

## Chapter Four

# Corelli's Orchestra



Rome in the seventeenth century resembled Paris in several respects. Like Paris, it was a capital city. The Pope ruled as temporal and absolute sovereign over the Papal States, stretching from Rome and the Campagna across the Apennines to Bologna and on to the Adriatic. In addition, Rome functioned as the capital and administrative center for the worldwide operations of the Catholic Church. Rome, like Paris, was a magnet for wealth. Money flowed into the papal coffers from taxes and duties within the Papal States and also from the sale of ecclesiastical offices and papal dispensations.<sup>1</sup> Besides the income of the Pope, money came to Rome from the religious orders, whose headquarters were located in the city, and from foreign countries that maintained embassies there. The cardinals, most of them drawn from the Italian nobility and almost all of them living in Rome, were entrusted with the upper administrative positions in the Papal Curia and played the role of courtiers at the papal court.<sup>2</sup> Local landed gentry and foreign dignitaries also swelled the ranks of the aristocracy. Rome in the seventeenth century, like Paris, had become the site of an aristocratic culture, centralized in a capital city under autocratic rule.

Differences between seventeenth-century Rome and Paris were also significant. In Paris there was essentially a single patron, the King. He or his ministers sponsored and paid for a great part of the theater, dance, painting, music, and literature in Paris. The Popes did not maintain this kind of cultural monopoly. They sponsored painting, architecture, devotional literature, and vocal music, but they avoided arts that were perceived as excessively secular, like theater, dance, and instrumental music. In addition, the succession to the papacy by election rather than by inheritance meant that several Italian families nurtured papal ambitions and maintained papal pretensions

<sup>1</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Rome au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1975), 189 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, 1992), 41–43.

during the seventeenth century. Consequently, patronage in Rome was more diffuse than in Paris. Wealthy, ambitious cardinals competed with one another to sponsor literature, architecture, art, and music. Foreign legates sought to advance the interests of their governments by cultural as well as political means.<sup>3</sup> Churches and charitable foundations, many with substantial endowments, constituted further centers of patronage for the arts.<sup>4</sup>

These differences between the character of patronage in Rome and in Paris led Roman orchestras toward organizational forms quite different from the Vingt-quatre Violons du Roy and musical results different from Lully's ballets and operas. Whereas in Paris the orchestra came into being as a "court orchestra," a part of the royal household, the Roman orchestra developed in the context of a city-wide market for instrumentalists and instrumental music. The Popes' hostility to secular entertainments meant that resources that in Paris went into opera and ballet, in Rome were funneled into cantatas, oratorios, and instrumental music.<sup>5</sup> Because of the diffuseness of patronage in Rome, instrumentalists could find work in many venues for many employers.<sup>6</sup> Roman churches often kept a pair of violinists and a bass player on the payroll to play at Mass and Vespers; for feast days and special occasions they hired additional string players. Other instrumentalists found positions in the households of cardinals, foreign dignitaries, or Roman nobility. Thus, a pool of instrumentalists formed in Rome over the course of the seventeenth century, performing in a variety of contexts for a variety of patrons.

#### ROMAN ENSEMBLES BEFORE CORELLI

Instrumental ensembles in Rome did not look much like orchestras until the last three decades of the seventeenth century. Although violin-family instruments became more common over the course of the century, they were not organized into large ensembles with several on a part but into multiple choirs with singers and instrumentalists one on a part (see Ch. 2). However, beginning around mid-century four new trends began to manifest themselves: instrumental ensembles got larger; they were dominated increasingly by violin-family instruments; instrumentalists separated themselves from singers; and multiple choirs were consolidated into unitary groupings.

The growth in size and the increasing importance of bowed strings can be traced in the ensembles for the annual Feast of St. Louis at the Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, the French church in Rome. Lists of musicians for this event are summarized in Table 4.1. In 1660 four violins and two violone players were hired for the

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 39 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Delumeau, *Rome*, 68–69.

<sup>5</sup> Popes Innocent XI (1676–89) and Innocent XII (1691–1700) repeatedly closed Roman theaters; indeed Innocent XII ordered the Tordinona destroyed in 1697.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford, 1999), 29.

TABLE 4.1. *Orchestras for the feast of St. Louis at the church of San Luigi dei Francesi, 1660–90*

Date	Keyboards	Plucked strings	Bowed strings	Winds	Source
1660	4 organs	3 lutes	4 violins 2 violoni		Lionnet, "La Musique," ii. 118–19
1665	7 organs 1 spinetta	2 lutes 2 theorbos	4 violins 1 viola da braccio 4 violoni		Ibid. 126–27
1670	3 organs	1 archlute 1 guitar	2 violins 1 violone	1 trumpet	Ibid. 134–35
1675	3 organs	1 archlute	3 violins [1 cello] 2 violoni	2 trumpets	Ibid. 139–40
1680	[3] organs		8 violins 3 violas [1 cello] 3 double basses		Ibid. 145
1685	3 organs		10 violins 2 violoni 3 double basses		Ibid. 150
1690	3 organs		10 violins 2 violoni 3 double basses		Ibid. 171

festival, along with three lutenists and four organs. In 1665, for what was apparently an especially lavish celebration, there were nine bowed-string players, balanced by four lutes and eight keyboards. In 1675 a single archlute was the only plucked instrument in the ensemble, and two trumpets had been added. By 1680 the number of bowed strings at the festival had reached 15; there were still four organists but no plucked strings at all.<sup>7</sup>

The lists from S. Luigi also demonstrate the separation of instrumentalists from singers and the decline of polychoral organization. Documents 4.1 and 4.2 are transcriptions of the lists from 1660 and 1680.<sup>8</sup> In the earlier list instrumentalists are arranged along with the singers into three choirs. At the head of the list come the nine singers of the first choir. Each name is followed by an indication of that musician's regular employment: Domenico Palombo sings in the papal Cappella; Giuseppe Fede is employed by the Colonna household; Senesino sings at the Chiesa Nuova, and so on. Each man's salary is recorded in scudi. After the singers are listed the instruments of the first choir (1 violone, 2 lutes, 2 violins), then the organist ("sr. Mutij"), and a rented organ. Next come 10 singers in the second choir, followed by an organist, a lutenist, two violinists, and another organ. The third group, a ripieno choir, contains 17 singers, but the only instruments are an organ and a violone ("Matteo" and "Gio. Battista"). The arrangement on the list probably mirrors the spatial arrangements in the church, with singers and instrumentalists mixed together in lofts next to the organs that accompanied them. In the list dated 1680 (Doc. 4.2) the singers are still arranged according to the polychoral principle (four choirs now instead of three), but the instruments are listed separately at the end as "Strumenti": nine violins, three violas, and three double basses (plus three organs, rented for the event). There should have been 10 violins, but one of them, a fellow from Modena ("Sr Modanese"), missed the performance. Some of the instrumentalists played at three services, some at two. The separation of instrumentalists from singers on the list of 1680 does not necessarily mean that the instruments were spatially separate from the choirs of singers, although this may well have been the case. But it does suggest that the sponsors of the event had begun to think of the instrumentalists as an ensemble of their own, conceptually distinct from the singers.

The four trends evident in the lists from S. Luigi dei Francesi can also be seen in pictures from seventeenth-century Rome.<sup>9</sup> Plate II is a watercolor by Pierre Paul Sevin, a French artist in the entourage of Queen Christina of Sweden. Evidently the picture represents a performance sponsored by the Queen, most likely during the

<sup>7</sup> Compare Table 2.2 above, which shows a similar evolution at the church of San Marcello, also in Rome.

<sup>8</sup> Lionnet, "La Musique à Saint-Louis." We wish to thank Mgr Max Cloupet of the Church of Saint-Louis des Français in Rome for providing us with copies of these documents.

<sup>9</sup> See Spitzer, "The Birth of the Orchestra in Rome."

DOCUMENT 4.1. *List of musicians for the Feast of St. Louis at San Luigi dei Francesi in 1660*

Musici forastieri presi in San Luigi nel giorno della sua festa li 25 Agosto 1660

Sr Domenico Palombo di Cappella	sc. 3	Sr Fabbrizio org.ta di S Pietro	1.50
Sr Giuseppe Fedi di Colonna	2	Sr Ant.o Leuto	1.50
Sr Senesino della Chiesa Nova alla messa	-.60	Sr Jacomuccio Violino	1.50
Sr Gio Batta Vulpio di Cappella	2	Sr Bocci Violino	1.50
Sr Christofano di Capp.a	2	Sr Vincenzo org.ta di Capp.a di S Lorenzo	1.50
Sr Francesco Vulpio dell'Apolinare	1.50	organo	1.50
Sr Giovanni Ricchi della Chiesa Nova	1.50		
Sr D. Girolamo Navarra di Capp.a	2	Sr Domenico Ricciardi di S Pietro per vespro	1
Sr Isidoro di Cappella	2	Soprano del Sr Durante nella vespro	1
Sr Michele Violone	1.50	Sr Giuseppe Alto di San Pietro	1.50
Sr Arcangelo Leuto	1.50	Sr Gio. Francesco di San Lorenzo	1.50
Sr De Petris Leuto	1.50	Sr D. Oratio Trastevere	1.50
Sr Gio. Antonio Violino	1.50	Sr D. Ant.o Tubij della Chiesa Nova	1.50
Sr Carlo Caproli Violino	1.50	Sr Basselli del Giesù	1.50
Sr Mutij org.ta di S. Mar. Mg.re	1.50	organo	1.50
organo	1.50	Sr Michelangelo di S. Lorenzo	1.50
		Sr Pavolo Felice di S Gio. Laterano	1.50
Sr Checchino di S Pietro	1.50	Sr Paganelli di S. Lorenzo per vespro	1
Figlio del Sr Matteo Simonelli per il vespro	-.50	Sr Costantino di S Pietro	1.50
Sr Francesco Flaminij di Cappella messa e vespro	1.20	Sr Matteo Buonavera di S Mar. Mgg.re	1.50
Sr Coillozzi di Cappella	2	Sr Pietro Pavolo di S Mar. Magg.re	1.50
Sr Ferrotti di S Mar. Mg.re	1.50	Sr Bernardino di San Pietro	1.50
Sr Borgiani di S Pietro	1.50	Sr Gabbrini di S Pietro	1.50
Sr D. Giovanni di Cappella	2	Sr Ghirighella di S Gio. Laterano	1.50
Sr Fra Pavolino di Cappella	2	Sr D. Gio. Batt.a di S Lorenzo	1.50
Sr D. Michele di Cappella	2	Sr Matteo org.ta di Capp.a di S Gio. dei Fiorentini	1.50
Sr Domenico Rosa di S Pietro	1.50	Sr Gio. Batt.a Violone	1.50
			81.80

