting each house within his parish, listing all the occupants by name, age, and relation to the head of household, and recording whether they were confessant, confirmed, and communicant.<sup>134</sup> He would then list his totals at the end of the page so that they would be available for the proper authorities. Each year's return would be recorded in the same book on succeeding pages so that, eventually, decades would be condensed into one volume.<sup>135</sup>

If Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri was born on 21 August 1698 then on Easter Monday 1699 he would have been approximately seven months old – an ‘infant son’. A photograph of the Easter 1699 census record for the ‘Casa Guarneri’<sup>136</sup> (the text copied, exactly, at **A.** overleaf) makes clear that, at least in this instance, the parish priest had written out the details of the members of this household *prior* to presenting himself at the door (perhaps he needed to start a new page in his record-book). This conclusion is demonstrated by the fact that Elisabetta (Giovanna Rosa) Guarneri, born in 1693 (see p.8 of this account), is listed on the 1699 return as *Elisabetta figlia an. 6* (aged 6) but this line of text has then been firmly crossed out; i.e. the priest only learned that Elisabetta had died (her death occurring after the completion of the 1698 census) when he arrived to take the 1699 census. In addition, the priest then learned that since the 1698 census a son – Giuseppe – had been born and the priest was therefore

<sup>132</sup> Translation by the present author from Hill, p. [55], illustration B. Carlo Chiesa and Duane Rosengard (Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 22, note 11) state that the baptismal register for the Cremona parish of S. Matteo, covering the years prior to 1701, is now missing from the Archivio Diocesano di Cremona. This register was in existence at the end of the nineteenth century since it was inspected and studied by Gaetano Bazzi (the informant for Giovanni de Piccolellis); the register was also inspected and studied during the early twentieth century by Giovanni Livi (the informant for the Hills).

<sup>133</sup> Kass, p. 3.

<sup>134</sup> Kass is here referring to the letters *ch.c.c* which appear next to the names of certain individuals in the census returns. On p. 15 of his JoVSA article Kass changes his interpretation of these letters to ‘christened, confirmed, communicant’ but the letters were surely abbreviated references to Italian (or Latin) words, not English words; ‘christened’, in Italian, is *battezzata* (feminine) *battezzato* (masculine).

<sup>135</sup> Kass, p. 12.

<sup>136</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 9.

obliged to squeeze Giuseppe's name, and his description – *figlio infante* – in front of the niece Barbara Maria (aged 14) and her brother Giovanni Battista (aged 11), two of the children fathered by the late Eusebio Guarneri.<sup>137</sup>

The Hills' illustration of the 1699 census record (**B.** below) is a free-hand imitative copy of the original document; their copy omits the crossed-out text regarding Elisabetta, and also closes-up the subsequent lines.<sup>138</sup>

<b>A.</b>	<p>2.<sup>a</sup> Casa Guarneri          Giuseppe Guarneri,<sup>139</sup> an 32, ch.c.c          Barbara Franchi, moglie, an 29, ch.c.c          Andrea, figlio, an 7  <del>Elisabetta, figlia, an 6</del>          Pietro, figlio, an 4          Giuseppe, figlio infante [‘squeezed-in’ text]          Barbara Maria, <b>nipote</b>, an 14, ch.c.          Giovanni Battista, fratello, an 11, ch.c</p>	<b>B.</b>	<p>2.<sup>a</sup> Casa Guarneri          Giuseppe Guarneri, an 32, ch.c.c          Barbara Franchi, moglie, an 29, ch.c.c          Andrea, figlio, an 7          Pietro, figlio, an 4          Giuseppe, figlio infante          Barbara Maria, <b>nipote</b>, an 14, ch.c.          Giovanni Battista, fratello, an 11, ch.c</p>
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The infant Giuseppe would have been one year old on 21 August 1699. At the time of the next census – Easter Monday 1700 – he would still be regarded as ‘one year old’ and is correctly described thus in that census document:

<p>1700          Prima Casa Guarneri vuota          2.<sup>a</sup> Casa Guarneri          Giuseppe Guarneri, an. 33. ch.c.c.          Barbera Franchi, moglie, an. 30. ch.c.c.          Andrea, figlio, an. 8          Pietro, figlio, an. 5          Giuseppe, figlio, an. 1          Barbara Maria, <b>nipote</b>, an. 15. ch.c.          Giō Battā, fratello, an. 12. ch.c.<sup>140</sup></p>	<p>1700          First Guarneri house, empty          Second Guarneri house          Giuseppe Guarneri, aged 33, ch.c.c.          Barb[a]ra Franchi, wife, aged 30, ch.c.c.          Andrea, son, aged 8 [b. 1691]          Pietro, son, aged 5 [b. 1695]          Giuseppe, son, aged 1          Barbara Maria, niece, aged 15, ch.c.          Giovanni Battista, brother, aged 12, ch.c.</p>
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However, in the Easter 1713 census return ‘Giuseppe’ is listed as 12 years of age rather than the correct age of 14:

<p>1713          Casa Guarneri          Giuseppe Guarneri, an. 46          Barbera Franchi, moglie, an 43          Pietro, figlio, an 18          Giuseppe, figlio, an 12          Barbara Maria Guarneri, nipote, an 28<sup>141</sup></p>
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At first sight this error would seem to be of little importance (and the Hills dismiss the discrepancy – see overleaf). However, it is clear from the *Casa Guarneri* census records of 1699, 1700, 1713, and 1723<sup>142</sup> that the priest responsible has accurately registered the increasing ages of all the inhabitants *apart from that of young Giuseppe*:

<sup>137</sup> Note that *nipote* in **A.** is used as ‘niece’; see p.2 of this account.

<sup>138</sup> Hill, p. [56], illustration C.

<sup>139</sup> *Filius Andreae*

<sup>140</sup> Hill, p. [56], illustration C.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [57], illustration D.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. [56] and [57], illustrations C, D, and E.

- Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* (born 26 November 1666) is correctly listed as 32 years of age in Easter 1699, 33 in 1700, 46 in 1713, 55 in 1722, and 56 in 1723
- Barbara Franchi (date of birth was almost certainly 1670<sup>143</sup>) is listed as 29 in 1699, 30 in 1700, 43 in 1713, 52 in 1722, and 53 in 1723
- Pietro (born 14 April 1695) is listed as 4 in 1699, 5 in 1700, and 18 in 1713<sup>144</sup>
- Barbara Maria is listed as 14 in 1699, 15 in 1700, and 28 in 1713.

If, each year, the priest personally visited each house in his parish and, in the same book he had used the previous year, listed all the members of each household and their increasing ages, then it is difficult to understand how the priest could have entered the wrong age for Giuseppe – *and only for Giuseppe* – in 1713.

The Hills provide a footnote:

It will be observed that the age of the son ‘Giuseppe’ as recorded in 1700 and 1713 is incorrect [...] but, as pointed out in the next chapter [...] such errors are not infrequent. Several of the later census returns do, however, give the correct age.<sup>145</sup>

As shown above, the age of Giuseppe in the 1700 census record – ‘one year old’ – is entirely correct.

The Hills provide an illustration of the Easter 1722 census return from the *Casa Guarneri*:<sup>146</sup>

*Casa Guarneri*  
Giuseppe Guarneri an. 55 ch.c.c.  
Barbara Franchi moglie an. 52 ch.c.c.  
Giuseppe figlio an. 21 ch.c.c.

Giuseppe’s age is still incorrect; it should be 23.

