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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL.
ROME AS A RESONANCE SPACE FOR CORELLI'S WORK

by AGNESE PAVANELLO

When Corelli went to Rome, he was an unknown violinist in a city with many renowned, well-established and successful musicians. For a young musician, newly-arrived to the city, it was not easy to make a name for himself. Why he went to the papal city is not precisely known today, but what is certain is that he would never have wanted to abandon this magnificent and unique city. Early evidence of his Roman activity in the Holy Year 1675 – when he took part in performances of vocal works as a violinist in a minor role – clearly indicates that initially Corelli was just one among many other good musicians, and that he only managed to acquire renown for himself gradually.¹

How could it happen that, from the 1680s, he became the most prominent violinist and composer of instrumental music in the city? Today, we cannot determine whether his rise to one of Rome's first-rate musicians was due to his instrumental skills, his performances, or his composition style. However, we can easily imagine that it was his entire musical and human personality that enabled him to achieve his exceptional status. A reflection on the features which distinguished Corelli's music, in terms of content and quality, from that of his contemporaries (as well as on his place in the history of composing and in the wider perspective of music history) is directly connected with the question regarding how Corelli became an exemplary model and how his music attained a canonical status.

¹ The documents concerning Corelli's activity in Rome were published by Alberto Cametti, „Arcangelo Corelli à Saint-Louis des Français à Rome“, *Revue musicale* 3 (1922), 25–28; Raffaele Casimiri, „Oratorii del Masini, Bernabei, Melani, Di Pio, Pasquini e Stradella, in Roma, nell'Anno Santo 1675“, *Note d'Archivio* 13 (1936), 157–169; and by Andreas Liess, „Neue Zeugnisse von Corellis Wirken in Rom“, *AfMw* 29 (1957), 130–137; *ibid.*, „Materialien zur römischen Musikgeschichte des Seicento. Musikerlisten des Oratorio San Marcello 1664–1725“, *AMI* 29 (1957), 137–171. For a biography of Corelli and other biographical references, see Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli. New Orpheus of Our Times*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; on the early Roman years especially 27–29. About Corelli's arrival in Rome and his first contacts there, see the new paper by Alberto Sanna, „Arcangelo Corelli and Friends. Kinships and Networks in the Papal State“, *EM* 41 (2013), 645–655. Giulia Giovani has recently found a letter dated July 7th, 1674 by Iseppo Zolio from Venice, addressed to Polo Michiel, agent in Rome of the Grimani family, in which Corelli is mentioned in connection with some unspecified „vertuosi“. This letter shows that Corelli was in touch then with the Grimani, bringing new clues (still to be investigated) on his activity in the earlier Roman years. See Giulia Giovani, „A Venetian Agent in Rome on Behalf of Grimani. Polo Michiel and the Journey of 1674/75“, unpublished paper, Salzburg, 16th International Conference on Baroque Music 2014.

Corelli's contemporaries regarded his music as having a peculiar quality; the dissemination of his compositions in print contributed to its canonicity. The modes and channels of transmission of his compositions fundamentally distinguishes Corelli's work from those of other successful and esteemed composers already firmly established in Rome, whom he might have taken as his models. Before Corelli was epitomised as the „Orfeo dei nostri giorni“,² Lelio Colista held a similar title as Roman „Orphaeus“.³ This reputable player of the archlute acquired early notoriety as a virtuoso and composer, and ended his life as a wealthy and respected man. However, his sonatas were never printed. How it is that they did not make it to the press, given that his contemporaries appreciated the quality of his music alongside the instrumental works of such composers as Alessandro Stradella and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati?⁴

That Corelli's carefully planned publication policy played a crucial role in increasing his success is nowadays an accepted fact. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile reflecting on this again with a view to better appreciating his music-historical position in the Roman context, while also considering the complex reception of his music. From a historical perspective, it is debatable whether quality in music and performance alone suffices to attain the position Corelli has achieved in music history. Thus, canon formation, to be analysed under different historical premises and viewpoints, has become a key issue of musicological discourse, having been treated in different contributions, with increasing awareness, and through a variety of approaches.⁵

² Angelo Berardi, *Miscellanea musicale*, 1689, 45 (repr. Bologna: Forni 1970).

³ Athanasius Kircher mentioned Lelio Colista as „Vere Romanae Urbis Orphaeus“. See Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Rome, 1650 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1970), I, 480. On Lelio Colista, see the revised biography by Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista. Un maestro romano prima di Corelli, con Catalogo tematico delle Sonate a tre*, ed. by Antonella D'Ovidio, Roma: IBIMUS (Studi, cataloghi e sussidi dell'Istituto di bibliografia musicale 9), 2002 (original edition: *Lelio Colista. Ein römischer Meister vor Arcangelo Corelli*, Graz: Böhlau, 1961).

⁴ Lonati's trio and violin sonatas have only survived in manuscript sources. Likewise, Alessandro Stradella's instrumental music has remained entirely in manuscript, with the exception of two sonatas „a tre“ included in two different Bolognese printed anthologies – (see RISM B/1 1680/07 and 1700/07). Just one of Colista's sonatas was included in a Bolognese print collection – without attribution but the provenience: „N.N. Romano“ – (see RISM B/1, 1697–08). While Stradella's instrumental music has been published in a critical edition (*Musica strumentale*, ed. by Eleanor F. McCrikard, Pisa: ETS, 2007), Lonati's and Colista's sonatas are only partially available in modern editions. A critical edition of Lonati and Colista's *sonate a tre* was made by Antonella D'Ovidio in her dissertation: *Alle soglie dello strumentalismo corelliano. Colista, Lonati, Stradella. Studio storicoanalitico ed edizione critica delle Sonate a tre*, 2004 (Tesi di dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Pavia), 2 vols.

⁵ On canon formation, see the recent contributions included in Klaus Pietschmann and Melanie Wald-Fuhrmann (eds), *Der Kanon der Musik. Theorie und Geschichte. Ein Handbuch*, München: Edition text+kritik, 2013, with further references.