Source: Archive of St. Louis des Français, Carton 60b, 1660

1660s.<sup>10</sup> The performers are grouped into choirs around four organs, with singers, organs, bass violins, and plucked strings in an upper tier, other instruments in a lower tier. Bowed strings constitute only about a third of the instruments. In the center of the upper tier a singer beats time with a rolled up sheaf of paper. In lofts on either side stand two vocal soloists, each of them accompanied by a violinist. Most of the players in the upper tier have instruments like lutes and violoni that can play the continuo part along with the organs. The instruments in the lower tier seem to be melody instruments, arranged by timbre, so that each of the four choirs has a distinctive sound—trombones in the leftmost choir, cornetts in the second choir from the left, violins and flutes in the third choir, trumpets and a serpent in the choir on the far right. The four choirs are minimally separated in space, however, and they are depicted as all playing and singing together.

Polychoral organization is no longer seen in Fig. 4.1, which depicts the performance in 1687 of a serenata in honor of Maria Luisa, the Queen of Spain.<sup>11</sup> The large ensemble is composed almost entirely of bowed strings: 46 violins and violas can be counted in the upper three tiers, and 11 violoni or basses in the front row. To the left, on a raised platform, stand two violinists who lead the ensemble. The instruments are not arranged in choirs but rather in sections of similar instruments, and there are no singers among the instrumentalists. Five solo singers are placed in front, along with two harpsichords and two lutes. Presumably the continuo instruments accompanied the singers during arias and recitatives, while the strings played during what a contemporary account of the event calls various *sinfonie*, that is instrumental numbers.<sup>12</sup> The differences between these two pictures may represent differences between the performance practice of sacred and secular music. But they also represent general trends seen in other pictures and archival records. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century Roman instrumental ensembles got larger, violin-family instruments displaced plucked strings, and instrumentalists distanced themselves spatially and organizationally from singers.

As Roman instrumental ensembles changed, the old polychoral system evolved into what can be called "concerto grosso" organization. The concerto grosso technique emerged from the distinction that composers and *maestri di cappella* in the early seventeenth century made between the first choir or *coro favorito*, a choir of the best voices, singing one on a part, and the second choir, the *cappella* or *ripieni*, with several singers on each part (see Ch. 2). Adapting instruments to this system, Roman choir

<sup>10</sup> Hans Joachim Marx says that Sevin's picture was painted in the late 1660s and represents the performance of a four-choir mass ("The Instrumentation of Handel's Early Italian Works," *EM* 16 (1988), 496–505 at 497). The concert setting makes this interpretation unlikely. The picture is discussed in Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome* (Stockholm, 1966), 55–60, and Spitzer, "The Birth of the Orchestra in Rome," 19–20.

<sup>11</sup> The serenata performed was very likely an *Aplauso musicale a 5. voci* by Bernardo Pasquini. See Thomas Edward Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 120–27.

<sup>12</sup> *Avvisi di Rome* (Munich), quoted *ibid.* 120–21.

DOCUMENT 4.2. *List of musicians for the Feast of St. Louis at San Luigi dei Francesi in 1680*

Lista delli Sig.ri Musici straordinarij che sono stati a cantare p. la festività di S Luigi in sua chiesa. 1680

Sr Bernardo Org.ta	sc. 3	Sr Basso di S Tivoli	1.50
Sr Fedi	2	Sr Tobbia	1.50
Sr Fedino	3	Sr Pietro Ant.o Org.ta	1.50
Sr Paoluccio	3	4°	
Sr Dom.co Rietino	1.50	Sr Bastiano	1.50
Sr Giuseppe di Loreto	1.50	Sr Severo	1.50
Sr Tiburtio	1.50	Sr Pietro Paulo	1.50
Sr Siface	3	Sr Paolo Felice	1.50
Sr di Facchinetti	1.50	Sr Lodovico	1.50
Sr Gio.	1.50	Sr Filippo Coresi	1.50
Sr Gio Matteo	3	Sr Girolimo Lucchese	1.50
Sr Paulo	2	Sr Girolimo di S Pietro	1.50
Sr Verdoni	3	Sr Luca Organista	1.50
Sr Checco	1.50	Strumenti	
Sr di Andrea	2	<i>per tre servitij</i>	
Sr di Benedetto	1.50	Sr Gio. Viola	1.80
2° Choro		Sr Simone Contrabasso	2
Sr Pettrignani	1.50	Sr Teodosio Contrabasso	2
Sr Sop.o del Giesù	1.50	Sr Carlo Mannelli	1.50
Sr dei [illegible]	1.50	<i>per due servitij</i>	
Sr di Felice	1.50	Sr Checco	1
Sr Niccolo	1.50	Sr Vacarini	1
Sr Gio Ant.o	1	Sr Matteo	1
Sr Girolimo	1.50	Sr Dom.co Todesco	1
Sr di Tommaso Tizzi	2	Sr Paolo Maria	1
3°		Sr Gio Carlo	1
Sr Leoni	1.50	Sr Luigi	1
Sr Salina	1.50	Sr <del>Modanese</del> manco	
Sr Besci	1.50	Sr Carlo Violetta	1
Sr Manni	1.50	Sr Pertica Violetta	1
Sr Martinelli	1.50	Sr Bart.o Violetta	1
Sr Natalino	1.50	Sr Ant.o Contrabasso	1.20
Sr Pietro	1.50	Tre organi forestieri	4.50
Sr Carlo d'Avalo	1.50		

100.

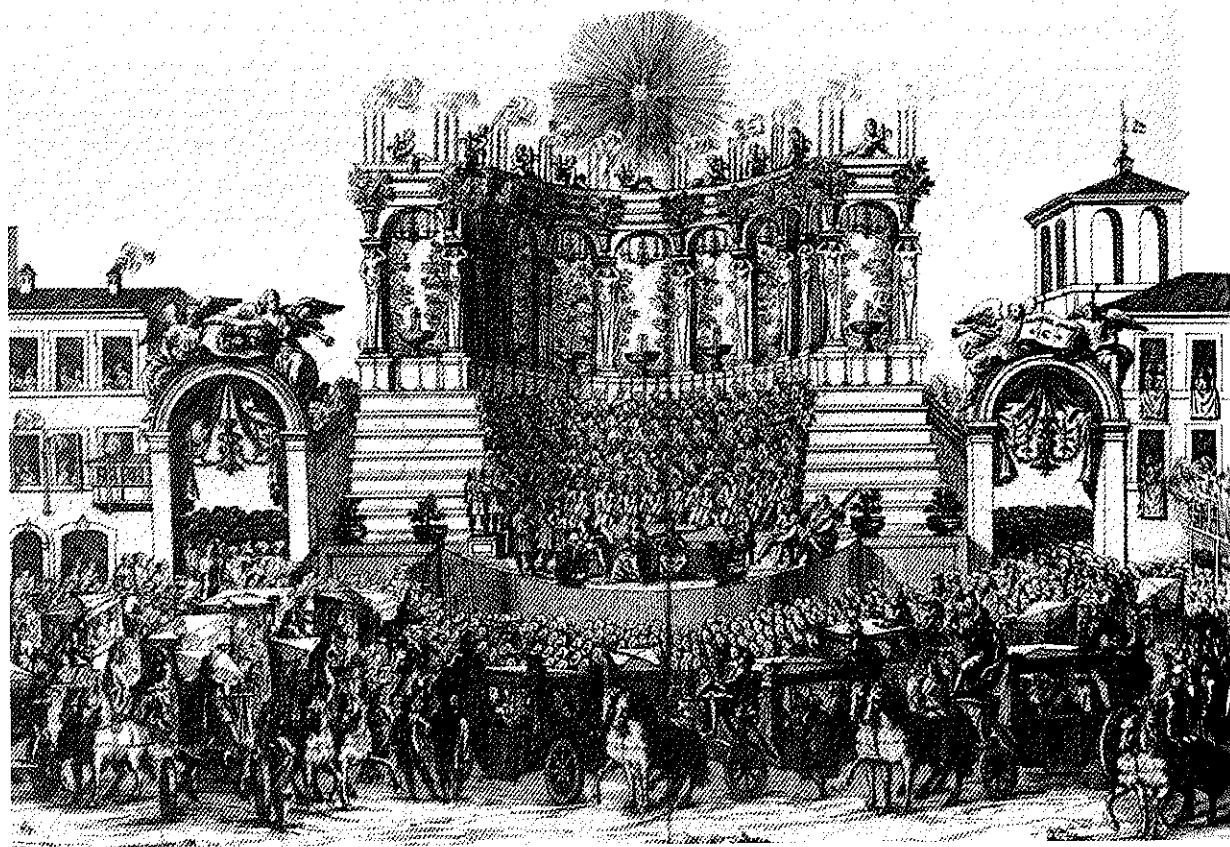


FIG. 4.1. Serenata in the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, 1687