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Following the marriage of the young Giuseppe Guarneri to Catarina Rota (Roda) in October 1722 the couple disappear from the record-books until 1728 when they are found to be living in the parish of S. Nazaro, at the north-eastern edge of Cremona, just inside the city walls.<sup>147</sup>

It seems that the couple then moved to the parish of Santa Maria Nova in time for the Easter 1729 census. Chiesa *et al.* illustrate that census document; Giuseppe is now identified as aged 34[!], Catarina as 31.<sup>148</sup>

By 1731 the couple had moved again, this time to the parish of S. Prospero (north-east of the Cathedral but much closer to the centre). The Hills illustrate the Easter 1731 and 1737 census returns for Giuseppe and Catarina – the returns which apparently ‘give the correct age’ for Giuseppe:<sup>149</sup>

1731 [...] *Mense Martij, n.º 3 Casa di S.º Bernardo*  
Giuseppe Guarneri qd [quondam<sup>150</sup>] Giuseppe 34 c c c  
Cattarina Roda mog.ª.[moglie] qd. Giō 30 c c c<sup>151</sup>

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>144</sup> Pietro does not appear in the 1723 census, having moved to Venice.

<sup>145</sup> Hill, p. [57], illustration D.

<sup>146</sup> Hill, p. [68], illustration A.

<sup>147</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 13.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>149</sup> Hill, p. [86], illustration E.

<sup>150</sup> See p.36 of this account for further information re *quondam*.

<sup>151</sup> Catarina had evidently discovered the secret of eternal youth. If individuals moved house from one parish to another then the new census-taking priest would presumably have no knowledge of the previously-registered ages; if an incoming couple stated that they were 34 and 30 years old respectively then the priest was obliged to accept that information.

1731, the month of March<sup>152</sup>  
 no. 3, house of S. Bernardo<sup>153</sup>  
 Giuseppe Guarneri, formerly [known as the son of] Giuseppe [*Filius Andreae*] 34 [true age 32]  
 Cattarina Roda, wife, formerly [known as the daughter of] Giovanni 30

*n.º 8, 1737, Casino delli Sr C.º Benzoni*  
*Giuseppe Guarneri qd Giuseppe 40 c c c*  
*Cattarina Roda mog.º qd Giō 36 c c c*  
 no. 8, 1737, small house of Signor Count [Francesco] Benzoni  
 Giuseppe Guarneri, formerly [known as the son of] Giuseppe 40 [true age 38]  
 Cattarina Roda, wife, formerly [known as the daughter of] Giovanni 36

The Hills do not acknowledge any mis-representation of Giuseppe's age.

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According to the Hills, Giuseppe Guarneri had left the family home after his marriage, 'set up a separate establishment, and was actually working as a *liutaio* apart from his father'.<sup>154</sup> The Hills' certainty – that *del Gesù*, from 1723, was an independent and active violin maker – is arrived at despite the scarcity of violins dating from the immediate post-1722 period. To solve this conundrum the Hills propose 1) that very few of the violins which were made by *del Gesù* were fitted with identifying labels<sup>155</sup> and 2) that *del Gesù* earned an alternative income as a violin player at Cremonese celebrations and social events:

May he not, following in the footsteps of his ancestor Orcelli, and his uncle and godfather, Pietro, also have been both a player and maker of violins, [...]?

Singing and dancing to the accompaniment of music was much favoured by the mass of the people throughout Italy; and Cremona, the seat of instrument-making, must from this very fact have inspired some members of her craftsmen families to become players. We have no doubt that such was the case; and supposing it in the case of *del Gesù*, his double calling would in the circumstances seem to fit in with the tradition handed down to us by the last of the Bergonzi.<sup>156</sup>

Chiesa and Rosengard comment on this empty period:

There is no evidence, however, that he [*del Gesù*] went out and immediately established his own workshop. By what means he supported himself and his wife for the first six years of their marriage is not known. Indeed from October 1722 until 1729, information concerning Giuseppe Guarneri junior is virtually non-existent and we have traced no record in which his his name appears. It is possible that he took a sabbatical from making violins. Alternatively he may have sought his fortune outside Cremona, as had his brother [Pietro 'of Venice'] and uncle [Pietro 'of Mantua'] before him, but the suggestion that Giuseppe Guarneri left the city with his wife is unsupported by any known documents.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Easter Monday obviously fell early that year.