Earlier scholarship on Corelli has repeatedly emphasised his status as a classic on the one hand – acquired thanks to his instrumental collections – and his merit of having brought instrumental genres to the climax of perfection on the other, ‚crystallising‘ them in an exemplary manner.⁶ The way in which Corelli’s classicism expresses itself has been brought to the fore in numerous studies, especially in the volumes of *Studi Corelliani*, in which various approaches have been adopted to illustrate the composer’s music analytically and semantically.⁷ In his essay titled „Corelli als Klassiker der Triosonata“ published in 1978, Ludwig Finscher stressed – not as something entirely new, but perhaps for the first time in all its clarity – that Corelli „selbst in seinen Werken Mustergültigkeit, Klassizität bewusst angestrebt habe“ [„deliberately sought perfection and classicism in his works“].⁸

In connection with Finscher’s observation, and with Franco Piperno’s later discussion of the Corellian ‚myth‘,⁹ I would like to point out in this paper that Corelli consciously managed his own career and success, and that the canonic status he acquired should not be regarded as a consequence, but rather as an apparent goal of his compositional work. This also means that he was able to take advantage of the specific circumstances in which he found himself in Rome (both at the socio-cultural as well as at the artistic and musical level) to establish his international reputation. Corelli’s consistency in the publication of his works has already been stressed, as has his continuous efforts to improve his compositions. However, some facts deserve renewed attention.

With the publication of his op. 1 (1681), Corelli resolutely established new standards for compositional and presentation design in Rome, and also inaugurated a new era for the dissemination and accessibility of instrumental music in the papal city. His collection is the very first in a series of Trio Sonata Prints (see Table 1), which appeared from the 1680s in Rome, at a time when the instrumental music of the previous generation of musicians (Lelio Colista, Alessandro Stradella, Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, mentioned above, et

⁶ Corelli’s merits are commonly highlighted in music-historical surveys of the Baroque period or devoted to instrumental genres, as well as in monographs on the musician such as that of Pincherle or Rinaldi. See Marc Pincherle, *Corelli et son temps*, Paris: Ed. Le Bon Plaisir, cop. 1954; Mario Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli*, Milano: Curci, 1953.

⁷ See *Studi corelliani I*; *Studi corelliani II* (this volume contains Ludwig Finscher’s paper mentioned below); *Studi corelliani III*; *Studi corelliani IV*; *Studi corelliani V* (in this volume see also the papers by Emilio Garoni, Mario Baroni, Franco Piperno, William Drabkin). Concerning the classical status of Corelli cf. in the last volume of Corellian studies, the critical observations by Franco Piperno, „Da Orfeo ad Anfione. Mitizzazioni corelliane e il primato di Roma. Ripensando la classicità di Corelli“, *Studi corelliani VI*, 3–20. In this volume, with reference to the quality of Corelli’s sonatas, see also Peter Allsop, „Nor Great Fancy or Rich Invention – On Corelli’s Originality“, 23–34.

⁸ Ludwig Finscher, „Corelli als Klassiker der Triosonata“, *Studi corelliani II*, 23–29, 23.

⁹ Piperno, „Da Orfeo ad Anfione“ (see n. 7), 3–20, 3–6, 18–20.

al.) circulated in manuscript.¹⁰ The collection appeared in 1681 as the first instrumental print of its kind by Giovanni Angelo Mutij, who had previously published only didactic and religious works, and no instrumental music. Op. 1 was published under the patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden who, after converting to Catholicism and abdicating, resided in Rome from the end of 1655. Corelli dedicated his first collection to his patron, in whose household he was employed as a chamber musician from 1679 (or possibly a little earlier). It is only after Corelli's first publication that we have sufficient documentation of his activities in Rome, and of his participation at musical performances.

Table 1: Prints mit *Sonate a tre* published in Rom until 1700 after Corelli's op. 1 (without Corelli's collections)

Year	Composer	Opus	Publisher
1682	Carlo Mannelli	<i>Sonate a tre, dui violini. Leuto e Basso per l'Organo, op. 2</i>	Mutij
1685	Giovanni Pietro Franchi	<i>La Cetra Sonora. Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone, ò Arciliuto, col Basso per l'Organo, op. 1</i>	Mutij
1691	Luigi Baldassini	<i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone, ò arcileuto col basso per l'organo, op. 1</i>	Komarek
1692	Carlo Mannelli	<i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, leuto o violone, con il basso per l'organo, op. 3</i>	Mascardi
1695	John Ravenscroft	<i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone, o arcileuto, col basso per l'organo, op. 1</i>	Mascardi

¹⁰ There are a few exceptions, namely the collections *Sonate di violino a voce sola. Libro primo opera terza*, by Giovanni Antonio Leoni (Roma, Mascardi, 1652) and *Sonate cioè Balletti, Sarabande, Correnti, Passacagli, Capriccetti e una Trombetta a uno e dui Violini con la terza parte della viola a beneplacito* by Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli (Roma: Amedeo Belmonte, 1669); moreover the reprint of a Venetian collection *Sinfonie, Arie, Capricci, Alemande, Corrente, Gighe, Introduttioni, Sarabande etc. per violino solo ... Opera quarta* by Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani (Roma, Giuseppe Vannacci 1678). These prints represent all the violin music published in Rome before Corelli in the second half of the 17th century. On the collections of *Sonate a tre* published after Corelli's op. 1 (cf. Table 1), see Angela Lepore, „Le primizie dell'ingegno. Sonate a tre a Roma al tempo di Corelli“, *Studi corelliani V*, 329–343. Concerning the printing policy in Italy in general at that time, cf. the observations by Paolo Fabbri, „Politica editoriale e musica strumentale in Italia dal Cinque al Settecento“, *Recercare* 3 (1991), 203–216. On some Roman printers and their technical means, see Patrizio Barbieri, „Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma. Tecnologie di stampa e integrazioni bibliografiche“, *Recercare* 7 (1995), 47–85, 69–83. For an overview of the musical print production in Rome in the first half of the 17th century, see Saverio Franchi, (in collaboration with Orietta Sartori), *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Roma: IBIMUS, 2006–2012.