masters of the second half of the seventeenth century characteristically placed two violins and a violone with the first choir, additional instruments of various kinds with the ripieno choir.<sup>13</sup> The spatial separation and timbral contrast of multiple choirs were replaced by a new contrast of few vs. many and soft vs. loud. Document 4.3, the transcription of a list of instrumentalists hired at the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in a series of festive oratorios in 1675, makes the new organizational principle explicit. The work they performed was *San Eustachio*, an oratorio by Antonio Masini. At the head of the list and designated as “concertino” are two violins (Manelli and Giuseppe), a lute (Colista), a harpsichord (Pasquini), and two violoni (Contarelli and Benedettini). Under the rubric “concerto grosso” are listed six violins, four alto violas, four tenor violas, and four basses. A note at the end of the list says that the players rehearsed the oratorio twice before the performance.

<sup>13</sup> Franco Piperno, “‘Concerto’ e ‘concertato’ nella musica strumentale italiana del secolo decimo settimo,” *Ricerche*, 3 (1991), 169–202.



DOCUMENT 4.3. *Instrumental ensemble for San Eustachio by Masini at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1675*

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Nota degli Istromenti adoprtati nell'Oratorio del Consolato nella Quarta Domenica

Concertino

Sr Carlo Mannelli  
Sr D. Giuseppe  
Sr Lelio Colista  
Sr Bernardo Pasquini  
Sr D. Gasparo Contarelli  
Sr Francesco Maria Benedettini

Violini del Concerto Grosso

Sr Giocomo Branchi  
Sr Federico Generali  
Sr Antonino di Venetia  
Sr Gio. Pavolo  
Sr Il Bolognese  
Sr Gio. Antonio Modanese

Contralti

Sr Antonio Ferrini  
Sr Gio. Carlo  
Sr Gio. Batta discepolo del Sr Mannelli  
Sr Gio. Batta Gasparini

Tenori

Sr Gioseppe Piccini  
Sr Francesco del Sr Mannelli  
Sr Bartolomeo di Pamfilio  
Sr Il Canonico di Ronciglione

Bassi

Sr Fabritio Fontana  
Sr Il Padre di S Agostino  
Sr Teodosio  
Sr Antonio Garuffi

Si deve avvertire che furono fatte due buone prove del detto Oratorio con gl'Istromenti, che perciò si devono pagare nella conformità come è esposto che è quanto etc.

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Source: Casimiri, "Oratorii."

How concertino and concerto grosso were put to musical use may be seen in the score of *San Giovanni Battista* by Alessandro Stradella, performed at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in the same year as Masini's *San Eustachio* and with approximately the same numbers of singers and instrumentalists.<sup>14</sup> Stradella designates the small and large groups of instrumentalists in his score as "concertino" and "concerto grosso delle viole." The concertino consists of two violins and bass; the concerto grosso is scored for violins, violas in two parts, and basses.<sup>15</sup> Assuming the same distribution of instruments as in *San Eustachio*, this would make six violins on the top part, four violas on each of the two middle parts, and four violoni or contrabasses on the bottom, a middle-heavy scoring that recalls the equal distribution of instruments on parts characteristic of sixteenth-century ensembles and also of contemporary French string bands. Stradella deploys concertino and concerto grosso flexibly in *San Giovanni Battista*, but he does not exploit the possibilities for contrast between the two. Some arias are accompanied by continuo only, some by the concertino alone, some by concerto grosso alone, some by concertino and concerto grosso playing together. The *sinfonia* is played by the concerto grosso from beginning to end.

Stradella used the concerto grosso technique in several other works he composed in Rome during the 1670s. In the serenata "Qual prodigio è ch'io miri" he employs three groups: a concertino, a concerto grosso, and a "concertino della dama," which accompanies one of the three singers. Here the first concertino is also designated "primo cocchio" (first carriage) and the concerto grosso "secondo cocchio." Evidently "Qual prodigio" was written for an outdoor performance, perhaps a serenade, with singers and instrumentalists placed in separate carriages—two singers and a concertino in one carriage, the "lady" and her concertino in another carriage and the concerto grosso in a third carriage.<sup>16</sup> During most of "Qual prodigio" large and small groups play the same or similar material in antiphonal fashion. In the opening *sinfonia*, however, Stradella uses concertino vs. concerto grosso for dynamic and registral contrast, and in one aria he contrasts simple material in the concerto grosso parts with more virtuosic material in the concertino.<sup>17</sup> Thus, Stradella began to extend concerto grosso technique beyond its initial functions of spatial separation and differentiation of accompaniment toward new possibilities of dynamic and textural contrast within the instrumental ensemble itself.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Carolyn Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella, 1639–1682: His Life and Music* (Oxford, 1994), 189. See also Owen Jander, "Concerto Grosso Instrumentation in Rome in the 1660's and 1670's," *JAMS* 21 (1968), 168–80.

<sup>15</sup> David W. Daniels, "Alessandro Stradella's Oratorio 'San Giovanni Battista': A Modern Edition and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1963).

<sup>16</sup> See Owen Jander, "Alessandro Stradella and his Minor Dramatic Works" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1962), 124 ff.; Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> The aria with concertino vs. concerto grosso contrast is "Basilisco allor che dorme." Handel borrowed several passages from "Qual prodigio è ch'io miri" for use in *Israel in Egypt*.

<sup>18</sup> Jander, "Concerto Grosso Instrumentation," 179–80.

The other composers who wrote oratorios for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in 1675 had the same string ensemble at their disposal as Stradella had used in *San Giovanni Battista*, but the scores of their oratorios have not been preserved, so there is no way to tell whether they used concerto grosso techniques. *Sinfonie* by Lelio Colista, a lutenist and composer active in Rome in the mid-seventeenth century, with their slow harmonic rhythms and homophonic passages, look as though they might have been composed for string ensembles with several players on a part, but they do not call explicitly for part doubling, nor for a concertino and a concerto grosso.<sup>19</sup> Violinist-composers, such as Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Carlo Manelli, led string ensembles in Rome during the 1670s, but their *sinfonie* emphasize melody and violin virtuosity rather than exploiting the power of an ensemble of massed strings.<sup>20</sup> By the 1670s, then, the elements for an orchestra and an orchestral style of composition and performance were in place in Rome, but the orchestra had not yet emerged as an institution.

#### CORELLI'S CAREER

The birth of the orchestra in Rome was closely linked to the career and the compositions of Arcangelo Corelli.<sup>21</sup> From about 1680 until his retirement in 1709 Corelli organized orchestras, directed orchestras, and composed music for orchestras to play. "He was the first," wrote Crescimbeni,

to introduce Rome to ensembles [*sinfonie*] of so large a number of instruments and of such diversity that it was almost impossible to believe that he could get them to play together without fear of discord, especially since wind instruments were combined with strings, and the total very often exceeding one hundred . . .<sup>22</sup>

Corelli's achievement in Rome was similar to Lully's in Paris. Like Lully, Corelli used the patronage of the wealthy and powerful to dominate the musical life of his generation. Like Lully, he organized and led his own orchestra and composed music for that orchestra to play. Corelli, in addition, played in his orchestra as violin soloist. Corelli's orchestra, like Lully's, was based on a pre-existing tradition of string ensembles, and his musical style was based on the procedures of his predecessors (including Lully). He synthesized these procedures into a successful style of composition for orchestral ensembles that, like the Lully style, served as a model for several generations to come.

<sup>19</sup> See Peter Allsop, *The Italian Trio Sonata* (Oxford, 1992), 310; id., "Problems of Ascription in the Roman *Sinfonia* of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati," *Music Review*, 50 (1989), 39.

<sup>20</sup> For examples of works by Lonati and Manelli, see Allsop, *Italian Trio Sonata*, 315–19.

<sup>21</sup> For Corelli's biography, see Allsop, *Corelli*.

<sup>22</sup> G. M. Crescimbeni, *Notizie istoriche degli Arcadi morti* (Rome, 1720), i. 250. Quoted in Mario Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (Milan, 1953), 132.

Born in the small town of Fusignano near Ravenna, Corelli was trained as a violinist in Bologna; and during the first part of his career in Rome he was known as "Arcangelo Bolognese" or simply "il Bolognese." Much has been made of Corelli's background, since Bologna in the seventeenth century was a center of instrumental music, particularly of music for large ensembles. However, the search for Bolognese antecedents may be misdirected. Roman ensembles were already incipient orchestras, and concerto grosso techniques had appeared in Rome before Corelli arrived there in the 1670s.<sup>23</sup> Unlike almost all other composers of his time, Corelli did not compose vocal music.<sup>24</sup> He concentrated his energies as a performer and composer entirely on instrumental music—music for solo violin, music for string trio, and music for orchestra.