<sup>153</sup> According to Chiesa and Rosengard (Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 16) the house belonged to 'the Congregation of the Parish Church of San Bernardo [...].'

<sup>154</sup> Hill, p. 75.

<sup>155</sup> The Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive website (accessed March 2021) lists 19 *del Gesù* violins from 1722-1730. How many of these violins contain labels, and of which type, is unknown.

<sup>156</sup> Hill, pp. 76-77. Giovanni Pietro Orcelli, the cousin of Anna Maria Orcelli, was a violinist of sufficient skill as to be employed in the orchestra of San Marco in Venice (where Claudio Monteverdi was the director of music (see Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 7). Pietro Guarneri was appointed Court Musician (playing the violin) at the Ducal Court of Mantua (see Hill, pp. 30-31). The 'tradition' handed down by Carlo II Bergonzi (1758-1838) is unknown.

<sup>157</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 12. A further possibility is that, during these years, the young Giuseppe was employed in the Stradivari workshop; see Roger Hargrave, *Comeback Kid*, 'The Strad', April 2012, p. 29: 'It's quite possible that 'del Gesù' was working in Stradivari's workshop at that point anyway. From 1722 to 1732 he and his father produced about ten instruments between them and they were almost certainly working in Stradivari's workshop at that time [...].'

The Hills' mis-translation of *Giuseppe Guarneri qd Giuseppe* is: 'Giuseppe Guarneri (son) of the late Giuseppe'.<sup>158</sup> The abbreviation *qd* (*quondam*) indicates that the social identification of Giuseppe Guarneri – now an independent individual, and married – was formerly though his father Giuseppe (*Filius Andreae*). Similarly with Catarina – now identified as Giuseppe's wife but formerly identified through her father Giovanni Ferdinand Rota (Roda).<sup>159</sup> The Hills comment:

It will not escape notice that this census extract of the year 1731 [see previous page] speaks of the father of del Gesù as the late Giuseppe, obviously incorrect as the similar returns furnished by the 'Casa Guarneri' prove the contrary. Signor [Giovanni] Livi by way of explanation points out that these returns were with few exceptions made out by the parish priest; and it is not rare to find them unreliable in minor details.<sup>160</sup>

At the time of the 1731 census Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* was very much alive; he could not have been identified by his son as deceased; the meaning of *quondam* ('formerly', 'at one time', 'heretofore') has been misunderstood by the Hill brothers.<sup>161</sup>

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The Hills provide an illustration of the *Casa Guarneri* returns for 1738 and 1739 which demonstrate that the elderly Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* was the only inhabitant:<sup>162</sup>

*1738 Casa Guarneri*

*Giuseppe Guarneri q.<sup>m</sup> [quondam] Andrea 71 c.c.c.*<sup>163</sup>

Giuseppe Guarneri, formerly [known as the son of] Andrea 71

No mention is made of Giuseppe's wife, Barbara Franchi, since she had died on 31 December 1737.<sup>164</sup> The Easter 1739 census return contains identical information for Giuseppe *Filius Andreae*: 'aged 72'.

No death certificate for Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* has been located. Chiesa and Rosengard suggest that the lack of documentation was down to 'bureaucratic oversight or simple negligence'.<sup>165</sup> The Hills suggest that, his wife having already died, Giuseppe had 'joined his son Pietro' (in Venice) 'or had even gone to live with another of his relatives no longer residing in Cremona, and had there died.'

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Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri died on 16 October 1744. The Hills illustrate the text of the 17 October burial record:<sup>166</sup>

Joseph Guarneri, husband of Catharina Roda, about forty-seven years of age [...] passed away commending his soul to God. His body is interred in this church of S. Prospero.