Year	Composer	Opus	Publisher
1696	Pietro Migali	<i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, leuto o violone, con il basso per l'organo, op. 1</i>	Mascardi
1699	Luigi Baldassini	<i>Sonate à tre, due violini, e violone, col basso per l'organo, op. 2</i>	Komarek

There are clear indications that Christina played an important role in Corelli's first Roman years. Op. 1 is the first and last collection she sponsored. According to Franco Piperno, this work was a conscious artistic and editorial project in which Christina and her academic entourage were involved.¹¹ Christina aspired to reform the literary taste and to promote new poetics in the field of poetry, which distanced itself from Marinism and its related poetic approach. Corelli's careful compositional style stood as the musical counterpart to this aesthetic.¹² We lack documents that may ascertain precisely how Christina promoted the project. However, the Queen's contribution to the establishment of a new „status“ for instrumental music can be inferred from the statutes of her new „Accademia Reale [Royal Academy]“ (1674), in which musical productions were recorded as part of academic meetings, and were constantly scheduled for the opening of poetic performances.¹³ From documents discovered by Carolyn

¹¹ Franco Piperno, „Cristina di Svezia e gli esordi di Arcangelo Corelli. Attorno all'op. I (1681)“, in: *Cristina di Svezia e la musica. Atti del convegno: Roma, 5–6 dicembre 1996*, Roma: Accademia dei Lincei, 1998 (Atti dei convegni Lincei, 138), 99–132.

¹² In the statutes of the Accademia poetic style is mentioned: „in quest'Accademia si studj la purità, la gravità e la maestà della lingua toscana [...] sia dia il bando allo stil moderno, turgido ed ampolloso, ai traslati, metafore, figure &c. dalle quali bisogna astenersi per quanto sarà possibile, o almeno adoprarle con grande discrezione e giudizio“ [„In this Academy we should study the purity, gravity and majesty of the Tuscan language [...] we should abandon the modern, turgid and bombastic style, the shifted, metaphors, figures, & c. from which one must refrain as much as possible, or which should be used, at most, with great discretion and judgment“]. See Piperno, „Cristina di Svezia“ (see n. 11), 105–106. Piperno reminds that Corelli expressed in a letter to Matteo Zani of the 17th October 1685 the idea that „la bellezza dell'armonia“ [the beauty of harmony] depends from the „ragione regolatrice“ [the rule of reason] in line with the aesthetic and philosophical thought of Christina, disciple of Cartesius (original letter in Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (see n. 6), 429–430. On the connection between the aesthetic ideas by members of the Roman Arcadia (following the path of the former Accademia Reale), such as Gianvincenzo Gravina, and Corelli's musical poetics, see Stefano La Via, „Dalla ‚ragion poetica‘ di Gianvincenzo Gravina ai ‚bei concetti musicali‘ di Arcangelo Corelli“, *Studi corelliani VI*, 39–72.

¹³ Piperno, „Cristina di Svezia“ (see n. 11), 105 (with further references to Christina's academies). On the wider cultural and political meaning of Christina's Accademia Reale, see Maria Pia Donato, „Idiomi di straniera a Roma. Cristina di Svezia-Minerva e la sua accademia“, in: *I linguaggi del potere in età barocca*, ed. by Francesca Cantù, Roma: Viella 2009, 229–256.

Gianturco, we know that Christina was closely involved in designing Alessandro Stradella's serenata *Il Damone*, and that she succeeded in having all her wishes and changes implemented.¹⁴ Therefore, it is realistic to assume that she also intervened on other occasions to mould and shape the concrete realisation of musical performances; consequently, it cannot be excluded that her preferences also influenced Corelli himself.

Alessandro Stradella, Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Lelio Colista, whose instrumental works are comparable to the genres practiced by Corelli, worked in Christina's immediate entourage. The extent to which Corelli may have received compositional impulses from his predecessors can only be inferred from the music still available today.¹⁵ The compositional output of these older colleagues, however, must have had an impact on the young Corelli as an example to be followed, or at least as an existing musical source to which he was exposed.¹⁶ It is worth emphasising that the manuscript transmission of some earlier Corelli pieces, which were not incorporated into the sonata collections, is associated especially with Lelio Colista's (and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati's) music.¹⁷ A direct link between these composers thus becomes appar-

¹⁴ Carolyn Gianturco, „Cristina di Svezia, scenarista per Alessandro Stradella“, in: *Cristina di Svezia e la musica* (see n. 11), 45–69. On Christina's musical patronage, see Arnaldo Morelli, „Il mecenatismo musicale di Cristina di Svezia. Una riconsiderazione“, in: *ibidem*, 321–346; *idem*, „Mecenatismo musicale nella Roma barocca. Il caso di Cristina di Svezia“, in: Arnaldo Morelli (ed.), *Storia e musica. Fonti, consumi e committenze*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997 (Quaderni storici. Nuova serie 95), 387–408. Katrin Losleben, *Musik – Macht – Patronage. Kulturförderung als politisches Handeln im Rom der Frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel der Christina von Schweden (1626–1689)*, Köln: Verlag Dohr, 2012, 75–96.

¹⁵ Due to the handwritten and personal transmission we need to consider that a lot of music by these composers, especially by Colista, is probably lost.

¹⁶ On these composers, see Peter Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata from its Origins until Corelli*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992 (Oxford Monographs on Music), 192–210; *idem*, „Le Simfonie a 3 di Carlo Ambrogio Lonati“, in: Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan (eds), *Seicento inesperto. L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile. Un modello di interdipendenza. Atti del III convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana del secolo XVII*, Como, AMIS, 1993 (Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'AMIS-Como 7), 19–43; *idem*, „Il gobbo della regina ‚Primo lume dei violinisti‘. Lonati's sonatas of 1701“, in: Enrico Careri et al. (eds), *Italienische Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts. Alte und neue Protagonisten*, Laaber: Laaber, 2002, 71–93; Antonella D'Ovidio, „Colista, Lonati, Stradella. Modelli compositivi della sonata a tre a Roma prima di Corelli“, *Studi corelliani VI*, 271–303. On the violin repertory before Corelli in general, see also Eleanor McCrickard, „The Roman Repertory for Violin before the Time of Corelli“, *EM 18* (1990), 563–573. Eleanor F. McCrickard, „Dance and Stradella's Trio Sonatas. Implications for Corelli's Opp. I and III“, in: *ibidem*, 305–326.