The first mention of Corelli's presence in Rome occurs on the list of performers for Masini's *San Eustachio* in 1675 (see Doc. 4.3): "Il Bolognese," near the bottom of the "Violini del Concerto Grosso" is almost certainly the 22-year-old Corelli. Most likely he also played in Stradella's *San Giovanni Battista* later that spring in the same series at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Thus, from the beginning of his career Corelli was involved in the proto-orchestral activities characteristic of Roman instrumental music. He was acquainted with Stradella, Colista, Manelli, and other composers working in this milieu, and he played the music they wrote for string ensembles. Other places where he played during the 1670s include the church of San Marcello (again as a member of a string ensemble with several on a part), San Luigi dei Francesi, Santa Maria Maggiore, and the Capranica theater in a small ensemble for opera.<sup>25</sup>

Building his reputation as a violinist with freelance jobs like these, Corelli soon garnered aristocratic patronage. In a letter of 1679 he reports that he has "entered into the service" of Queen Christina and that he is composing sonatas for academies at her palace.<sup>26</sup> Sometime in the mid-1680s Corelli entered the service of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili, nephew of Pope Innocent X and one of the outstanding musical patrons of his time. By 1688 Corelli was listed among the Cardinal's "famiglia della casa" with a monthly salary of 10 scudi. Another member of the Cardinal's

<sup>23</sup> Peter Allsop argues cogently against the significance of Bolognese "influences" on Corelli (*Italian Trio Sonata*, 227 ff.; *Corelli*, 143 ff.)

<sup>24</sup> Franco Piperno believes that Corelli may have composed a cantata called "La Fama" for the first festival of the Academy of Design in 1702 (Franco Piperno, "'Anfione in Campidoglio': presenza corelliana alle feste per i concorsi dell'Accademia del Disegno di San Luca," in *Nuovissimi studi corelliani: Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale*, ed. Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Florence, 1982), 151–208 at 164). The evidence for this intriguing hypothesis is circumstantial.

<sup>25</sup> Liess, "Materialien," 155 ff.; Lionnet, "La Musique à Saint-Louis," ii, 143 ff.; Luca Della Libera, "La musica nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma, 1676–1712: nuovi documenti su Corelli e sugli organici vocali e strumentali," *Ricerche*, 7 (1995), 87–157 at 108 ff.; Allsop, *Corelli*, 27 ff., 42 ff. Corelli did not travel to France during the 1670s, as Rousseau mistakenly reported, nor did he travel to Germany (Allsop, *Corelli*, 5–6).

<sup>26</sup> Letter of 13 May 1679 to Fabrizio Laderchi, quoted in Adriano Cavicchi, "Corelli e il violinismo bolognese," *Studi corelliani* (Fusignano, 1968), 33–47 at 39. The sonatas presumably became Corelli's Opus 1 trio sonatas, published in 1681 and dedicated to the Queen.

household was Matteo Fornari, Corelli's student and intimate friend, who played second violin to Corelli's first in nearly every documented performance by Corelli from the 1680s on. As a member of Pamphili's household, Corelli not only composed music and performed on the violin, he organized ensembles for musical events that the Cardinal sponsored, and he led these ensembles in performance.<sup>27</sup>

When Pamphili moved to Bologna in 1690, Corelli, along with Matteo Fornari, entered the service of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, nephew of Pope Alexander VIII. From 1690 until the end of his life, Corelli remained a member of Ottoboni's household; during much of that time he lived in an apartment in the Cardinal's palace, the Cancelleria. Ottoboni presided over a small but wealthy court, where there was continual demand for instrumental ensembles. At the Cardinal's titular church, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, adjacent to the Cancelleria, large ensembles were required for the feast of San Lorenzo in August, as well as for the "40 Hours" at the beginning of Lent and midnight mass on Christmas Eve.<sup>28</sup> Ottoboni also put on oratorios in the Cancelleria, at the Chiesa Nuova, and at the Seminario Romano. In addition, the regular Monday "academies" that the Cardinal gave at his palace sometimes involved instrumental ensembles that were orchestral in size and scope.<sup>29</sup> Corelli was responsible for recruiting instrumentalists, arranging for their transportation, composing music for them to play, rehearsing and leading them, and paying them their wages.<sup>30</sup> Thus, he was not simply a composer or simply a violin virtuoso. He was composer, conductor, contractor, soloist, orchestra leader, and musical personality all rolled up in one—the seventeenth-century equivalent of a modern bandleader.

Corelli's activities were not restricted to events sponsored by Cardinal Ottoboni. He provided orchestras and orchestral music for feast days at Roman churches, for outdoor public celebrations and festivities, and for other patrons, including Queen Christina, Cardinal Pamphili, and Prince Ruspoli. From the early 1680s through the first decade of the eighteenth century just about every performance in Rome by an ensemble of 10 or more instruments documented in surviving records was led by Corelli. Whether by virtue of his talent, his position, his reputation, or some other means, he was the only person who could recruit, organize, and lead a Roman orchestra, and in most cases the orchestra played at least some music that he had composed. In a real sense, all Roman orchestras from 1680 to 1713 were "Corelli's orchestra."

<sup>27</sup> Hans Joachim Marx, "Die 'Giustificazioni della Casa Pamphili' als musikgeschichtliche Quelle," *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), 121–87, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Id., "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Analecta musicologica*, 5 (1968), 104–77 at 107–10.

<sup>29</sup> Examples of academies that involved large orchestras: 2 May 1694, 13 June 1694, 27 Mar. 1695 (Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 142, 147).

<sup>30</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," *passim*. Corelli customarily countersigned the paylists for the instrumentalists. Often he signed for receipt of the money, indicating that he functioned as paymaster.

## VENUES AND PERFORMANCES

Contemporary records document performances by Corelli's orchestra in a variety of contexts. It played for private and semi-private entertainments given by patrons in their palaces and gardens. In February 1687, for example, Queen Christina held a gala "academy" in her palace to celebrate the ascension of James II, a fellow Catholic, to the English throne.<sup>31</sup>

When the signal was given, the royal festival began with a grand symphony comprising one hundred and fifty instruments of all sorts, played by master musicians, and directed and led by the famous Arcangelo Corelli, the Bolognese. . . . When [the overture] had finished, there began the most beautiful music that has ever been heard, composed by Bernardo Pasquini in alternation with Corelli and divinely sung by the excellent members of the choir of the Queen's Academy . . .<sup>32</sup>

During the long conclave of cardinals that followed the death of Alexander VIII in February 1691, Cardinal Ottoboni provided entertainment in the form of a "bellissima serenata," which was performed in the Belvedere courtyard immediately outside the Vatican walls. Pay records show that Ottoboni's serenade was accompanied by a small orchestra of six violins, two violas, two violoni, and lute, led, as usual, by Corelli.<sup>33</sup> As secular music, the serenata was not performed inside the Vatican proper, but it aroused opposition nonetheless:

Prince Savelli, Marshall of the conclave . . . spoke from the little window and complained about the serenata, saying that if he had been informed of it in advance, he would have had all the singers and instrumentalists thrown in prison. The performers were greeted with volleys of stones thrown from the windows of the Conclave. A stone hit one of the instrumentalists in the leg, and he was the last to return home.<sup>34</sup>

For a cantata in the garden of the Ruspoli palace in August 1694, Corelli put together a considerably larger orchestra: 38 violins, five violas, and 26 violoni, cellos, and double basses.<sup>35</sup>

Corelli's orchestra often performed in churches, usually for special occasions like the festival of a patron saint or a votive mass. When Queen Christina celebrated her recovery from a serious illness in 1689 with a *Te Deum* at the church of S. Maria di Loreto,

<sup>31</sup> The celebration was belated. James II became King in Feb. 1685. He ruled until Dec. 1688, when he fled to France.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Andreas Liess, "Neue Zeugnisse von Corellis Wirken in Rom," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 14 (1957), 130-37 at 133-34. The figure of 150 instrumentalists seems inflated, but it is repeated in a second account (*ibid.* 131).

<sup>33</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 128.

<sup>34</sup> *Avvisi Marescotti*, 26 May 1691, quoted in Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 179-80.

<sup>35</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 143.

The celebrated Signor Arcangelo Corelli, Virtuoso of her Majesty, also made an appearance and played a newly composed symphony with trumpets. It was played by a large number of the most accomplished string players [*professori di arco*] of this city.<sup>36</sup>

At the Feast of San Lorenzo at Cardinal Ottoboni's church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso each August, the orchestra played "symphonies" during the mass. In 1699, for example,

Cardinal Ottoboni, always the creator of novel and beautiful things, . . . had mass sung by a large number of singers . . . and to the mass two fine motets were added, as well as a grand symphony by Arcangelo [Corelli].<sup>37</sup>

The orchestra for this event numbered over 35, including two trumpets.<sup>38</sup> An English visitor, who attended midnight mass on Christmas eve at S. Lorenzo in 1699, reported that he heard "Paluccio, an admired young eunuch, singing, and Corelli, the famous violin, playing in concert with at least 30 more; all at the charge of Cardinal Ottoboni."<sup>39</sup> The estimate is a little low. Records show that 53 instrumentalists, all string players, were engaged for the performance.<sup>40</sup> At other occasions in church Corelli's orchestra was smaller. For the Festival of St. Louis at S. Luigi dei Francesi the orchestra usually numbered 15–20, sometimes with trumpets, sometimes without. At S. Maria Maggiore, on the other hand, Corelli played in the old non-orchestral style, as one of a pair of solo violins, assigned to the first choir in a polychoral setting.<sup>41</sup>

Corelli assembled his largest orchestras for the oratorios given by Pamphili, Ottoboni, and other Roman patrons. *Santa Beatrice d'Este* by Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier was commissioned by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili to honor a visit of Cardinal d'Este to Rome in 1689. An account of its performance at the Pamphili palace conveys an idea of the level of magnificence at such events:

The great hall in which the oratorio was given was hung with shiny brocade, richly worked with gold embroidery . . . One part of the room was taken up by a stage as in a theater, on which there was a broad stairway covered with Turkish-style silk carpets. Here eighty musicians [*suonatori*] with their instruments were artfully displayed.

