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) were 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 inscription Joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos. The Latin Dictionary compiled by Charlton T Lewis and Charles Short provides 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/or ‘nephew’. The present writer is unaware of any information which shows that one of the two meanings of nepos overwhelmed the other during the subsequent 1,500 years; therefore, the only appropriate response to nepos within a Joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos label is to accept the equal validity of ‘grandson’ and ‘nephew’ as translations.

Nineteenth-century 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 Dicionarie in Italian and English (Edw. Blount, London, 1598) – the word nipote is translated as ‘a nephew’. The word nepote is translated as [verbatim]: ‘a nephew, ones brothers childe. Also the sonne or daughters sonne, a grand-childe’.

In Florio’s subsequent dictionary – Queen Anna’s New World of Words, or Dicionarie 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 Baretti’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 dictionary compiled by Giuspanio Graglia (A Dictionary of the Italian and English Languages, Henry G Bohn, London, 1854) both nipote and nepote are translated as ‘nephew, niece’. In the dictionary’s English-Italian section ‘nephew’ is translated as nipote; the word ‘niece’ is not listed; nor is ‘grandson’.

In the Dizionaro Italiano-Francaese 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: ‘Filis du frère ou de la sœur’ (i.e. nephew).

In the following narrative the words nepos, nipote, and nepote, when quoted, are presented in bold.
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. Il 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. With respect to the personal histories of the luthiers themselves, the Count, 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 (Mantua) (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 quarters, 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.

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. In a February 1776 inventory of additional instruments the Count lists one medium-size violin and one large violin by Guarnerio. 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 Andree 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.10 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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1 All the Cozio documents which have survived are archived at the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona, Libreria Civica (BScr, LC).
2 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.’ (p. 89)
3 BScr, LC, ms. Cozio 26.
4 BScr, LC, ms. Cozio 28.
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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 picola in le tre righe

[with] the following label, beautiful small print, in three lines

Superiorem Tabulam Antonius Stradivarius circa annum 1724
latera Joseph Guarnerius Andrea filius nepos
fecit Cremona circa annum 1730.5

Front plate made by Antonio Stradivari around 1724, the sides by Giuseppe Guarners, son of Andrea nepos, 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[sertazione sulla conoscenza dell]i istomenti 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[sertazione [...] 6

[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 nipote 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, 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 [Guarnersi] instruments which, though they might be of poor appearance, had a strong voice (but it was very difficult to extract a good tone

5 BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 47, folio 50r. To clarify: in his document Count Cozio wrote the word filius, then struck it through and wrote nepos above.

6 BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 1; translations are by the present writer.
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 [re-graduated] 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, 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].

Count Cozio’s understanding, therefore, was that Giuseppe Filius Andreæ and Giuseppe del Gesù were cousins, not father and son; as cousins, therefore, Giuseppe del Gesù was a nephew to Andrea.

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 just six pages of (not very accurate) information about the Guarneris.

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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. 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.2 of this account):

Il Guarnerio Andrea, di cui ignoriamo ancor il nome de suoi antenati risulta da suoi più antichi biglietti entroposti ne suoi instromenti che dal suo lavoro di molti anni che inimitò ad eccellenza quello del Nicolaol Amati che fu suo scuolaro. 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 inmitato 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 Nicolaol Amati – [Andrea] was of [Nicolao’s] school. 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. [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 Nicolaol Amati [...].

Con tutto ciò gli stromenti diligentati di detto fabricatore Andrea Guarnerio, fatti ad imitazione degli Amati e con legni scelti forastieri, sono i megliori di qualunque altro inmitatore che finora vi abbia esistito esso però sono in gran preggio e possano collocarsi di secondo ordine e qualche

7 BSCR, LC, ms. Cozio 1, folios 17–18.
8 BSCR, LC, ms. Cozio 2, folio 7v et seq.
9 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).
10 Count Cozio is formulating his text as if it comes from the pen of Vincenzo Lancetti; see later in this account.
capo d’opera di primo ordine, come quello dell’anno 1658 tutto sano, compreso come sovra nella additata collezione, e tutti quelli fabbricati del secondo 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, fìa 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]. 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 but it is presumed that it was approximately when we find [dated] labels of his son, Giuseppe [Filius Andreæ], 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 Andreæ:

Il Guarnerio Giuseppe figliol d’Andrea non si crede abbia lavorato molti anni, poiché finora non risultano dal più volte ctitato registro che si siano veduti biglietti ne suoi instrumenti posteriori al 1712. Il suo lavoro non fìi cotanto diligentato come quelli del padre, massime nell’esterie, 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 categoria, con tutto ciò fece qualche capo d’opera anche per la buona qualità del legno merita esser collocati in seconda categoria, come si è quello intuìo compreso nella suddetta collezione colà data del 1707. La vernice è d’ordinario più rossa e di durata; e fabbrico specialmente delle viole e de contralti di notabile 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. 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 placed in the third category. Nevertheless, there are some which are masterpieces, [and some, 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 aforementioned collection with a date of 1707), 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.