¹⁷ With reference to this point, see my paper „Corelli ‚inedito‘. Composizioni dubbie o senza numero d'opera. Percorsi tra fonti, attribuzioni e fortuna della trasmissione“, *Studi Corelliani VII*, 393–422. Concerning the English transmission of Colista, see D'Ovidio, *Alle soglie dello strumentalismo corelliano* (see n. 4), 186–237, *passim*; *idem*, *Catalogo tematico* (see n. 3), 125–145, *passim*. Some works transmitted in English sources under Colista's name are, however, compositions by Lonati. See Peter Allsop, „Problems of Ascription in the Roman Sinfonia of the Late Seventeenth Century. Colista and Lonati“, *The Music Review* 50 (1989), 44–54.

ent, along with Alessandro Stradella, whose music Corelli knew and played.¹⁸

As Stradella and Lonati left Rome in February 1677, two important figures of the instrumental scene who had worked for Christina were suddenly missing. Perhaps Corelli took over the position of Lonati – known as the „Gobbo della regina“ [„Queen’s hunchback“] – at Christina’s Court. Not long after, with the death of Colista on the 13th October 1680, all three prestigious and successful colleagues were unexpectedly out of the way: these circumstances may have significantly furthered Corelli’s career. From this view, it may not be a coincidence that op. 1 did not appear in print until after Colista’s death. The publication of op. 1 certainly marked a turning point in Corelli’s career, because from that moment onwards he became increasingly dominant in the public and musical scenes of Rome. That this success was brought about solely by a printed collection is unlikely, but one can glean something important out of this striking, nearly spectacular novelty as it was for Rome at the time.

In publishing his first twelve sonatas Corelli followed criteria of presentation that occurred in the prints of the Bolognese composers. By assigning each sonata to a different tone – a traditional criterion in itself – Corelli adopted ‚Bolognese‘ standards of printing, in an environment where publishing instrumental music had apparently not been seen as an important goal in the career of composers.¹⁹ (We should not forget, however, that printing was extremely expensive and not everyone could afford it.) Therefore, the idea that the input to publish Corelli’s first trio sonatas originated from the composer himself, and not from Christina as Piperno suggested,²⁰ is more plausible and convincing, especially when considering Corelli’s familiarity with the practice and advantages of printed editions from his earlier Bolognese environment. On the other hand, Christina’s role would only have been that of a patron who could offer financial support.

Op. 1 was Corelli’s decisive step in his recognition as a composer, contributing to his appreciation as a serious and learned „contrappuntista“, rather than just an instrument virtuoso. This can also be inferred from later docu-

¹⁸ Corelli’s early works, catalogued by Marx as WoO 5 and WoO 6, as well as Anh. 19, are transmitted in two Roman sources – I-Tn, Giordano-Foà 15 (with 14 compositions by Colista, 9 by Lonati and one by Stradella) and Giordano 16 (with music by several Roman composers); in I-Tn, Foà 11, a manuscript entirely devoted to Stradella’s instrumental music, Corelli’s sonata Anh. 33 is added at the end, together with a sonata by Carlo Manelli. For the detailed commentary of these manuscripts, see Isabella Fragalà Data and Annarita Colturato (eds), *Raccolta Mauro Foà, raccolta Renzo Giordano*, Roma: Edizioni Torre d’Orfeo, 1987 (Biblioteca nazionale universitaria di Torino 1, Cataloghi di fondi musicali italiani 7), 61–65, 290–295. For the ascription of the mentioned Anh. 33 and 19 see my paper, „Corelli ‚inedito‘“ (see n. 17).

¹⁹ Composers such as Giulio Arresi, Maurizio Cazzati, Giovanni Maria Bononcini, Giovanni Battista Vitali published their works in Bologna according to various criteria, paying attention to the overall design of the collections. An ordered disposition of tones or ‚tonalities‘ characterised, for instance, Giulio Ceasare Arresi’s op. 4 (*Sonate a2, & a3*, 1665) or Giovanni Maria Bononcini’s op. 6 (*Sonate da chiesa*, 1672). Cf. Allsop, *The Italian ‚Trio‘ Sonata* (see n. 16), 160–161, 177–178, passim. On Corelli’s tonal organisation, see Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli* (see n. 1), 99–105.

²⁰ Piperno, „Cristina di Svezia“ (see n. 11), 100.

ments, such as a letter by Antimo Liberati to Giovanni Paolo Colonna, which discusses the problem of fifths in op. 2. In this missive, the Roman master, composer and theorist reports on Corelli's extensive training with several composers in Rome.²¹ Yet explicit references to the „punture dei *Momi*“ [„bites of *Momi*“] and the „critiche degli *Aristarchi*“ [„criticism of the *Aristarchi*“] in the printed dedication to Christina also suggest that Corelli had to struggle to establish his position in Rome. After the publication of op. 1, Corelli was appointed „Guardiano degli strumentisti“ in the Accademia di Santa Cecilia;²² moreover, in 1682 he replaced Carlo Mannelli as first violin for the feast of Saint Louis in the eponymous Roman church (San Luigi dei Francesi), leaving the position of second violin vacant.²³ In the same year Carlo Mannelli – who was an esteemed violinist, singer and composer, and a relative of Lelio Colista – released his first instrumental collection with Mutij: this might be interpreted as a direct response to Corelli's initiative. After Corelli took up the position of first violinist in San Luigi, Mannelli never again played as a violinist, and only remained at the church as a singer. Although there is little substantive proof of rivalry between the two musicians, we can imagine that Corelli's rise to fame may not have always been smooth.²⁴

²¹ From the letter by Antimo Liberati to Giovanni Paolo Colonna, 1st October 1685: „Questo gran virtuoso è figlio della scuola di Roma, in cui non si è contentato di sentire un sol maestro; ma havendo esplorato et i Socrati, et i Platoni, e gl'Aristotili della Musica, ha egli poi col suo mirabile ingegno fatto da ape nello scieglersi, ed imbeverarsi de più saporiti e preziosi documenti di essi, con i quali si ha eletto, e fatto uno stile al maggior segno dilettevole, ed impareggiabile“ [„This great virtuoso is a son of the Roman School, at which place he was not satisfied just to hear one teacher; but, having explored the Socratics and Platonists and Aristotelians of music, he, with his marvelous talent, imitated the bee in sampling and imbibing their most flavorful and precious documents, with which he has selected and fashioned for himself a style that was delightful to the highest degree, and unmatched ...“]. Published in Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (see n. 6), 437–441, 437. See also Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli* (see n. 1), 36.