Columns rose from the stairs, shaped like lilies and like eagles, allusions to the house of Este. They supported the lights and also served as stands for the music of the instrumentalists. At the foot of the stairway was a platform . . . for the singers and the harpsichords and other instruments necessary for accompaniment. . . . At the other end of the room a structure was erected for another group of twenty instruments, raised six feet above the floor and decorated in a similar fashion. . . . The fullness of the instrumentation, with so many contrabasses for

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Liess, "Materialien," 136. <sup>37</sup> Quoted in Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 295.

<sup>38</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 155 (18 vn, 5 vla, 7 violoni, 6 cb, 2 trpt).

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Pepys, *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679–1703*, ed. J. R. Tanner (London, 1926), i. 257–58. The visitor was John Jackson, Pepys's nephew.

<sup>40</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 155 (32 vn, 6 vla, 8 violoni, 6 cb, 1 lute).

<sup>41</sup> See Della Libera, "Santa Maria Maggiore."

a foundation and with trumpets too, created such a resonance [*rimbombo*] that the whole room seemed to echo.<sup>42</sup>

The Pamphili account books pertaining to this performance show that 79 instrumentalists were paid a total of 279.50 scudi for four rehearsals and a performance.<sup>43</sup> Corelli played solo violin, led the orchestra, and composed an instrumental *sinfonia* for Lulier's oratorio.<sup>44</sup>

Handel's *La Resurrezione*, commissioned by Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli for Palm Sunday in 1708, was produced on an equally grand scale. A *teatro* was built in the great hall of the Palazzo Bonelli, with four rows of curved risers for the orchestra and a special raised podium for the "Concertino de' Violini."<sup>45</sup> The orchestra numbered approximately 45, with Corelli leading the violins and Handel playing one of the two harpsichords.<sup>46</sup> Handel's score made extreme demands on Corelli's ensemble, with solos for violin, oboes, recorders, flute, viola da gamba, and theorbo, as well as tutti-solo alternation in both the strings and the oboes.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, Corelli's orchestra played for many of the public festivities and outdoor events that enlivened civic life in Baroque Rome. In 1687, for example, Cardinal d'Estrées, the French ambassador, staged a festival in the Piazza di Spagna to celebrate the recovery of Louis XIV from a severe illness. Figure 4.2, an engraving by Vincenzo Mariotti, depicts the proceedings. Where the Spanish steps are now, a wooded path leads up to the Trinità dei Monti, whose façade is elaborately decorated for the occasion. Above the church burst fireworks. Corelli's orchestra appears in the middle of the picture, seated on risers on a large platform, labeled with the letter "K," which, an accompanying legend explains, indicates the "stage for the instrumentalists and singers, where they performed a grand concerto and cantata." Wind instruments and drums were placed apart from the other instruments on the rooftops of neighboring buildings (labeled "P" in the engraving). According to a contemporary account,

The fireworks were accompanied by the sound of drums, trumpets, and wind instruments [*pifferi*]. Opposite the two galleries where those instruments were placed, there was a large platform for the singers and instrumentalists, who began with a beautiful *sinfonia* for concerted instruments composed by the famous Arcangelo Bolognese, who had assembled together all the best string players in Rome. Then two vocalists, accompanied by the orchestra

<sup>42</sup> Quoted by Cavicchi, "Prassi esecutiva," 116–17.

<sup>43</sup> Marx, "Giustificazioni," 157–58 (43 vn, 10 vla, 17 violoni, 7 cb, 1 lute, 1 hpschd).

<sup>44</sup> Corelli's *sinfonia* for *Santa Beatrice d'Este* survives in a single manuscript. It is printed in Arcangelo Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Hans Oesch and Hans Joachim Marx (*Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 5; Cologne, 1976).

<sup>45</sup> Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," *JAMS* 20 (1967), 222–73 at 234. For depiction of such a podium, see Fig. 4.1.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 256–57 (22 vn, 4 vla, 6 violoni, 6 cb, 4 ob, 2 trpt, 1 trb).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. The pay records for *La Resurrezione* do not include performers on flute, bassoon, theorbo, or viola da gamba, all required by the score.



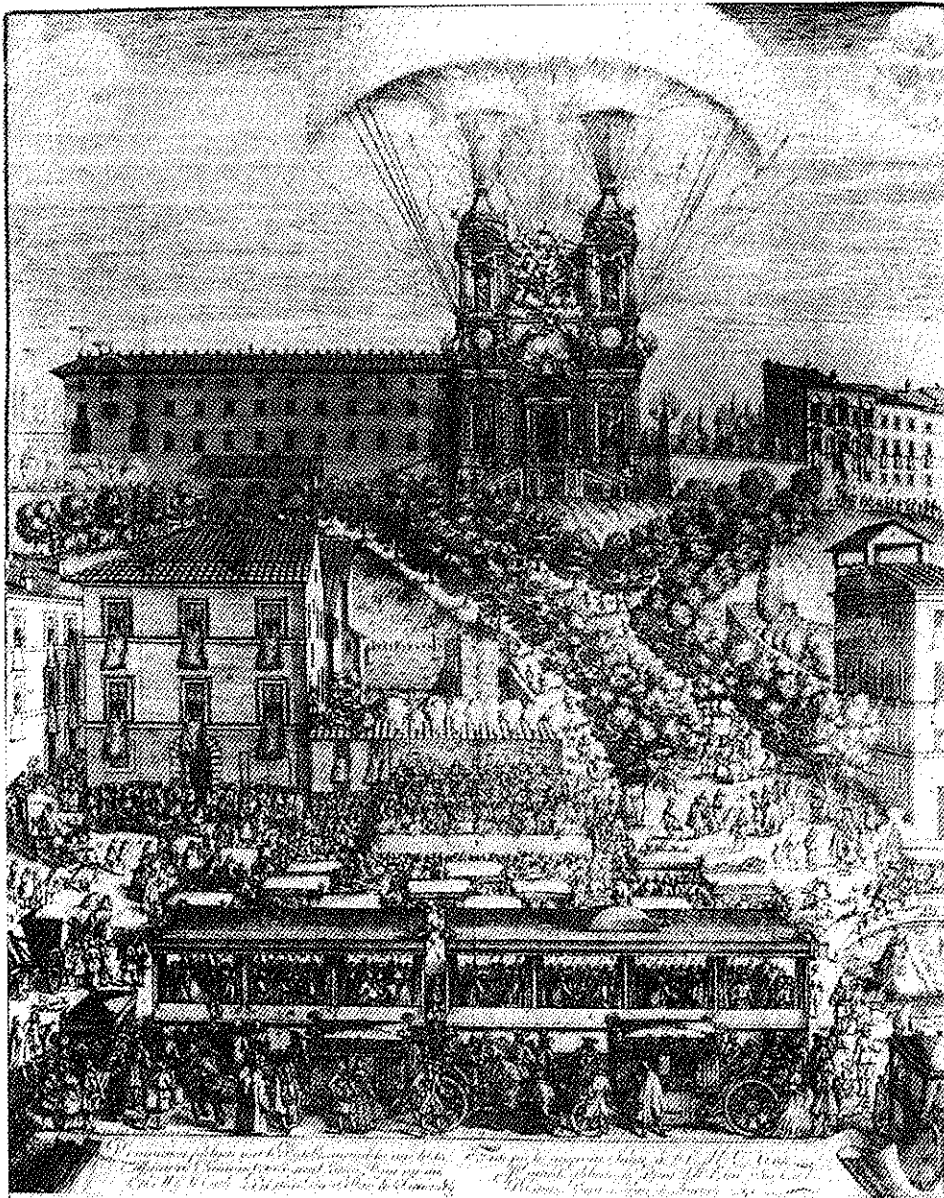


FIG. 4.2. Festival in the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, 1687

[*sinfonia*], sang a poem in praise of the King [Louis XIV]. The audience listened in profound silence.<sup>48</sup>

The serenata in the Piazza di Spagna in honor of the Queen of Spain, also in 1687 (Fig. 4.1 above), was the Spanish Ambassador's response to these French festivities. Neither the engraving nor the contemporary accounts mention Corelli, but given his preeminent position, it is hard to imagine that anyone else in Rome could have organized an orchestra as big as the one in Fig. 4.1. If this is a depiction of Corelli's orchestra, then the two violinists standing on the raised platform to the left of the ensemble must be Corelli and Matteo Fornari.

Corelli was documentably the leader of "more than 100 instrumentalists, the most distinguished in Rome on both strings and trumpets and other wind instruments," who played for an outdoor public performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's oratorio *Il regno di Maria assunta in cielo* in August 1705.<sup>49</sup> In the courtyard of his palace, the Cancelleria, Cardinal Ottoboni had erected a large stage [*teatro*] with painted backdrops, a platform for the singers, and seven risers for the instrumentalists. Stage and courtyard were brilliantly illuminated with torches, chandeliers, and colored lights. Carriages had been drawn into the courtyard, unhitched, and packed side by side to serve as boxes for the cardinals, princes, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and noble ladies in attendance. Behind them masses of ordinary Romans stretched through the palace gates all the way to the Piazza de' Pollaroli. Even with an orchestra of 100, the music could not be heard this far away, but the account reports that people could at least see the lights.<sup>50</sup> The performance was repeated the following night, with even more lights and even larger crowds.