11 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).
12 7 December 1698.
13 The Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive website (accessed February 2021) identified 35 Giuseppe Guarneri Filius Andreæ 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, p. 62)
14 This violin was also included in Count Cozio’s 1823 la Collezione, Primo Inventaro.
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 descendente._

We still do not know when he [Giuseppe Filius Andreæ] died and if he left behind any offspring; no instruments have been found with labels indicating any [male] descendants [i.e. labels with ‘Filius Ioseph’].

Count Cozio would undoubtedly have wished to know that Giuseppe Guarnieri Filius Andreæ 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 Guarnieri – 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 seven years old, but his 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). The Count’s lack of knowledge regarding male offspring of Giuseppe Guarnieri Filius Andreæ and Barbara Franchi is understandable.

With respect to the label-text found inside three of the violins owned by Count Cozio (see pp.10-11 of this account) – _joseph Guarnierius Andrea Nepos_ – it is very likely that the Count, aristocratically sensitive to family hierarchies, could not countenance a situation in which a violin-making son did not cite his own father on his instrument labels. Since the Count knew full well that Giuseppe Guarnieri Filius Andreæ was a luthier such a son could only be the offspring of a father who was not involved in any way with lutherie; therefore nepos could not refer to a direct familial line from Andrea Guarnieri (grandfather), through Giuseppe Guarnieri Filius Andreæ (father), to _joseph Guarnierius Andrea Nepos_ (grandson). Count Cozio used the word ‘nipote’ to indicate ‘nephew’ (of Andrea).

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Research by Carlo Chiesa and Duane Rosengard\(^6\) has shown that, from the start of the eighteenth century, the financial fortunes of the Giuseppe _Filius Andreæ_ household steadily deteriorated. Pietro Guarnieri 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 (or ‘Roda’).\(^7\)

[...] Giuseppe Guarnieri 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,\(^8\) 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 witnesses present were [1] the noble Dominus Fabrizio Salerno Guarna, [2] the son of Giovanni Battista of the parish of San Donato,\(^9\) and [3] Giuseppe Brocardo, the son of Francesco of the parish of San Pantaleone.

\(^{15}\) Illustrations of seven _Filius Andreæ_ labels are in Hill, opp. p. 129.

\(^{16}\) Chiesa _et al._, Vol. Two, p. 10.

\(^{17}\) A photograph of the marriage record (and a translation of the Latin text) is provided in Chiesa _et al._, Vol. Two, p. 12.

\(^{18}\) In the early 18th century Austria (capital Vienna) was the second-most powerful state within the loosely-knit German Confederation; Prussia was the most powerful.

\(^{19}\) Why should the son’s names, both given and family, have been omitted? – was he a son of Giovanni Battista Guarnieri and Angiola Maria Locadelli? (see p.2 family tree); was he, perhaps, Giovanni (b.1692)? – or Domenico (b.1701)?
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.’

Family tensions may well have been splitting apart father and sons, yet Pietro always cited his father – ‘Filius Ioseph’ (or ‘Joseph’) – on his labels. Following the departure of both Pietro and the newly-married Giuseppe, the Casa Guarneri was inhabited only by Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreæ* 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.

The Hills reproduce the 1723 census return. Giuseppe and Barbara are correctly listed as 56 and 53 years of age respectively; Bartolomeo Giuseppe 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*

*Barbera [sic] Franchi figlia del qd Gioanni [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.

Since the rift between Giuseppe *Filius Andreæ* and his son Bartolomeo Giuseppe has been so well documented (see Chiesa et al.), and the paucity of Guarneri *Filius Andreæ* instruments from the period between 1722 and 1730 noted (see fn.13), there seems no obvious reason why Giuseppe junior should have felt it necessary to use an ambiguous label (*joseph Guarnerius Andreus Nepos*) in the few instruments which, it seems, he made during that period. With his father almost entirely non-productive no confusion would have arisen if, post 1722, Giuseppe junior had immediately begun using his ‘IHS’ label with its 4-point cross. It is possible that the *Andrea Nepos* labels were used by a quite different Giuseppe Guarneri, a Giuseppe who was a nephew, rather than a grandson, to Andrea.

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Count Cozio’s commentary (BSCR, LC, ms. Cozio 2) continues:

Vi fu 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 tacciato quello del padre forsi 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 nipote of Andrea. His father is not mentioned, perhaps because he did not make violins.

[one unreadable word] istromenti che si abbian nel registro predetto di tale autore [sic] fabbricante costruite nella sudetto epoca sono i meglio diligentati e nel lavoro interno ed esterno, ma non ebb ero [missing word?] prìa 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.1727-1735], are the best constructed, both internally and externally, but they failed to

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20 Hill, p. 75.
21 See the eight Pietro Guarneri label illustrations in Hill, opp. p. 131.
22 Hill, p. [57], illustration E; see also p.31 et seq. of this account for further information regarding census returns.
23 See p.35 of this account for a consideration of the term quondam.
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 assottigliati e cangiati la catena e rialzatosene il ponticello e allungati di tratta le corde dall assai intelligente agiustatore d’instrumenti 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 cattogoria, 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. And by virtue of their size, and their similarity to the largest forms of Antonio Stradivari, 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 [1727-1735] 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 grossezze, 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 categoria, a segno che anche per il loro assai inferiore lavoro priia 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 sìguidi 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; [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 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 agiunse 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 instrumenti li fabbricasse in prigione, a cui

24 Count Cozio’s reference to the size of the Guarneri violins – comparable to Stradivari’s largest – is noteworthy since most del Gesù violins have smaller-than-Stradivari dimensions; cf. the violin sizes specified by the Count (overleaf et seq.).