²² Remo Giazotto, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, Roma: Accademia nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 1970, vol. I, 260–262.

²³ Alberto Cametti, „Arcangelo Corelli à Saint-Louis-des-Français“ (see n. 1), 25–28; Jean Lionnet, *La musique à Saint-Louis des Français de Rome au XVII^e siècle*, Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 1985–1986, 147.

²⁴ On Carlo Mannelli's career in Rome see Antonella D'Ovidio, „Sonate a tre d'altri stili. Carlo Mannelli violinista nella Roma di fine Seicento“, *Recercare* 19 (2007), 147–203. On the engagement of Mannelli for the Accademia of Santa Cecilia, see Giazotto, *Quattro secoli* (see n. 22), vol. I, 213–228.

Op. 1 was reprinted by Giacomo Monti in Bologna in 1682. Several other editions followed in Modena, Venice, again in Bologna, and in Rome. Editions quickly appeared in other countries.²⁵ Corelli's trio sonatas soon crossed the borders of Rome: the impressive rapidity with which his collection spread has been seen as a sign of the success and of the quality of his music, and an indicator of his reputation outside of Rome. It can be taken as proof of its extraordinary position in the instrumental music of the time. This widely accepted fact is not to be questioned here; however, there is good reason to believe that a more careful strategy hides behind Corelli's success in Rome.

Our limited knowledge about the activities of Italian music printers during Corelli's time leaves open many questions regarding the realisation of printed collections.²⁶ So far, it has been implicitly assumed that the later prints of Corelli's music were made on the initiative of the printer, and that they were essentially unauthorised prints in the sense that Corelli did not supervise them – a view which has had an impact on the critical edition of Corelli's works. The first Bolognese edition by Monti, however, raises the question of who took up the initiative. It is difficult to believe that the idea came exclusively from the printer, especially if we consider that in Bologna only music from locally active composers was printed, whereas neither Colista, Stradella, Lonati, Mannelli, Pasquini, nor Scarlatti (all 'Romans') ever went to press. Since many excellent violin-virtuosi and composers were active in Rome, and more than enough music was produced which would have been suitable for printed circulation – yet was never circulated in printed form – it is very likely that Corelli himself made sure that his collections found dissemination outside Rome, in Bologna in particular, where he certainly still had some close friends.²⁷

²⁵ The first Italian editions outside of Rome were in Bologna by Giacomo Monti in 1682 and 1684; in Venice by Giuseppe Sala in 1684; in Modena by Antonio Vitaliani in 1685. Outside of Italy the first was published by Aertssens in Antwerp in 1688. See Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis. Catalogue raisonné*, Köln: Arno Volk, 1980, 83–99. The first scholar who systematically collected data on Corelli's editions was Claudio Sartori, *Le quaranta quattro edizioni italiane delle sei opere di Corelli*, Milano: Fratelli, Bocca Editori, 1953; idem, „Sono 52 (fino ad ora) le edizioni italiane delle opere di C. e 135 gli esemplari noti 1956“, *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 2 (1956), 379–389.

²⁶ On this topic new information will be provided in the forthcoming book by Constanze Frei, *La typographie musicale à Bologne au XVIIe siècle*. A documented study about the Bolognese printers Monti and Silvani is the extensive archival research by Sandro Pasqual, „Il marchio Monti-Silvani“, unpublished paper.

²⁷ For instance, a striking witness of Corelli's musical relationships in Bologna is represented by the sketch drawn in a copy of the op. 3 by Giovanni Maria Bononcini (*Vari fiori del giardino musicale*, 1669, I-Bc, XIII/1-5) in which he is seen together with the singer Pistocchi and Giovanni Maria Bononcini. A reproduction was given by Michael Talbot, „Pistocchi sketches Corelli (and Others)“, *Studi corelliani* V, 441–443, 442; now also available online on the library website of I-Bc: http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbc.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_X/X111/.

A clue is provided by the fact that the first Bolognese print of Monti does not depend directly on the Roman edition (which means that the Roman Mutij print did not serve as a direct model).²⁸ Therefore, Corelli's sonatas must have reached Bologna in manuscript, and must have been delivered in a form or presentation suitable to function as a master copy for printing. How this happened, via whom, or at whose request, we do not know: without specific documents we can only speculate. The most logical answer is, however, that Corelli himself took up the initiative. There is no reason to exclude his direct involvement, given that he was the one who was most interested in the dissemination of his works.²⁹

While great deal of uncertainty surrounds the first two collections, a clearer picture emerges for op. 3. In 1685, the collection was almost simultaneously published in Rome, Bologna and Modena as separate editions. The publication in Modena and Bologna was evidently the result of a concerted action, as suggested by the dedication to Francesco II d'Este on the 20th September, which appears in both prints.³⁰ Corelli dedicated his third collection to the Duke of Modena, probably as a tribute to the great lover of music who had offered him a position at his court (which he declined). Although several reasons for this dedication can be assumed (concerning Corelli personally, but also his employer Benedetto Pamphili), it is also thanks to this that the collection immediately found an official way out of Rome. That the editions of Bologna and Modena were planned at the same time is confirmed by small details that distinguish the two prints, and prove their mutual independence.³¹

²⁸ Concerning this point, beside the critical notes of Corelli's Gesamtausgabe, cf. the observations of Frei on the source of the Monti print, which does not match the Mutij edition: Constanze Frei, „I topografi romani e bolognesi di Corelli: stampa e ristampa“, *Studi corelliani VII*, 371–391.