In the following year the 1745 census return for the *Casa delli Benzoni* identifies Cattarina Roda as Giuseppe Guarneri's widow:

*Cattarina Roda, vid<sup>a</sup> [vidua] qd Giō 44 c c c*<sup>167</sup>

Cattarina Roda, widow, formerly [known as the daughter of] Giovanni, [aged] 44

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<sup>158</sup> Hill, p. [86].

<sup>159</sup> See also Appendix B. of this account.

<sup>160</sup> Hill, p. 73.

<sup>161</sup> 'it is not rare to find them unreliable ...'

<sup>162</sup> Hill, p. [58] illustration F.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.* Andrea had died forty years earlier, in 1698.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* illustration G (the burial certificate issued 1 January 1738), and p. 59.

<sup>165</sup> See Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 19.

<sup>166</sup> Hill, p. 96.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [86], illustration E.

There is little reason to doubt that the burial record for Giuseppe is related to the baptismal record of 21 August 1698; the age specified by the parish priest – ‘about forty-seven’ – fits too closely with Giuseppe’s life-span for these two documents to be identifying different persons (Giuseppe had celebrated his 46<sup>th</sup> birthday on 21 August 1744). Clearly, Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri was born in 1698 as a son of Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreae* and Barbara Franchi, and was the future husband of Catarina Rota (Roda).

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## Appendices

**A.** A curious piece of information is found on p. 14 of Quarenghi’s *Metodo*, within the section titled ‘Fabbricatori d’istrumenti d’arco’, where he lists, under ‘Andrea Guarneri’,

*CATERINA GUARNERI, allieva de’ fratelli Giuseppe e Pietro, ha pure lavorato in Cremona, nonchè*

Caterina Guarneri, pupil of the brothers Giuseppe and Pietro, also worked in Cremona (and elsewhere).

Giovanni de Piccolellis appears to respond to this piece of information, for on p. 48 of his *Liutai antichi e moderni* he writes:

*CATERINA GUARNIERI, figlia di Lorenzo, aiutava il padre ed i fratelli nella officina comune. Fece pure qualche violino e vi pose cartelli manoscritti.*<sup>168</sup>

Caterina Guarnieri, daughter of Lorenzo, who helped the father and the brothers in the communal workshop. She also made some violins and [in these she] inserted hand-written labels.

On the very next page (p. 49) Piccolellis confirms the existence of Lorenzo:

*GIUSEPPE GUARNIERI, detto Del Gesù: Questo celeberrimo artefice, che con lo Stradivari è vanto di Cremona, nacque da Giambattista Guarneri fratello di Lorenzo, ed Angiola Maria Locadelli.*

Giuseppe Guarneri, known as Del Gesù: this celebrated maker, who, with Stradivari, is the pride of Cremona, was born of Giambattista Guarneri, brother of Lorenzo, and Angiola Maria Locadelli.

Neither Quarenghi nor Piccolellis identify any archival document to support their statements.

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**B.** Catarina Guarneri, the Vienna-born widow of Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri, re-married on 28 April 1748; her new husband was Johann Horak, and, in the marriage certificate, her father is identified as Johann/Giovanni Ferdinand Rota:<sup>169</sup>

[...] *ego Joseph Antonius Fulghonius huius Ecclesiae Sancto Prosperi Praepositus, coniunxi in Matrimonium per verba de praesenti dominum Joannem Horak, filium Thobiae natione Bohemum, Religione Catholicum ex eadem Legione Andrassiana, et Dominam Catharinam Rotam quondam Joannis Ferdinandi viduam per mortem quondam Joannis Guarneri huius vicinia Sancti Prosperi* [...].

I, Giuseppe Antonio Fulgonio, parish priest of this church of San Prospero, have today joined in matrimony, by their vows, Johann Horak, the son of Tobias, of Bohemian nationality and Catholic by Religion, of the Andrassy Regiment, and domina Catharina Rota, formerly [known as the

<sup>168</sup> On his p. 48 Piccolellis also suggests that Lorenzo had a son named Pietro.