25 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.
sia stato condannato in vita, dopo il 1735, per aver ucciso un fabbricatore d’instrumenti suo contemporaneo e amico, che vedesse anche il Francesco o d’altro Rugeri detto il Per, per cui tali strumenti 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 nipote 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. 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 Rugiero (known as ‘the Father’) – and thus these instruments were known as [maid-] ‘servant’ instruments. [The prison] was that known as the Bargello.26

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.

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.27

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On 16 April 1816 the Count wrote a description of his 1727 violin of ‘large form’:28

Violin of Giuseppe Guarneri, nipote 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)29 with a label having the usual printing – without a seal30 – which states:

joseph Guarnerius Andrea Nepos
fecit Cremonœ anno 172731

See folio 8 for a similar label […].

Folio 8 of the same ms. Cozio 47 inventory contains Count Cozio’s concluding text for another ‘large form’ Guarneri 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, Andræe Nepos
fecit Cremonæ Anno 1728

Without a seal.

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

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26 The Bargello prison is located in Florence.
27 See the comments made by Fétis/Vuillaume (pp 19-20 of this account) and George Hart (p. 21); see, also, the comments made by Charles Reade in his third letter to the Pall Mall Gazette, 27 August 1872.
28 BSCr, LC, ms. Cozio 47, folio 6r; present writer’s translation. The source(s) of these three violins is (are) unknown.
29 ‘after Carlo Mantegazza had finished re-graduating the thicknesses of the front and back plates?’
30 It is assumed that ‘without a seal’ indicates the absence of the IHS monogram and the four-pointed cross.
31 Note that Count Cozio does not write a ‘long S’ in the name ‘joseph’.
On 31 May 1816 Count Cozio measured two violin top plates – ‘the back plates and the ribs to be found’ – which he identifies as having been made by *joseph Guarnerius nipote d’Andrea* (ms. 47, folio 26v). The four basic measurements, extremity to extremity, for one of the plates, are:

Upper Bout maximum width: 169.15mm  
Centre Bout minimum width: 111.72mm  
Lower Bout maximum width: 207.57mm  
Body length: 361.33mm.\(^{32}\)

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, Andrea Nepos*  
fecit Cremonæ Anno 1730.\(^{33}\)

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

For his measurements Count Cozio uses the *Pied du Roi* system: one *ponto* is 2.26mm, twelve *ponti* equal one *pollice* (27.07mm), and twelve *pollici* equal one *Pied du Roi* (324.84mm):

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

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

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

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

The Count’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*. 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.\(^{34}\) Perhaps, during the 1720s, the person who signed himself as *joseph Guarnerius, Andrea Nepos* 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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\(^{32}\) A set of measurements for the second plate is not provided by Count Cozio.

\(^{33}\) Note the particular spelling of the word *Andræę*; cf. the label-text referenced by fn.53.

\(^{34}\) See N Sackman, *The ‘Messiah’ violin: a reliable history?*, Chapters 2 and 5.
If the three *Nepos* instruments belonging to Count Cozio were made by a Giuseppe Guarneri who was a nephew of Andrea Guarneri then that 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.35

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.50.36

Thus Andrea’s brother, Giovanni Battista, died between 1687 and 1694; he cannot have been the father of Giuseppe del Gesù since the latter was born in 1698.

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-born son of Giuseppe *Filius Andreæ* and Barbara Franchi), and if those instruments are understood to have been made by he who would later be known as Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù, then Giuseppe’s 1698 date of 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.21 *et seq.*).

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 Teresia, and adopts instead the cipher ‘J.H.S.’ surmounted by the Cross.37

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

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Jophæ Guarnerius fecit +
Cremonæ anno 1729    IHS38
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These two ‘IHS’ labels, of 1726 and 1729, sit against Guarneri labels of similar date which have *Andrea Nepos* labels (e.g. the three violins owned by Count Cozio).

35 See Hill, p. 21.
38 *Ibid.*, opp. p. 130. It is likely that this label is from the Guarneri *Baron Heath/Brown* violin (Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive ID 42986).
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].

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.

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 [...]’. Within the same publication Roger Hargrave confirms that the Dancla violin contains a facsimile of the ‘IHS’ label, dated 1726; 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 Dancla violin. According to the 1998 publication an imitation ‘IHS’ label dated 1726 is also found in the Stretton violin.

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, and the earliest unquestionable label extant comes from 1731, bearing the IHS device from which Guarneri’s common epithet “del Gesù” derives.

Subsequently within the same commentary:

Although none of these labels [the Andrea Nepos labels] appears to have survived to the present day, the “Dancila” 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 Andreæ nepos.

The “Dancila” is made on a large pattern [...].