²⁹ Analysing the print, Frei also suggests that Corelli was possibly directly involved in the preparation of the Monti Edition, but she leaves the hypothesis open that Monti would indeed have taken the initiative of printing the collection. See Frei, „I topografi romani e bolognesi“ (see n. 28), 384.

³⁰ Marx, *Die Überlieferung* (see n. 25), 128–129; the prints are available online, starting from the Gaspari catalogue of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna (*olim* Civico Museo Bibliografico).

³¹ The numeric shows, for instance, some differences in the Presto of the sonata 11, mm. 26–29. (Only the bass part of the Soliani print seems to have survived today, so a complete comparison is not possible). Frei observes that the layout of the Monti print is different from that of the Roman edition; consequently, a use of the Komarek print as a model is not a convincing option. She does not consider, however, which consequences could be implied by providing a different source in relation to the question of who took the initiative for printing outside Rome. See Frei, „I topografi romani e bolognesi“ (see n. 28), 385–386.

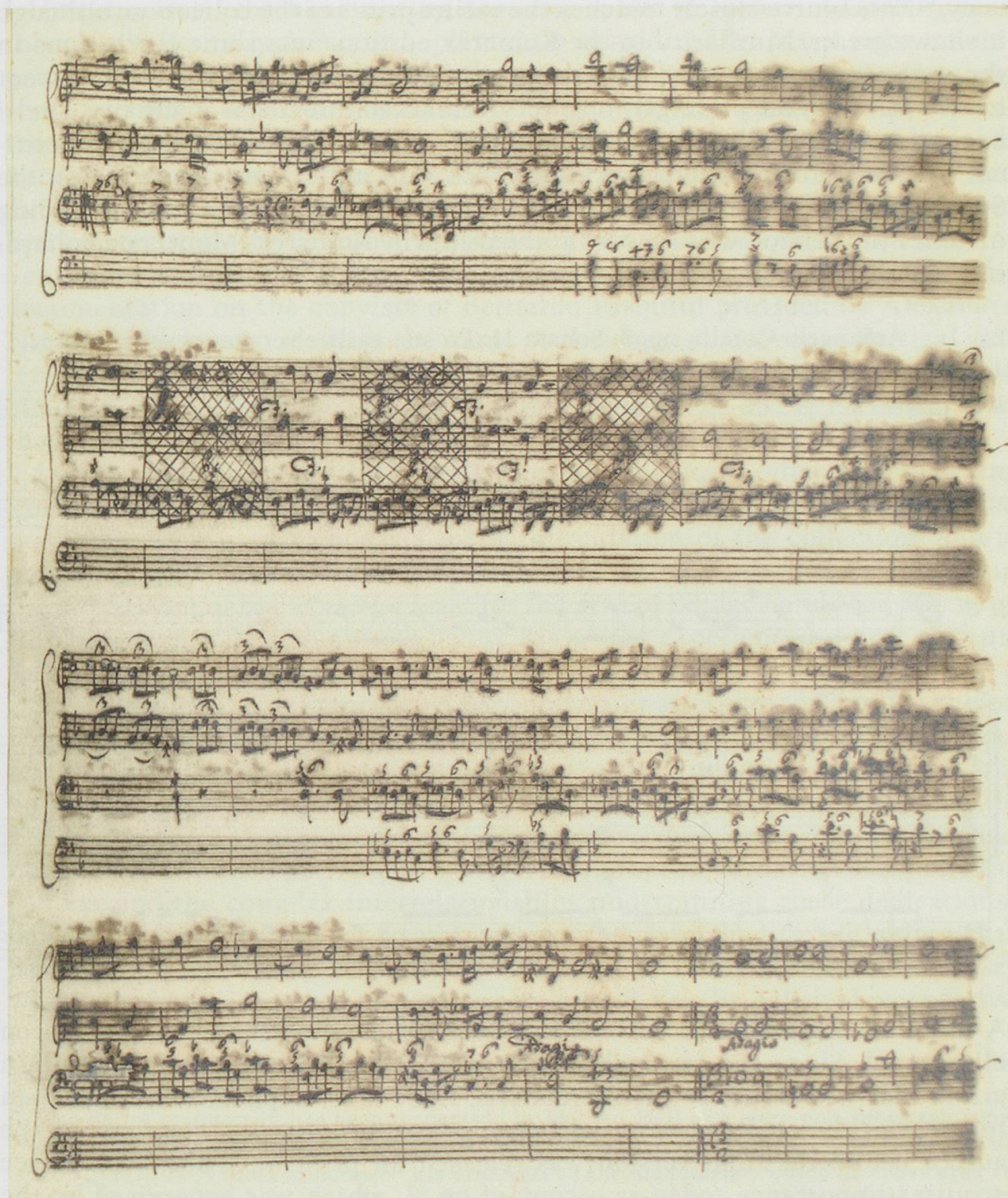


Fig. 1: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 3, Sonata 11: Presto, from m. 14 (Ms I-FOc, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sala O, I/9; reproduction with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Comunale Forlì).

A known source of op. 3 now comes into question as a possible master copy for one of these editions. The manuscript – preserved in the Fondo Piancastelli in Forlì (ms. I/9), and until many years ago believed to be a Corelli autograph – is in a large format and contains the complete score of op. 3 in a clean

copy.³² This source closely matches the earlier prints of the collection, although it shows greater similarity to the Komarek edition.³³ As some corrections in the score make clear, the manuscript was copied before the collection went to the printers. Surprisingly, one very remarkable revision made by Corelli has not been signalled anywhere in Corelli scholarship, neither in the critical editions, nor in essays that have taken this source into account.³⁴ In the Sonata 11 a few bars have been removed (see Fig. 1). The resulting reading matches the version we know from the prints by Komarek, Monti and Soliani; in the earlier version the passage was written differently, as follows:

Ex. 1: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 3, Sonata 11: Presto; earlier version of mm. 21–26.

A number of repetitions with divergences in dynamic markings have been eliminated. Since the original version of this manuscript does not contain errors that would justify the corrections, there is no explanation, other than to consider the corrections as deliberate changes, or as variants made by the author before the final version was released for printing. Thus, this source acquires importance today as a copy of op. 3, which was supervised by the composer and written down with a view to publication.