<sup>169</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 21.

daughter] of Johann Ferdinand [Rota], and as the widow, through death, of Giovanni[!] Guarneri of this parish of S. Prospero [...].

‘Giovanni Guarneri’ – another clerical error?

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**C1.** Two posthumous Guarneri *del Gesù* violins are described in the *Catalogue descriptif* compiled by C-N-E Gand. On his page 96 Gand writes (with subsequent additions by Caressa & Français):

*(année 1880) M<sup>r</sup> Le Duc, Paris*

*Violon Joseph Guarnerius, 13 pouces 2 lignes, année 1745*

*Fond de 2 pièces, ondes très-larges descendant, éclisses très-belles, table de 2 pièces, beau sapin un peu plus serré au milieu, belles f. Tête très-caractérisée, oreilles très-prononcées. Vernis rouge doré splendide, parfaitement conservé [Gand’s text ends at this point].*

*pièce d’âme à la table*

*ex Kronprinz de Prusse*

*1960 aux U.S.A*

*Présé à Henryk Scheryng par Buegner à New-York, assuré pour \$55,000.*

*(1880) Monsieur Le Duc, Paris*

*Giuseppe Guarnerius del Gesù violin, 13 pouces 2 lignes [356.4mm], year 1745*

The back plate is made from two pieces; very wide flames, descending [from the centre-joint]. The ribs are very beautiful. The front plate is made from two pieces; beautiful spruce, [?the rings are] slightly tighter/narrower in the middle; beautiful fs. The head is very characteristic, the ‘ears’ [of the scroll] very pronounced. The varnish is golden red, splendid; perfect conservation.

A patch at the sound-post at [under?] the front plate

*ex Crown Prince of Prussia*

*1960, to the USA*

*Presented to Henryk Scheryng [Szeryng] by Buegner, from New York, insured for 55,000 dollars.*

The Cozio Archive of the Tarisio.com website (ID 40448) indicates an ever-changing line of ownership for the *Leduc* violin, but a line in which the Crown Prince of Prussia is not mentioned. In Chiesa *et al.* (1998), Vol. One, p. 155, it is stated that the *Leduc* violin was sold to Rudolph Wurlitzer of New York in 1923, and passed to J S Phipps in 1924; Phipps apparently retained possession of the violin until 1970 when he sold it to Henryk Szeryng. This chronology is not entirely in agreement with the information quoted above. No further information for ‘Buegner’ has been located.

From the photographic evidence presented in Chiesa *et al.* (1998), Vol. One, p. 154, the descending flames of the violin’s back plate appear only faintly and intermittently. In addition, the rings of the front plate are extremely narrow at the centre, not ‘slightly narrower’.

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**C2.** On page 216 of Gand’s *Catalogue descriptif* (as extended by Caressa & Français) the following Guarneri *del Gesù* violin of 1749 is described:

*1936: Monsieur Pening, consul de Hollande à Paris; confié à Candela, 10 A<sup>me</sup> Daumesnil*

*Violon de Joseph Guarnerius del Gesù, 1749, étiquette originale*

*Fond 1p., érable ondes moyennes vives, régulières, descendant à droite, cheville en haut et en bas; talon originale a été arraché. Table 2p., sapin moyen au joint, plus large sur les bords; la partie gauche ayant souffert; grande fracture le long de la barre; grandes cassures dans la partie gauche, avec trous de vers rebouchés; diverses pièces remises; ½ bords, pièce d’âme; pièces en dents de scie sous chevalet; éclisses érable pareil au fond; cassure à celle en haut à gauche, à celle du bas*

*côté droit. Tête en érable, à veines douces, très-pure; oreilles de cochon, points aux boutons; les 4 trous chevilles rebouchés, divernie.*

*Beau vernis orange; rechargé à la table, aux éclisses et à la tête. Taille 354mm (ex-Bonjour).  
1934 Miguel Candèla.*