The major dimensions of the Dancla violin have been calliper-defined as: 164, 107, 200, and 354mm. These measurements can be compared with those shown on p.11 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

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39 Hill, p. 74.
40 Ibid., p. 129.
41 Chiesa et al., Vol. One, p. 11.
42 Chiesa et al., Vol. Two, p. 151.
43 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.
44 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.
45 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.’
46 Chiesa et al., Vol. One, p. 11.
47 Chiesa et al., Vol. Two, p. 27.
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.48

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 […]49

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. 13], 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 the nineteenth century […]. They [the two makers] frequently did not trouble to sign their productions unless asked to do so.50

In a 4-part set of articles published on the Tarisio.com/Carteggio website51 John Dilworth and Carlo Chiesa identify the 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 photographs52 show the text of this violin’s label:

\[
\text{Joseph Guarnerius Andrea\text{æ} Nepos} \\
\text{fecit Cremonæ Anno 1728} \]

From the evidence of the photographs the third and fourth date-numerals appear to have been handwritten; 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.11 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

48 Chiesa et al., Vol. Two, p. 151.
49 Hill, p. 66.
50 The evidence which underpins this final statement is unknown.
52 The photographs are by Peter Biddulph; also viewable on Tarisio.com, instrument ID 71858.
53 Cf. the label-text referenced by fn.33.
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 Bergonzi family of violin makers is not mentioned). 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. 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:


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

54 Federico Sacchi (Sacchi, p. 13) states that ‘[Lancetti’s] notices on the Amatis and the Bergonzis had been found by Count Cozio very deficient […].’
56 BScr, LC, ms. Cozio 4.
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 [...].

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

57 Pietro Guarneri ’of Mantua’ died in 1720.
58 The three violins owned by Count Cozio were dated 1727, 1728, and 1730.
59 Federico Sacchi describes Giulio Fusetti as ‘Vicar-General’ (Sacchi, p. 20, fn. 9).
that you have provided. There is much [in your letter] about which even our most erudite men [in France] know nothing.\textsuperscript{60}

Vuillaume continues his letter by asking Signor Fusetti to make further enquiries: ‘You have been so good, 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 of ‘bullet points’ which summarised Vuillaume’s questions. Under ‘bullet point 6’ Fusetti writes:

\emph{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.}\textsuperscript{61}

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.

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:

\begin{quote}
\emph{Il Giuseppe Guarneri. Del celebre Andrea Guarneri fu nipote per parte di fratello un altro Giuseppe Guarneri diverso e distinto dal Giuseppe Guarneri figlio di Andrea, di cui era figlio il Pietro Guarnerio.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\emph{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 pregati violinisti 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.}\textsuperscript{62}
\end{quote}

Giuseppe Guarneri. Of the celebrated Andrea Guarneri there was a \textbf{nipote}, by way of a brother [of Andrea], [this \textbf{nipote} 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 \textbf{nipote} 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.\textsuperscript{63}

In 1999 the Bonetti/Cavalcabò/Gualazzini publication of 1937 – \textit{Antonio Stradivari: Notizie e Documenti} – was made available in an English translation. Fusetti’s letter-text appears therein with an unambiguous translation of \textit{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

\textsuperscript{60} Translated from Bonetti et al., 1937, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. 105.
\textsuperscript{62} 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.
\textsuperscript{63} Whether Fusetti verified the ‘traditional story’ before writing to Vuillaume is not known.
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 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.64

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 Andreæ. 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 Andreæ (and thus a grandson to Andrea), born on 21 August 1698 and dying 16 October 1744.

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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).65

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.66

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 Andreæ] is generally considered to have been the eldest son of Andrea and it is said that he was a pupil of his father. He worked from 1690 until 1730.67

Fétis then briefly mentions ‘Pierre Guarneri’ of Mantua, followed by another ‘Pierre Guarneri’ (of Venice), before writing more extensively about the man whom Fétis (orVuillaume) identifies as ‘Joseph-Antoine Guarneri del Jesu’:

Il me reste à parler du grand artiste de cette famille, ‘Joseph-Antoine’, appelé communément en Italie ‘Giuseppe del Jesu’, parce que beaucoup de violons sortis de ses mains portent sur l’étiquette cette marque IHS.68 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

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64 Bonetti et al., 1999, p. 104.
65 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’.
66 All translations (by the present writer) are from Fétis, p. 105, et seq.
67 Giuseppe filius Andreæ was the third son and last child born to Andrea (in 1666); see family tree on p.2 of this account.
68 A four-point cross is drawn above the three letters.
avait donné l’indication la plus positive sur son origine en nous apprenant qu’il était neveu d’André, par cette inscription placée dans ses instruments: ‘Joseph Guarnerius, Andreæ 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 Jesù’ 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, Andreæ 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 Guarneri and Angela Maria Locadella was born in Cremona on 8th June 1683 and was baptised on the 11th of the same month in the parish of Saint Donat, adjunct to the Cathedral.

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

Guarneri (Giuseppe Antonio) figlio de’ legittimi conjugi 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 in tone and in their ability to project their sound. […]

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]

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69 Obviously, this technical information 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.
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 del Gesù died:

Le vieux Bergonzi, mort à Crémona 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,70 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.

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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 1875.71 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.72

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 Salo, 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 Jesù, an easy task in completing and perfecting it.73

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.