Another example of performances by Corelli's orchestra at public festivities was the Accademia del Disegno di San Luca, held each spring in the Capitoline Palace. This celebration, at which prizes were awarded for architecture and design, was attended by the nobility and "a great multitude of common people."<sup>51</sup> Each year from 1702 to 1709 Corelli assembled and directed an orchestra for the Accademia del Disegno, and after Cornelli's retirement, Matteo Fornari continued the tradition for several years.

<sup>48</sup> Anon., *Raguaglio dele sontuose feste . . .* (Rome, 1687), quoted in Renato Bossa, "Corelli e il Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj," in *Nuovissimi studi corelliani: Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale*, ed. Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Florence, 1982), 211–23 at 222. Although the account makes it clear that the fireworks were accompanied only by trumpets and drums, not by strings, the engraving shows fireworks bursting overhead and Corelli's orchestra playing at the same time. This seems to be an example of the "telescoping" typical in 17th- and 18th-c. engravings of official spectacles and festivities. In order to include all significant aspects of the event in a single picture, the artist depicts events that take place one after another as happening simultaneously. See Barbara Russano Hanning, "The Iconography of a Salon Concert: A Reappraisal," in Georgia Cowart (ed.), *French Musical Thought, 1600–1800* (Ann Arbor, 1989), 129–48.

<sup>49</sup> The event is described in a contemporary manuscript account (I-Rvat Urb. Lat 1706) transcribed in Gioia Sofia Serafina Brunoro, "The Life and Works of Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier" (Ph.D. diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 1994), 555 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 560.

<sup>51</sup> Piperno, "Anfione in Campidoglio," 154.

The orchestra opened the festivities with a *sinfonia* to accompany the ceremonial entrance of the cardinals; it also played after the oration of the principal speaker.

At all these venues—private entertainments, churches, oratorios, and public festivities—the role of Corelli's orchestra was limited. It did not play throughout, and in particular it seldom accompanied singers.<sup>52</sup> In an oratorio, for example, the orchestra usually played a *sinfonia* at the beginning and another *sinfonia* to open the second half. When there were instrumental interludes between arias, these may also have been played by the full ensemble.<sup>53</sup> The rest of the oratorio seems to have been accompanied by a reduced ensemble. The *sinfonie* that the orchestra played were usually composed by Corelli, rather than by the composer of the oratorio. Thus, for *Santa Beatrice d'Este* at the Pamphili palace in 1689, Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier composed the oratorio, but Corelli composed the *sinfonia*, and Corelli's name was featured prominently on the title page of the libretto printed for the occasion. Similarly, for a performance during Holy Week 1702 of Alessandro Scarlatti's setting of the Lamentations of Jeremiah the orchestra played a "superb concerto for basses, contrabasses, violas, and violins, composed by Arcangelo."<sup>54</sup> Another example is the pastorale *Amore e gratitudine*, with text by Ottoboni and music by Flavio Lanciani (1690).<sup>55</sup> According to Ottoboni pay records, the pastorale was performed 10 times, accompanied by an ensemble of five violins, two violas, two violoni, a bass, and a harpsichord.<sup>56</sup> During the prologue two trumpets also played. Two of the performances were enhanced by an additional "sinfonia nella pastorale," probably composed by Corelli, for which a large number of bowed strings and a trombone were added to the ensemble: 21 violins, six violas, nine violoni, five double basses, and a trombone.

In these examples as well as others like them, Corelli's orchestra—that is, the massed strings of the concerto grosso—was idle during most of the performance. Rather than accompanying the piece, the orchestra framed it—highlighting the extraordinary character of the occasion, setting the featured text and/or composition apart from its surroundings, and providing a visual backdrop for singers, orators, and other performers. The sudden entry, the full sound, and the unified execution of so large a group of instruments was a glorious special effect, like the fanfares and the fireworks at some of the same events.

<sup>52</sup> The only suggestion that the full orchestra accompanied singers is the account of the festival for Louis XIV in 1687 mentioned earlier, where two vocalists were accompanied by the *sinfonia*.

<sup>53</sup> Gloria Staffieri, "Arcangelo Corelli compositore di 'sinfonie': nuovi documenti," in *Studi corelliani IV: Atti del Quarto Congresso Internazionale*, ed. Pierluigi Petrobelli and Gloria Staffieri (Florence, 1990), 335–57 at 344.

<sup>54</sup> *Avvisi di Roma* (Munich), 11 Apr. 1702. Quoted in Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 359–60.

<sup>55</sup> See Franco Piperno, "Le orchestre di Arcangelo Corelli. Pratiche musicali romane. Lettura dei documenti," in Giovanni Morelli (ed.), *L'invenzione del gusto: Corelli e Vivaldi* (Milan, 1982), 42–48 at 47–48.

<sup>56</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 126.

## INSTRUMENTATION AND BALANCES

Preserved in the archives of Roman churches and of the great Roman families are personnel records that document players, instruments, and wages for many of the orchestras that Corelli assembled and led between 1680 and 1713. The size of his orchestra varied considerably from one performance to another. A *Te Deum* at S. Luigi dei Francesi in 1686 used only 10 violins, violas, and violoni; the Feast of St. Louis at the same church in 1682 required an orchestra of 20.<sup>57</sup> In 1692 for the Feast of San Lorenzo at Cardinal Ottoboni's church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Corelli assembled an orchestra of 40, including lutes and trumpets. The orchestra for the celebration there of the Quarant'ore required 46 instrumentalists, including five archlutes and two trumpets. A cantata sponsored by Cardinal Ottoboni at his palace, the Cancelleria, in 1690 used an orchestra of 25 strings; another cantata, given by the Cardinal in 1694, this time in the garden of the Ruspoli palace, employed an orchestra of 69.<sup>58</sup> There is considerable consistency, however, in the size of the orchestra at the same event from one year to the next. The orchestra for the Feast of St. Louis hovered between 15 and 20 during the 1680s, then rose gradually during the 1690s and 1700s. The orchestra for the feast of San Lorenzo numbered 40 to 50, and usually included two trumpets. The Accademia del Disegno began ambitiously with an orchestra of 23 in 1702, then cut back during succeeding years, presumably to save money.<sup>59</sup>

Although the size of Corelli's orchestra varied from event to event, its balances remained consistent. Whether the orchestra was large or small, whether it was playing in church or at a civic festival, violins made up about half of the total number of instruments and bass instruments (cellos, violoni, double basses) from a third to a fourth.<sup>60</sup> Only the violas varied noticeably as a proportion of the ensemble—from a fourth of the total in small ensembles to an eighth, a ninth, or less in large ensembles.<sup>61</sup> These balances moved decisively away from the earlier ideal of equal distribution on parts, still evident in the balances for Masini's *San Eustachio* and Stradella's *San*

<sup>57</sup> Lionnet, "La Musique à Saint-Louis," ii. 151 (6 vn, 4 violoni, 1 org); ii. 147 (10 vn, 4 vla, 6 violoni, 4 org).

<sup>58</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 124 (18 vn, 7 vla, 7 violoni, 7 cb, 2 trpt, 5 archlutes); 125 (12 vn, 4 vla, 6 violoni, 3 cb); 143 (38 vn, 5 vla, 25 violoni and cb, 1 lute).

<sup>59</sup> A memorandum by G. Ghezzi, the organizer of the Academy, reviews the expenses for 1702, looking for ways to cut the budget. Some expenses are fixed, but he guesses that the outlay for music can be cut by two-thirds (Piperno, "Anfione in Campidoglio," 173).

<sup>60</sup> The balance among cellos, violoni, and contrabasses varied considerably. The players of these instruments overlapped, and often it is hard to tell who was playing which instrument.

<sup>61</sup> The variability in the proportion of the violas is something of an artifact: since there are relatively few violas, their proportion is strongly affected by the addition or subtraction of one or two players.

*Giovanni Battista* in 1675. The preponderance of violins also reflects the fact that Corelli wrote two violin parts, unlike Stradella, who used the older scoring with only one violin part and two parts for viola. There may have been a tendency, when Corelli's orchestra got very large, for the proportion of violins to rise even further. Overall, however, the consistency of proportions of instruments in the orchestra, in a variety of venues over a period of almost 30 years, suggests that Corelli had a clear idea of the acoustical balance he wanted in his orchestra and that he was able to recruit instrumentalists as needed to obtain this balance, no matter how large or small the ensemble.

Another striking feature of Corelli's orchestra is that it did not include keyboards. Personnel records show that organs and harpsichords were indeed present at many of Corelli's performances. The keyboards are not listed with the orchestra, however, but by themselves or among the singers. In Rome as elsewhere, organists and harpsichordists were associated conceptually and practically with the vocal rather than the instrumental aspects of the performance. When a choir or soloists sang, they were almost always accompanied by one or more keyboards. When an orchestra played—that is, the entire orchestra with concertino and concerto grosso together—harpsichords and organs were usually silent.<sup>62</sup> This division between the orchestra on the one hand and a smaller ensemble for vocal accompaniment on the other can be seen in pictures like Fig. 4.1, where harpsichords and lutes accompany the singers, but the orchestra is led by the pair of concertino violinists.