1936: Monsieur Pening, the Dutch Consul in Paris; entrusted to Candela, 10 Av. Daumesnil [Paris] Giuseppe Guarneri *del Gesù* violin, 1749, original label

The back plate is in one piece; the maple-wood flames are medium, bright, regular, descending to the right. There is a locating dowel at the top and at the bottom [of the plate]. The neck-foot is original [but at some point] has been torn off. The front plate is made from two pieces; the spruce [rings are] medium at the centre-joint, wider at the edges; the left part [i.e. the bass side of the front plate] having suffered – there is a large split for the length of the bass-bar and large splits in the left part with plugged worm tracks; various [strengthening] patches [have been] added. There are half-edges, a patch at the sound-post, patches [which look like] the teeth of a saw under the bridge. The ribs are made from maple which is similar to the back plate; there is a split in the upper-left rib and in the lower-right rib. The head is made from maple, with mild flames; very pure; [the curls of the scroll are like the] ears of a pig; there are marks [spots?] at the buttons; the four peg-holes have been bushed; unvarnished. Beautiful orange varnish, renewed on the front plate, on the ribs, and on the head. The body length is 354mm (*ex Bonjour*).

1934 Miguel Candèla.

The names of M. Pening and Miguel Candèla are unknown to the [Tarisio.com/Cozio](http://Tarisio.com/Cozio) Archive website.

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**D.** In 1901 the *Strad* magazine published a series of articles written by Horace Petherick, with the overall title *Joseph Guarnerius, His Works and His Master*; the articles were subsequently gathered together into a book. At the start of Chapter XVIII Petherick writes:

Some years back, when in London, I was informed of a viola which might interest me, and which, being in the neighbourhood, my informant kindly had it brought for my inspection. The ticket inside, in legible characters [hand-written?], was as follows:

KATARINA GUARNERIA FECIT    4-point cross  
CREMONE ANNO 1749.        I.H.S.

A continental dealer who happened to be present said he had met with two violins abroad with similar tickets, both having a fine tone.

On scrutinizing the details, I remarked that Joseph's actual workmanship was not evident, but that of some other hand, and that a fair conclusion would be that the viola was made after Joseph's decease. The date is in agreement with this possibility, someone perhaps being employed by Katarina Guarnerius, who, if his widow, was keeping on the business while the stock of precious materials lasted, and employed an assistant.

Note that Petherick has no certain knowledge of Giuseppe's marriage or his wife's name.

According to the Italian-English-Italian dictionary compiled by J Purves:

The letter *K* is found only in words of foreign origin and generally only as an initial letter. It tends to give place to *c* before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u* [...].<sup>170</sup>

In addition:

The surname 'Guarneria' on the Petherick label is consistent with a Cremonese practice whereby the vowel at the end of surnames was altered according to gender.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1961, p. 226.

<sup>171</sup> Chiesa *et al.*, Vol. Two, p. 20.

Thus the widow Catarina created a label which not only referenced her Viennese origin by spelling her given name in the ‘German’ manner (albeit without an *h*), but simultaneously referenced the Italian usage of the letter *K* as is described by Purves and the Cremonese use of the feminine ‘Guarneria’.<sup>172</sup>

It is quite implausible that a violin maker engaged in making a fake violin could have imagined and created such a label; Petherick’s evidence – precisely because of his lack of historical knowledge – thus becomes entirely reliable.

Petherick’s identification of the four-point cross and the I.H.S. acronym on his ‘Katarina’ label, together with his thoughtful (if unaware) deductions, points towards Katarina Guarneria being the widow of Giuseppe Guarneri and Giuseppe being the violin maker known as *del Gesù*.

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Nonetheless, two questions remain unanswered:

Were there two Cremonese violin makers named Giuseppe Guarneri?

Was one a nephew to Andrea, the other a grandson?

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<sup>172</sup> See p. 8 of this account and footnote 18.