70 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).
71 Dulau and Co./Schott and Co.
72 Hart, pp. 79-80.
73 Ibid., p. 81.
GUARNERIUS, Petrus, Mantua, 1725. Son of Joseph FiliusAndreæ.
He followed to some extent the form of the instruments of his uncle, Petrus, from whom, while in Mantua, he probably learnt his art.74

GUARNERIUS, Joseph Anthony, better known as Giuseppe del Jesù, 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 8th of June, 1683, and was baptized on the 11th of the same month in the parish of Saint Donato, at the Chapel of Ease of the Cathedral.75

The Father of Guarnerius del Jesù 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 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.76

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.77

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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.78 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

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74 Hart, pp. 83-84.
75 Ibid., pp. 84-85. Here Hart reproduces the Italian text of the 1683 baptismal record (which had previously been published by J-F Fétis and Vuillaume); see p.19 of this account.
76 Ibid., p. 91.
77 Ibid., p. 92.
78 Gand’s Catalogue was published in 1994 as a photographic facsimile by Les Amis de la Musique, Spa, Belgium.
Searching for Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù: a paper-chase and a proposition

Nicholas Sackman

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(×2), 1731(×2), 1732(×6), 1733, 1734(×4), 1735(×5), 1736, 1737(×2), 1738, 1739(×2), 1740, 1741(×4), 1742(×6), 1743, 1744(×3), 1745.

The 1710 violin is described by Gand:

(année 1878) M. 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. C. G. Meier 15,000

(1878) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces [352mm], 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]; the grooves [at the top of the scroll] are very flat.
The varnish is light golden-yellow. (Completely intact).

Ex Desöer
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, 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 importantes à l’âme, à la barre et au menton.
Tête très lourde. Vernis rouge brun doré.

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79 Gand, p. 47.
80 For his measurements Gand used the French Pied du Roi system (as had previously been used by Count Cozio).
81 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).
82 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 […]’
83 ‘Desöer’ may be F J Desöer, who was active in Paris at the end of the 18th century as a book publisher.
84 Gand, p. 80.
(1878) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces [352mm], 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.

(année 1873) Monsieur Wolkoff, Moscou
Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces 1 ligne, année 1716

(1873) Giuseppe Guarneri violin, 13 pouces 1 ligne [354.2mm], 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.

(année 1878) Monsieur Frédéric Lehmann, Londres
Violon Joseph Guarnerius 13 pouces, année 1724

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

(année 1870) Monsieur Myèvre, Paris
Violon Joseph Guarnerius, 13 pouces 1 ligne, année 1725
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.

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

(année 1875) Monsieur Street, Paris
Violon Joseph Guarnerius, 13 pouces, année 1729

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

85 Albert Caressa and Henri François 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 Francais Rare Violins, Inc., Photographic Archive and Business Records held at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, USA. In the Caressa & Français copy M. Wolkoff’s violin was initially dated ‘1716’ but the date was subsequently altered to ‘1736’. A complete transcription and translation of the Smithsonian Institution copy (bequeathed by Jacques Francais) is linked from www.themessiahviolin.uk.
86 Gand, p. 49.
87 Ibid., p. 78.
88 In the Caressa & Français copy of this text the label-date is specified as ‘1745’.
89 Gand, p. 23.
90 Ibid., p. 71.
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 the 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 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 ‘Guarnerius’ 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 admirable imitative copies bearing all the appearance of age were made by Vuillaume, Georges Chanot, and other French and German contemporary makers […]

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) 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.‘ S. Teresa. Più che del padre, la sua maniera sente di Stradivari suo contemporaneo, nonché 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.’ Teresa. 1678.

Pietro Guarneri d’Andrea si stabilì a Mantova. Lavorò dal 1670 al 1725.

91 Hill, p. 98.
Caterina Guarneri, allieva de’ fratelli Giuseppe e Pietro, ha pure lavorato in Cremona, nonché: Caterina Guarneri, pupil of the brothers Giuseppe and Pietro, also worked in Cremona (and elsewhere).\textsuperscript{92}

Pietro Guarneri figlio di Giuseppe Guarneri di S.\textsuperscript{a} Teresa dal 1725 circa.\textsuperscript{93}

\textit{Giuseppe Guarneri nipote d’Andrea (da non confondersi coll’altro Giuseppe del Gesù) sul principio del 1700.}

Giuseppe Guarneri, nipote of Andrea (not to be confused with the other Giuseppe [i.e. Giuseppe del Gesù] at the start of the eighteenth century.

\textit{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. [...]}\textsuperscript{94}

Giuseppe Guarneri [known as] del Gesù through the brand IHS which was placed on his labels. He was the nipote 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 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 sources. Nonetheless, one thought-provoking aspect of his commentary is the proposition that there were two men named ‘Giuseppe Guarneri’; both are identified as nipote of Andrea, but in one case (which?) the word is probably used to indicate ‘grandson’ while in the other (which?) it probably indicates ‘nephew’.

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8. GIOVANNI de PICCOLELLIS

New information was published in 1885 by Giovanni de Piccolellis (1839-1912) in his \textit{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.\textsuperscript{95}

Piccolellis writes an initial commentary on the ‘Guarnieri’ family,\textsuperscript{96} 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 – \textit{Filius Andreæ} 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

\textsuperscript{92} It is unclear where Quarenghi sourced this information about Caterina Guarneri; see also Appendix \textit{A}, to this account.