³² The manuscript was sold to Carlo Piancastelli in 1915 as an autograph by Corelli. See Marx, *Die Überlieferung* (see n. 25), 17, 23–25.

³³ The sonatas have been transmitted in these first editions consistently; the prints just differ only in minimal details.

³⁴ Carlo Vitali, „L’Opera III di Corelli nella diffusione manoscritta; apografi sincroni e tardi nelle biblioteche dell’Emilia-Romagna“, *Studi corelliani III*, 367–380, 369–372.

Unfortunately, the handwriting does not speak in favour of Corelli, even though the Berlin manuscript – previously considered by Marx to be a holograph – does not either.³⁵ However, the copyist of the Forlì score was certainly someone from Corelli's immediate entourage, who was working in close contact with him and belonged to the circle of Pamphili's court. In fact, the same handwriting occurs in other Roman manuscripts copied for the Pamphili and for other aristocratic families. In particular, the same hand seems to have been responsible for Corelli's instrumental introduction to the Oratory of *Santa Beatrice d'Este* by Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier.³⁶ A comparison with the documentation on the copyists of Bernardo Pasquini provided by Alexandra Nigito enables us to identify the name of the copyist: Giovanni Pertica, violetta player in Corelli's orchestras, as well as cornetto in the wind ensemble of Castel Sant'Angelo. Pertica also regularly worked as a copyist in Rome at that time.³⁷

As a source supervised by Corelli himself, this score offers an important link between Corelli's autograph and its printed transmission. This source may have been used to boost a further circulation of the collection, and it provides important evidence that Corelli was actively involved in improving the circulation of his works (at least for the area of Bologna and Modena, with which he was well acquainted) before his works experienced a new shift in dissemination and reception.

Op. 3's dedication to Francesco d'Este draws our attention to Corelli's choice of dedicatee of all of his six collections. While we can read the dedication letters to Christina, Benedetto Pamphili and Pietro Ottoboni in op. 1, op. 2 and op. 4 respectively as a natural and self-explanatory tribute addressed to his patrons, the last two acquire a new, overarching dimension because they do not address a Roman patron, but a powerful European authority. The political context and the complex interrelationships underpinning these dedications, which were probably encouraged by Pietro Ottoboni in line with the papal policy on the conversion of German princes, have already been discussed elsewhere, so there is no need to repeat them here.³⁸ Yet the political perspective

³⁵ The Berlin manuscript has been recognised by Helmut Hell as a later, non-autograph copy. See Helmut Hell, „Es existiert kein Musikautograph von Arcangelo Corelli“, *AfMw* 66 (2009), 261–271. In 1969 Marx announced his discovery of the manuscript, which he considered an autograph. See Hans Joachim Marx, „Ein neu aufgefundenes Autograph Arcangelo Corellis“, *AMl* 5 (1969), 116–118; See Marx, *Die Überlieferung* (see n. 25), 16–23.

³⁶ See Vitali, „L'Opera III di Corelli“ (see n. 34), 370. I would like to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Antonella Imolesi of the Biblioteca Comunale Forlì for her help in obtaining the reproduction of this source at a time when the library was closed for renovation.

³⁷ See examples of his hand in Alexandra Nigito, *La musica alla corte del Principe Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1648–1709)*, Kassel: Merseburger, 2012, 56; or in Bernardo Pasquini, *Le cantate*, ed. by Alexandra Nigito, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012, liii.

³⁸ On the meaning of the dedication to op. 5 and op. 6, see in particular Dominik Sackmann, *Bach und Corelli. Studien zu Bachs Rezeption von Corellis Violinsonaten op. 5 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der „Passaggio-Organchoräle“ und der langsamen Konzertsätze*, München: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 2000 (Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften 36), 15–24.

on Corelli's activity has also been brought to the fore in more recent studies, again in relation to Pietro Ottoboni's policy and diplomatic action in the Roman papal context, as well as on a wider international scale.³⁹

From the mid-1680s in Rome, the name of Corelli has always been connected with events of great political significance. One of these is the famous Accademia for James II of England, organised by Christina with extraordinary and spectacular means in 1687.⁴⁰ The official occasion was the celebration of James' coronation, although this had already taken place in 1685. The real purpose of the event was to endorse the Catholic King, who was facing strong opposition in England. The measures taken against the Protestants caused the reaction of the Anglican Church and the Parliament, and in 1688 James was forced to flee from England to France, where he was received and hosted by the French king. As the conductor of „150 Istromenti“ in the Accademia, Corelli was entrusted with producing a glamorous event adequate for the occasion. A platform capable of accommodating one hundred musicians was built in Christina's palace, and the Accademia was given all the magnificence and the public resonance it deserved.⁴¹ The participation of Corelli, with his enormous orchestra and extraordinary resources at hand in the performance of some oratorios, had large propagandistic significance. The most famous case is that of Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier's oratorio *Santa Beatrice d'Este*, for which Corelli wrote the introductory instrumental piece catalogued under his works as WoO 1. The oratory aimed at celebrating Catholic faith in the figure of Beatrice d'Este, also alluding to the Queen of England, Maria Beatrice, from the house of Este.⁴² Indeed, the coronation of the new Protestant king of England, William III was celebrated in those days of February 1689, while Mary and James had found refuge in France. Considering the contemporary

³⁹ On this point, see José María Domínguez, „Corelli, Politics and Music during the Visit of Philip V to Naples in 1702“, *Eighteenth Century Music* 10 (2013), 93–108.

⁴⁰ *Accademia per musica fatta nel real palazzo della maestà della regina Christina per festeggiare l'assunzione al trono di Giacomo secondo re d'Inghilterra in occasione della solenne ambasciata mandata da sua Maestà Britannica alla Santità di nostro Signore Innocenzo XI. Versi di Alessandro Guidi Accademico reale*, Roma, Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apost. 1687. Cited in *Studi corelliani I*, 33–47, 39. Cf. Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio. Secolo XVII*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988 (Sussidi eruditi 42) 582–583.