Was the bass line realized by any continuo instruments at all in Corelli's *sinfonias* and *concertos*? Lutes and archlutes appear on many of the playlists for his orchestras. Often there are two lutenists; sometimes there are as many as five.<sup>63</sup> Unlike keyboard players, the lutenists are always listed among the instrumentalists. Plucked strings might have been used in the concertino, as an alternative to the cello or violone on the bass part.<sup>64</sup> They might also have played along with the concerto grosso, though it would have been hard for them to make themselves heard, particularly outdoors. In the one surviving Corelli autograph—a draft of the *Pastorale* from *Concerto Grosso*, No. 8, and the *Corrente* from No. 6—the bass line of the *Corrente* is figured, the bass of the *Pastorale* is not.<sup>65</sup> This suggests that Corelli may have expected that a lute would play with the concerto grosso, at least in the *Corrente*.<sup>66</sup>

Although Crescimbeni praised Corelli for getting strings and wind instruments to play together “without discord,” winds were scarce in Corelli's orchestra. Pairs of trumpets were included in the ensembles for outdoor performances, like the

<sup>62</sup> Piperno, “Le orchestre di Corelli,” 47.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Photographs of these two movements appear in Hans Joachim Marx, “Ein neu aufgefundenes Autograph Arcangelo Corellis,” *Acta musicologica*, 41 (1969), 116–18.

<sup>66</sup> A lutenist could easily have played the *Pastorale* too, from the bass line without figures.

Scarlatti oratorio in 1705, for festive occasions in church, and occasionally for oratorios. However, only one surviving composition attributed to Corelli contains a trumpet part, a Sonata a Quattro for trumpet, two violins and basso (WoO 4).<sup>67</sup> If trumpets played in other extant pieces by Corelli, their parts must have been improvised or produced on an ad hoc basis.<sup>68</sup> The account of the celebration in the Piazza di Spagna for Louis XIV, where the trumpets were placed on rooftops and played before the orchestra rather than with it, suggests that trumpets, even when they were present at an event, did not necessarily play in the orchestral *sinfonie* and concertos. Trombones appear on Corelli's paylists only rarely.<sup>69</sup> There is no clue as to what their role might have been in the music. The first documented participation of oboes in Corelli's orchestra was at the Feast of San Luigi dei Francesi in 1704.<sup>70</sup> There were four oboes in the orchestra that he put together for Handel's *Resurrezione* in 1708. Oboes joined the orchestra for the Academy at the Campidoglio in 1709, the last year that Corelli led that ensemble.<sup>71</sup> Two "additional flutists" were added to the list for the Academy of 1704, but crossed off again.<sup>72</sup> All in all, winds were used sparingly and mainly toward the end of the period in question. Corelli's orchestra was overwhelmingly based on bowed strings.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF CORELLI'S ORCHESTRA

Corelli's orchestra was not a standing ensemble, like a modern symphony or opera orchestra. Its size varied from day to day, from event to event, according to the demands of the occasion. Beneath this variability, however, lay a stable and efficient system.

Table 4.2 takes a sample period beginning in February 1702 and ending in August 1705 and analyzes the personnel at 16 performances of instrumental ensembles led by Corelli for which paylists have been preserved. These well-documented events were sponsored by several different patrons: an oratorio staged by Cardinal Pamphili, feast

<sup>67</sup> Peter Allsop calls this sonata "apocryphal" (Allsop, *Corelli*, 51); Hans Joachim Marx says the objections to its authenticity are "baseless" (Hans Joachim Marx, "Unveröffentlichte Kompositionen Arcangelo Corellis," in *Studi corelliani*, 53–69 at 58). See also Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, 20.

<sup>68</sup> H. J. Marx and Franco Piperno both speculate that trumpet parts may have been added on occasion to the concertos of Opus 6. See Marx, "Instrumentation," 503; Piperno, "Le orchestre di Corelli," 42. Allsop speculates that a few movements from Opus 6 might originally have been composed for trumpets. This theory is intriguing, but he offers no evidence save for the trumpet-like character of the violin parts (*Corelli*, 151).

<sup>69</sup> Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 126; id., "Giustificazioni," 130, 152, 157; Kirkendale, "Ruspoli Documents," 256–57.

<sup>70</sup> Lionnet, "La Musique à Saint-Louis," 193–94.

<sup>71</sup> Piperno, "'Anfione in Campidoglio,'" 193.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 179. Both flutists were evidently Frenchmen: Monsù Giovanni (Jean) and Monsù Valentino (Valentin). Monsù Nicolò and Mengone, elsewhere an oboist, played flute at the Campidoglio in 1711 (Piperno, "'Anfione in Campidoglio,'" 199).

days and lesser celebrations at Ottoboni's Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, processions and festivals at the Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, and performances for the Accademia del Disegno at the Campidoglio. The 16 documented performances may be considered as representative of a larger set of performances during this period by Corelli and his orchestra, for which documentation does not survive.

According to Table 4.2, 57 different instrumentalists played in Corelli's orchestra between February 1702 and August 1705—29 violinists, four violists, 12 cello or violone players, six bassists, a lutenist, four trumpeters, and a drummer. Several of the players were well-known virtuosos or composers. Giuseppe Valentini, nicknamed "Straccioncino" (Tatters), was a virtuoso violinist, a composer, and also a poet, whom Francesco Geminiani mentions as a rival to Corelli.<sup>73</sup> Filippo Amadei ("Pippo del violoncello"), recognized as one of Rome's leading cellists, emigrated in 1719 to London, where he played in the orchestra of the opera.<sup>74</sup> Some of the players switched instruments from one performance to another—violin to viola (Petruccio), cello to bass (De Carolis, Laurelli, Bandiera), violone to lute to violin (G. A. Haym).

Only a few of these instrumentalists enjoyed positions on the house payroll of a Roman patron. Fornari was a member of the Pamphili household, then transferred with Corelli to Ottoboni's establishment. Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, cellist and composer, was also on the Pamphili payroll and later worked sporadically for Cardinal Ottoboni.<sup>75</sup> The rest of Corelli's orchestra were essentially freelancers. Most of them had steady but low-paying jobs at one or more Roman churches. Some of them held positions in Rome's civic band, the Concerto del Campidoglio, not as string players but as cornett players and trombonists.<sup>76</sup> A significant part of their income must have come from freelance activity, much of it in Corelli's orchestra.<sup>77</sup>

Some members of Corelli's orchestra were better paid than others. At the Campidoglio Academy in 1702, for example, most of the musicians were paid 1.5 scudi. Giuseppe Valentini and Paolomaria Ceva, however, received 2 scudi apiece, Matteo Fornari received 3 scudi; Filippo Amadei, the cellist, was paid 9 scudi, and Corelli himself was paid 15 scudi.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the elevated payments to Amadei and

<sup>73</sup> Michael Talbot, "A Rival of Corelli: The Violinist-Composer Giuseppe Valentini," in *Nuovissimi studi corelliani: Terzo Congresso*, 347–65; also Enrico Careri, "Giuseppe Valentini (1681–1753)," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, ns 5 (1987), 69–125.

<sup>74</sup> Stefano La Via, "Il violoncello a Roma al tempo del Cardinale Ottoboni: ricerche e documenti" (diss., Università di Roma, 1983), 119 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 109–19; Brunoro, "Lulier."

<sup>76</sup> Alberto Cametti, "I musici di Campidoglio ossia il 'concerto di cornetti e trombone del senato e inclito popolo romano' (1524–1818)," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia patria*, 48 (1925), 95–135.

<sup>77</sup> There was also freelance work in smaller ensembles outside Corelli's orbit. For example, some of the instrumentalists in Table 4.2, including Andrea di Luigi and Giovanni Travaglia, played for a series of oratorios at San Girolamo della Carità in 1704 and 1705. See Careri, "Giuseppe Valentini."

<sup>78</sup> Piperno, "Anfione in Campidoglio," 171.

Table 4.2. *Personnel of Corelli's orchestra, 1702-5*

Players	25 Feb. 1702	18 June 1702	25 Aug. 1702	Feb. 1703	10 June 1703	25 Aug. 1703	17 Apr. 1704	18 July 1704	10 Aug. 1704	10 Aug. 1704	25 Aug. 1704	19 Feb. 1705	7 May 1705	10 Aug. 1705	10 Aug. 1705	25 Aug. 1705
<i>Violin</i>																
Andrea di Luigi	x		x			x	x	x	x		x	x				x
Antonuccio	x		x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x			x
Battistino				x					x				x			
Bernardino Bonazzi			x			x					x	x		x		x
Giuseppe Budassi						x					x					
Giov. Batt. Carpani	x		x	x		x		x			x	x	x	x		x
Pietro Castrucci	x		x						x			x	x	x		
Prospero Castrucci	x			x									x	x	x	
Paolo Maria Ceva	x					x										
Mennicuccio [Colista]	x		x									x	x	x		
Arcangelo Corelli	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Domenico [Lucchese]	x	x		x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x		x
Carlo Ferrini	x								x	x		x	x	x	x	
Matteo Fornari	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Giov. Batt. Gasparini												x				
Giovannino				x		x		x			x	x	x	x		x
Carlo Guerra	x											x	x	x		x
Pietro Antonio Haym							x							x		
Lamberto																
Frances. Maria Massa	x								x			x				
Peppino												x			x	
Perugino												x				
Petrucio (Petrucino)	vla										vla	x	x			
Monsu Pietro			x													
Prospero Pittore												x		x		
Alfonso Poli	x		x			x		x			x	x		x		x
Silvestro Rorondi									x							
Tibaldi	x									x		x		x	x	
Giuseppe Valenini	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x
<i>Viola</i>																
Giuseppe Barbosi	x		x			x		x		x		x		x		x
Bartolomeo di Panfilii	x		x	x		x		x		x		x		x		x
Lorenzo Gasparini			x	x		x		x		x		x		x		x
Giov. Maria Pertica	x		x			x		x		x		x		x		x
<i>Cello-violone</i>																
Filippo Amadei (Pippo)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x			x
Colloidi	x		x						x	x						cb



Table 4.2. (Cont.)