\textsuperscript{93} This is Pietro Guarneri ‘of Venice’.

\textsuperscript{94} Quarenghi, pp. 14-15.

\textsuperscript{95} See Kass, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{96} Piccolellis, p. 45 \textit{et seq}. 
source) Piccolellis then identifies a daughter, Caterina, the daughter of Lorenzo, see pp.36-37 of this account.

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

- Angiola Teresa [I] b. 1 October 1653, morta nel 1654
- 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.

Piccolellis also correctly states that six children were born from the 1690 marriage between Giuseppe Giovanni Battista Guarnieri (Filius Andreæ) 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, morta nel 1698
- Bartolommeo Giuseppe b. 21 August 1698.

Piccolellis does not identify the sixth-born child – Bartolommeo Giuseppe – as the future Giuseppe Guarnieri 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 […]

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.

The house to which Piccolellis refers was actually the Casa Guarnieri, in the Cremona parish of S. Matteo (not S. Donato) where Giuseppe Filius Andreæ and his wife, Barbara Franchi, had lived for the

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97 Piccolellis, p. 48.
98 Ibid., Note Aggiunte, pp. 24-25. Piccolellis sourced all his details from the Atti Parrocchiali di S. Matteo.
100 Ibid.
101 Padre Martini (1706-1784); musician and composer.
entirety of their married lives. The Hills state that six weeks after Giuseppe died (24 May 1740) the
time was sold to Antonio Arrighi.102 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.103

‘Josepho Guarneri’ is identified by the Hills as Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù who, in 1740, was living
with his wife, Catarina, in the parish of S. Prospero (to the north-east of Cremona Cathedral); ‘the late
Josephi’ is Giuseppe Filius Andreæ; ‘Petri Guarneri’ is 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:104

Gian Battista Guarneri was related, at the second level, to the preceding [i.e. Giuseppe Filius Andreæ]. 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’).105
2. Giuseppe (che poi fu il celeberrimo liutaio detto del Gesù), nato il 16 Ottobre 1687 [1686].

Giuseppe (who later was the celebrated violin maker known as del Gesù), born 16 October 1686.

[Giovanni Battista] de Guarneris et Maria de Locadellis Jugl.m Baptizatus futi p. me Joan
Baptistam Baroziun Prepostum. Patrinus fut Franciscus Barozius hujus Vicinae et
obstetrix pro Rev. Matre Clara Teodora Nicola Professa in Monasterio Sancta Mariae
Cistelli.106

The year 1686. On the day 17th October. Giuseppe, son of Giovanni Battista Guarneri and
Maria Locadelli, husband and wife, was baptised by me Giovanni Battista Barozi, 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.30 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.107

3. Rosa Teresa, born 2 March 1690.108

102 Hill, p. 72. However, see also 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 Arighi, ‘respectively a prominent architect and the parish priest of
the church of San Carlo’.
103 Hill, p. 72.
104 Piccolellis, Note Aggiunte, p. 29.
105 The birth-date is sourced by Piccolellis from Atti Battesimali del Duomo, vol. II, p. 81 and 82.
107 Piccolellis, Note Aggiunte, p. 30.
4. Giovanni, born 9 January 1692
5. Geltrude, born 24 October 1696

See the Guarneri family tree (p.2) 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. Vidal had obviously read the Antoine Stradivari: luthier célèbre publication from Fétis, and the publication of 1885 from Giovanni de Piccolellis (including the 1886 Note Aggiunte). Vidal writes sequentially about Andrea ‘Guarnieri’, Pietro (of Mantua), Giuseppe fils d’André, and Pietro (of Venice). 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 Jesù’ – 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
Giovanni, born 9 January 1692
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, known by the name of ‘Joseph Guarnerius del Jesù’.

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 Guarnieri, 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 Jesù’ (who had only one forename – that of Giuseppe).

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

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110 Ibid., p. 96.
112 Maison Quantin, Paris.
113 Vidal, pp. 75-78.
114 In copying from Piccolellis Vidal has failed to notice the former’s mistake concerning the year of birth.
115 Vidal has assumed that the day of baptism was also the day of birth; the new-born boy died three days later.
116 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.’
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 Joseph Antonius [Giuseppe Antonio] Guarnerius […] Filius Joannij Baptitte Guarneri dying on 7 July 1683 and being buried on 8 July 1683.117 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 Guarnerius [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 Jesù; 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.

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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.118

The father of Guarneri del Gesù, namely Gio. Battista, was the son of Bernardo, a cousin of Andrea Guarneri. He does not appear to have had any knowledge of the manufacture of stringed instruments […].119

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117 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).

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

119 Hart, p. 133.
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 carried out by 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, Andreæ nepos”, thus indicating that he was a nephew of Andrea.’

‘Neither of these statements is correct.’