⁴¹ Fausto Torrefranca, „I 150 strumenti ad arco diretti dal Corelli“, *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 27 (1917), 501–502. The sketch of tribune is reproduced in Elena Povoledo, „Aspetti dell'allestimento scenico a Roma al tempo di Cristina di Svezia“, *Cristina di Svezia* (see n. 11), 169–215, 183–186.

⁴² *Oratorio di Santa Beatrice d'Este da cantarsi alla presenza dell'Eminentissimo signor cardinale d'Este*, Tinassi: Roma, 1689. The oratory (with text by Giulio Cesare Grazzini) was performed on the wishes of Benedetto Pamphili on the 26th March 1689. Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana* (see n. 40), 609–610; Adriano Cavicchi, „Una sinfonia inedita di Arcangelo Corelli nello stile del concerto grosso venticinque anni prima dell'opera VI“, *Accademia Musical Chigiana* 20 (1963), 43–55; Agnese Pavanello, *Il „concerto grosso“ romano. Questioni di genere e nuove prospettive storiografiche*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, 258, 261–264, 288–291. Concerning *Santa Beatrice*, see also Alexandra Nigito's contribution in this volume.

political atmosphere this performance was clearly meant to celebrate Mary and Catholicism. Therefore, it can be viewed as an act of magnificence, power and self-presentation, as well as self-positioning on the part of the Catholic Church.⁴³

The extent to which these activities affected the reception of his works is still an open question. Yet it is precisely these political and social factors that also deserve to be addressed in order to gain a deeper understanding of Corelli's growing success as a composer and the attainment of canonic status of his works.⁴⁴

Strategic decisions seem to have played an important role in Corelli's career, both in terms of how he dealt with his own music, and with the environment he decided to live in, since his activity in Rome found echoes in the wider world. Yet even clever marketing strategies – pointedly expressed – would not have been sufficient to ensure his success, had an aesthetic dimension not deeply informed his work in many ways. Even if we cannot reconstruct the effect of sound or the quality of its impact, Corelli's extant corpus of printed compositions (whose conception and internal coherence certainly contributed to an incisive and long-term successful reception) constantly offers new insights and new possibilities of interpretation.

Undoubtedly, Corelli made the most of his Roman musical environment, and assimilated the musical legacy of the best composers of instrumental music in Rome. This legacy is especially apparent through the use of Colista's and Lonati's „a tre“ formation, as well as similar grosso arrangements to those seen in Stradella, Pasquini and others. The study of musical connections, of impulses, experiences and other aspects that likely worked as models for him – aspects which in turn must have contributed to building the exemplary nature of his work – must in many respects be reconsidered.⁴⁵ However, the

⁴³ On oratorios with political meanings, see Saverio Franchi, „Il principe Livio Odescalchi e l'oratorio ‚politico‘“, in: Paola Besutti (ed.), *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII–XVIII), atti del convegno internazionale: Perugia, sagra musicale umbra, 18–20 settembre 1997*, Firenze: Olschki, 2002, 141–258; Arnaldo Morelli, „Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma“. Patronage and Secular Context of the Oratorio in Baroque Rome“, in: Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (eds), *Music observed. Studies in memory of William C. Holmes*, Harmonie Park Press: Warren/MI, 2004, 321–346, 344.

⁴⁴ In my paper „Corelli ‚inedito‘“ (see n. 17) I suggest that the narrow connections between Christina and the English Catholic court could have favoured the circulation of Corelli's music (as well as Colista's and other Roman music) in England.

⁴⁵ Even though we have several studies on musical relationships between Corelli and Roman, as well as Bolognese, composers (see, for instance, n. 16), there are a lot of issues and questions still to be addressed, especially concerning musical design and aesthetic approaches to composition.

fact that Corelli always strove for quality and an aesthetic identity is seen in his music, as well as in his own writings, and those of his contemporaries.⁴⁶

A new insight into Corelli's development as a composer is provided by works that did not find their way into his collections, but can still be regarded as authentic. These works are particularly germane with regard to the issue of canon formation.⁴⁷ Dealing with these earlier compositions, an unknown part of Corelli's work becomes apparent that stands at considerable distance from the standards epitomised in his printed collections. Although these compositions raise many questions and may come under the spotlight for the first time, working with these materials offers new possibilities to approach Corelli's work and practices, as well as to study his development as a composer. They allow us to accompany him in the long and exciting journey that enabled him to become a compositional model: the journey that transformed him from a talented violinist with an adept and virtuosic handling of his instrument – as he was when he arrived from Bologna – into an experienced composer who confidently mastered the demanding and exemplary „contrappunto a tre“.

The ideas and aesthetic perceptions of his Roman environment, the literary changes and endeavours that led to the formation of the Accademia d'Arcadia, and the rationalist approaches towards artistic expression, must have appealed to his inner creative stance in his first years. They must have stirred his eagerness to study and to learn with the most accomplished and esteemed Roman composers. He was adamant in wishing to belong to the best „Contrappuntisti di Roma“, and to leave a place for himself in posterity. This ambition was programmatically revealed by the title page of his op. 3, „Posteritati“ (see Fig. 2), as a goal he most certainly achieved.

⁴⁶ Crucial in this regard is Corelli's letter to prince Palatino del Reno, mentioning his own numerous corrections („dopo molte, e lunghe correzzioni“), or Adami da Bolsena's witness referring to the composer ‚polishing‘ of op. 6 („perfezionamento“). See Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (see n. 6), 427, 444.

⁴⁷ For instance Anh. 19 or Anh. 33, discussed with other works in Pavanello, „Corelli ‚inedito““ (see n. 17), or the violin sonatas, transmitted mostly in English sources (see my forthcoming paper „The Other Corelli. Sonatas Attributed to Corelli in English Sources“, Salzburg, University Mozarteum, 6th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, 12th July 2014). Some of these compositions were the main focus of a workshop at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, held in collaboration with Johannes Menke and Nicola Cumer.



Fig. 2: Detail of the frontispiece to Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone o arcileuto col basso per l'organo*, op. 3. Rome: Gio. Giacomo Komarek, 1689 (Mus.F.305, I-Moe; by permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo).