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’. The Hills provide an illustration of the burial record from the Cremona parish of S. Donato (presumably located by Giovanni Livi) but they misunderstand the priest’s handwriting, identifying the date as ‘July 16th 1683’:

*Anno 1683 die 8 Julij
Joseff Antonius Guarnerius de mense […] dedit ultima […] die 7 Julij
incomunione manet mortuant[?] in S. Donato iacent.
Filius Joannij Bapttitte Guarneri huius parochie.*

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 Bapttitte 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.

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 14th [1686] of October 1686, and baptized on the 17th in the name of Giuseppe. 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 20th of the same month.

*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 Sento Donato il 8mo 20 come sopra
On the day 20 October 1686
Giuseppe Guarneri, son of Giovanni Battista, passed from this to a better life,*

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120 See p.19 of this account.
121 Hill, p. 66.
122 Ibid. Piccolellis does not cite a death record for Giuseppe Antonio.
123 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?
124 Hill, p. [69], illustration B; ‘facsimile of entry in the Register of Deaths’.
125 On p. 66 of their monograph the Hills alternatively, but still incorrectly, specify the date of birth as ‘11th October 1686’. The baptismal record for this second Giuseppe is shown on p. 27 of the present account.
126 Hill, p. 70, referencing p. [69], illustration C. This death record is not mentioned by Piccolellis.
aged five days, and is buried in the parish church of S. Donato on the 20th 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, otherwise another son would not have been given the same name; for on the 25th 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 [...]. 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):

\[\text{Die vig. septem. 8bre 1702} \]
\[\text{Obijt Joseph Ant. puer bidenturnus fil. Jos. Bapt. de Guarnerijs,} \]
\[\text{et cade die sepaltrus est in hic Parochli ecct.} \]

On the day 27 October 1702


**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 fn.158 (p.35) and Appendix B. (p.37).

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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.

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

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

128 Piccolellis makes no mention of a fourth son named Giuseppe Antonio; see pp.27-28 of this account.

129 Hill, p. [69], illustration D.

130 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).
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 […] 131

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.132 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.133

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’134 (the text copied, exactly, at A. below) 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.7 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 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.135

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.136

A. 2." Casa Guarneri

Giuseppe Guarneri,137 an 32, ch.c.c
Barbara Franchi, moglie, an 29, ch.c.c
Andrea, figlio, an 7
Elisabetta, figlia, an 6
Pietro, figlio, an 4
Giuseppe, figlio infante [‘squeezed-in’ text]
Barbara Maria, nipote, an 14, ch.c.
Giovanni Battista, fratello, an 11, ch.c

B. 2." 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, nipote, an 14, ch.c.
Giovanni Battista, fratello, an 11, ch.c

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:

131 Kass, p. 3.
132 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).
133 Kass, p. 12.
134 Chiesa et al., Vol. Two, p. 9.
135 Note that nipote in A. is used as ‘niece’; see p.1 of this account.
136 Hill, p. [56], illustration C.
137 filius Andreæ
1700

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1700</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Prima Casa Guarneri vuota</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2° Casa Guarneri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Guarneri, an. 33, ch.c.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea, figlio, an. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro, figlio, an. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe, figlio, an. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Maria, nipote, an. 15, ch.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giò Battà, fratello, an. 12, ch.c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in the Easter 1713 census return ‘Giuseppe’ is listed as 12 years of age rather than the correct age of 14:

1713

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1713</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casa Guarneri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Guarneri, an. 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Franchi, moglie, an 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro, figlio, an 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe, figlio, an 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Maria Guarneri, nipote, an 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At first sight this error would seem to be of little importance (and the Hills dismiss the discrepancy – see below). However, it is clear from the *Casa Guarneri* census records of 1699, 1700, 1713, and 1723 that the priest responsible has accurately registered the increasing ages of all the inhabitants *apart from that of young Giuseppe*:

- Giuseppe Guarneri *Filius Andreæ* (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) 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
- 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.

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

138 Hill, p. [56], illustration C.
139 Ibid., p. [57], illustration D.
140 Ibid., pp. [56] and [57], illustrations C, D, and E.
141 Ibid., p. 48.
142 Pietro does not appear in the 1723 census, having moved to Venice.
143 Hill, p. [57], illustration D.
The Hills provide an illustration of the Easter 1722 census return from the Casa Guarneri: 144

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.

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. 145

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. 146

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: 147

1731 […] Mense Martij, n.° 3 Casa di S.° Bernardo
  Giuseppe Guarneri qd [quondam] 148 Giuseppe 34 c c c
  Cattarina Roda mog.° [moglie] qd Giô 30 c c c 149
  1731, the month of March 150
  no. 3, house of S. Bernardo 151
  Giuseppe Guarneri, formerly [known as the son of] Giuseppe [Filius Andreæ] 34 [true age 32]
  Cattarina Roda, wife, formerly [known as the daughter of] Giovanni 30
  n.° 8 1737, Casino dell’i S° C.° Benzoni
  Giuseppe Guarneri qd Giuseppe 40 c c c
  Cattarina Roda mog.° qd Giô 36 c c c
  no. 8, 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.

*****

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’. 152 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

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144 Hill, p. [68], illustration A.
146 Ibid., p. 15.
147 Hill, p. [86], illustration E.
148 See overleaf for further information re quondam.
149 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.
150 Easter Monday obviously fell early that year.
151 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 […]’
152 Hill, p. 75.
very few of the violins which were made by del Gesù were fitted with identifying labels 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, a player of more ordinary capacity than his relatives, possessed of no desire to be attached to one of the Ducal Courts?

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.

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 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.

The Hills’ mis-translation of Giuseppe Guarneri qd Giuseppe is: ‘Giuseppe Guarneri (son) of the late Giuseppe’. 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 Andreæ). Similarly with Catarina – now identified as Giuseppe’s wife but formerly identified through her father Giovanni Ferdinando Rota (Roda). 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.

The Hills’ 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.

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).

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 […].’

Hill, p. [86].

See also Appendix E. of this account.

Hill, p. 73.

‘it is not rare to find them unreliable …’
The Hills provide an illustration of the Casa Guarneri returns for 1738 and 1739 which demonstrate that the elderly Giuseppe Guarneri Filii Andreæ was the only inhabitant: 160

1738 Casa Guarneri
Giuseppe Guarneri q.m. [quondam] Andrea 71 c.c.c. 161

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. 162 The Easter 1739 census return contains identical information for Giuseppe Filii Andreæ: ‘aged 72’. No death certificate for Giuseppe Guarneri Filii Andreæ has been located. Chiesa and Rosengard suggest that the lack of documentation was down to ‘bureaucratic oversight or simple negligence’. 163 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: 164

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. [vidua] qd Giõ 44 c c c 165
Cattarina Roda, widow, formerly [known as the daughter of] Giovanni, [aged] 44

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 to be identifying different persons (Giuseppe had celebrated his 46th birthday on 21 August 1744). Clearly, Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri was born in 1698 as a son of Giuseppe Guarneri Filii Andreæ and Barbara Franchi, and was the future husband of Catarina Rota (Roda).

contd. at Appendix D.

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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’instrumenti d’arco’, where he lists, under ‘Andrea Guarneri’,

\[
\text{CATERINA GUARNERI, allieva de’ fratelli Giuseppe e Pietro, ha pure lavorato in Cremona, nonchè}
\]

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

160 Hill, p. [58] illustration F.
161 Ibid. Andrea had died forty years earlier, in 1698.
162 Ibid. illustration G (the burial certificate issued 1 January 1738), and p. 59.
164 Hill, p. 96.
165 Ibid., p. [86], illustration E.
Giovanni de Piccolellis appears to respond to this piece of information, for on p. 48 of his Liutai antichi e moderni he writes:

\begin{center}
CATERINA GUARNIERI, figlia di Lorenzo, aiutava il padre ed i fratelli nella officina comune. Fece pure qualche violino e vi pose cartelli manoscritti.\textsuperscript{166}
\end{center}

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:

\begin{center}
GIUSEPPE GUARNIERI, detto Del Gesù: Questo celeberrimo artefice, che con lo Stradivari è vanto di Cremona, nacque da Giambattista Guarnieri fratello di Lorenzo, ed Angiola Maria Locadelli.
\end{center}

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

Thus Giovanni Battista Guarnieri (son of Bernardo) apparently had a brother named Lorenzo who was the father of Caterina. Neither Quarenghi nor Piccolellis identifies any archival document to support their statements.

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B. Catarina Guarnieri, the Vienna-born widow of Bartolomeo Giuseppe Guarneri ‘IHS’, 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.\textsuperscript{167}

\begin{center}
[...]
\end{center}

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

‘Giovanni Guarnieri’ – another clerical error?

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C1. Two posthumous Guarnieri 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):

\begin{center}
(année 1880) M\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}}} Le Duc, Paris
Violon Joseph Guarnierius, 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.
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{166} On his p. 48 Piccolellis also suggests that Lorenzo had a son named Pietro.

\textsuperscript{167} Chiesa et al., Vol. Two, p. 21.
Searching for Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù: a paper-chase and a proposition

Nicholas Sackman

(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 = 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, diverses.
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 [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. Penning and Miguel Candèla are unknown to the Tarisio.com/Cozio Archive website.

D. In 1901 Horace Petherick published in *The Strad* magazine a series of articles 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 he writes:

Some years back, when in London, I was informed of a viola which might interest me, and which, [my] 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.’ Clearly, the widow Catarina created a label which not only referenced her Viennese/German 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; the cherry on the top is the use of the feminine ‘Guarneria’:

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.

It is quite implausible that a dishonest violin maker 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, make clear that Katarina Guarneria was the widow of Giuseppe Guarnieri and that Giuseppe was the violin maker known as del Gesù, almost certainly born in 1698 as the youngest child of Giuseppe Filius Andreae and dying in 1744.

E. Returning to Guglielmo Quarenghi we find (on p. 16 of his *Metodo*) a list of ‘Altri Fabriccatori di Cremona’; in this list appears ‘Giovanni Rota’ with the date ‘1705’ (it is unclear what this date signifies).

The violin maker, Giovanni Rota, was active in Cremona between approximately 1770 and 1820; it is not known if this person was related to Giovanni Ferdinand Rota (see p.37).

The unresolved issue is: were there two violin makers named Giuseppe Guarneri? – one a nephew to Andrea, the other a grandson?
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