Players	25 Feb. 1702	18 June 1702	25 Aug. 1702	Feb. 1703	10 June 1703	25 Aug. 1703	17 Apr. 1704	18 July 1704	10 Aug. 1704	10 Aug. 1704	25 Aug. 1704	19 Feb. 1705	7 May 1705	10 Aug. 1705	10 Aug. 1705	25 Aug. 1705
Giuseppe De Carolis	x		x		cb											
Francesce			x													
Giov. Ant. Haym			x	lt	x		lt		x			vn	lt			x
Domenico Laurelli	x							x				cb		cb		
Lazzaro												x		x		
Giov. Lorenzo Lulier								x								
Bartolomeo Mazarini				x			x	x	x	cb		x	x			cb
Peppino						x				x						x
Perroni	x			x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x
Pietruccio						x										
<i>Double Bass</i>																
Almerico Bandiera	x			x			x		x	x	vne	x	x	x	x	
Bartolomeo Cimapane	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Giovan Pietro Franchi	x											x				
Petrino Specchi						x			x	x						x
Giovanni Travaglia	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Marcello Valenti	x		x													
<i>Lute, Archlute</i>																
Memmo [Furloni?]	x															
<i>Trumpet</i>																
Camillo	x			x		x	x			x			x			x
Francesce										x						
Gaetano	x			x		x	x			x			x			x
Girolamo										x						
<i>Timpani</i>																
Filippo										x						

Sources: Piperno, "Anfione"; Marx, "Die Musik"; Marx, "'Giustificazioni'"; Lionnet, "La Musique," ii.

Corelli mean that they composed music in addition to playing. The higher payments to Valentini, Ceva, and Fornari suggest that they, along with Corelli and Amadei, played concertino parts.<sup>79</sup> Similarly in the paylists for the festivals at S. Luigi dei Francesi in 1702, 1703 and 1704, most of the musicians are paid 1.5 scudi, while Amadei and Fornari are paid 2 scudi and Corelli 6.<sup>80</sup> Again, Corelli and Fornari must have played the concertino violin parts and Amadei the concertino cello part. In addition Corelli seems to have been paid for providing music and organizing the orchestra.

Based on Table 4.2, Corelli's orchestra can be depicted as a set of concentric circles (Fig. 4.3). In the center is a "core" group of 11 instrumentalists who played at 10 or more events between 1702 and 1705. Moving outward, the next group of musicians can be called "regulars," 19 musicians who played at between 5 and 9 events during the period. Then come 17 musicians who played two to four services and who can be thought of as "occasional" musicians. Finally, in the outermost circle are 10 instrumentalists each of whom made a single appearance between 1702 and 1705. The "core" musicians got the most work and were most likely to play concertino parts and to be paid more. For small events like a procession at S. Luigi the core group was enough, plus perhaps one or two regulars. For larger events, like the Feast of St. Louis, most of the regulars were added, plus occasional musicians as needed. Many of the musicians who put in single appearances seem to have been foreigners, like the "Francese" who played violone at the Feast of St. Louis in 1702 or the "Perugino" who played violin at the Feast of San Lorenzo in 1704. The system displayed in Fig. 4.3 is an early version of the modern world of studio musicians in Los Angeles, Nashville, or London—a city-wide network of freelance musicians organized in concentric circles, with those at the center getting the most work, those on the periphery the least. And Corelli's orchestra was, in fact, perceived in just this way by contemporaries. A list of Roman church musicians drawn up in 1694 arranges the singers by church, but places the instrumentalists together at the end under the rubric "Sig.ri Stromenti di Roma," arranged according to instrument. Corelli's name stands at the head of the list, followed by Fornari, Valentini, and most of the other names in Fig. 4.3.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the names on the list seem to follow the same concentric logic as the figure—the core group comes first, then the regulars, with the occasional musicians at the end.

<sup>79</sup> This would imply a concertino with two rather than one on a part, something that Georg Muffat, in his report on the performance style of Corelli's concerti grossi, says should not be done, "except in a very large space and when the concerto grosso has many players on each part" (*Sedix Concerti Grossi I: Auswahl aus Armonico tributo* (1701), ed. Erwin Luntz (Vienna, 1904), 13). The Capitoline Palace is a large space, and the concerto grosso in 1702 had eight first and eight second violins.

<sup>80</sup> Lionnet, "La Musique à Saint-Louis," ii. 190–93.

<sup>81</sup> Oscar Mischiati, "Una statistica della musica a Roma nel 1694," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, ns 1 (1983), 209–27.

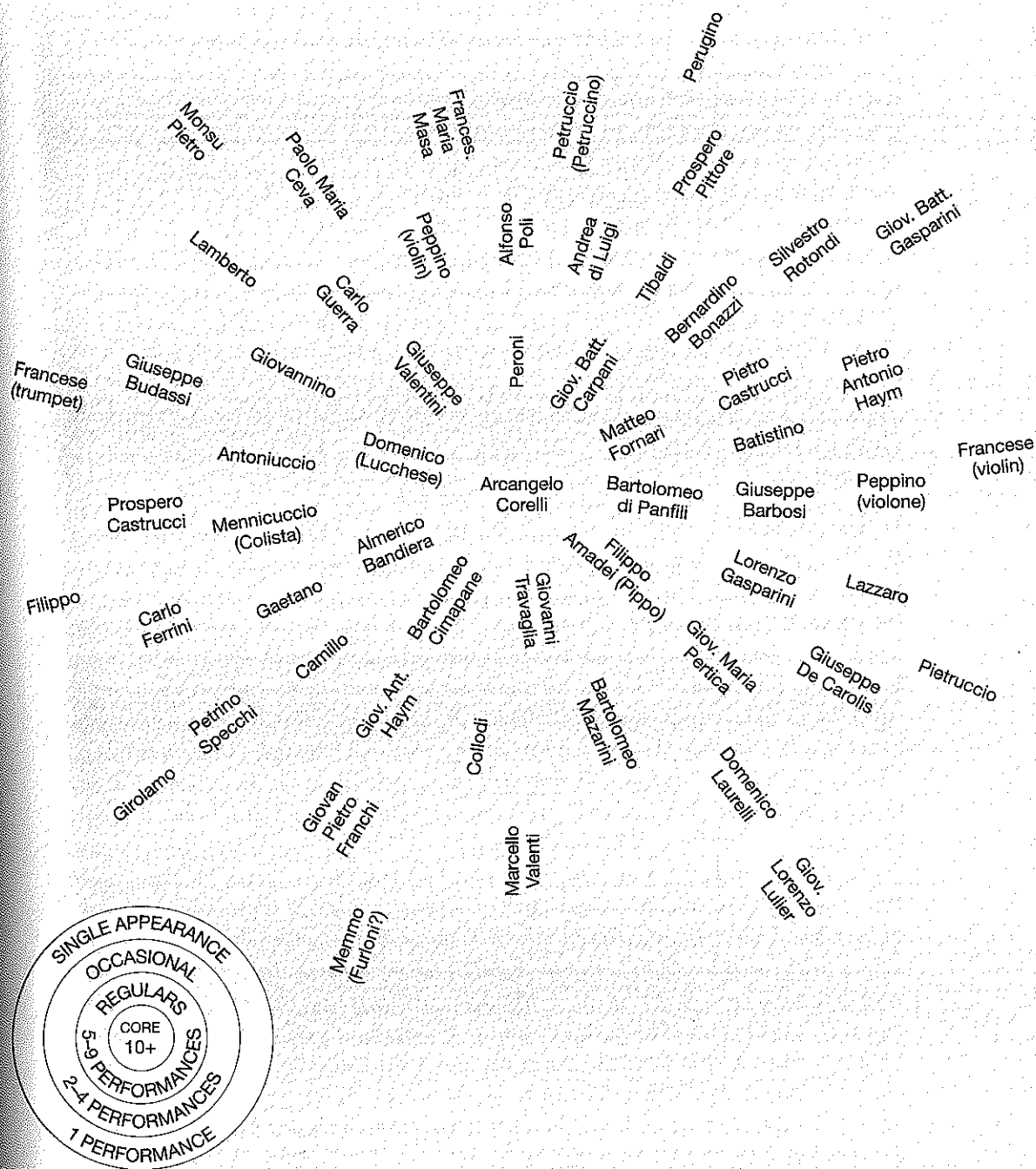


FIG. 4.3. The structure of Corelli's orchestra (1702-5)

The musical organization of Corelli's orchestra mirrored its logistical organization. The concerto grosso style gives maximum responsibility to the concertino at the core, less responsibility to the ripieno, further away from the center. No matter how large his orchestra got, Corelli always had experienced players in the key positions, in the concertino and at the head of the ripieno sections. He could count on a solid core of players who were familiar with his musical style, with the style of his leadership, and with the orchestra's repertory.

The system evidently produced noteworthy results. Geminiani, according to Burney's report, "was extremely struck by [Corelli's] nice management of his band, the uncommon accuracy of whose performance gave the concertos an amazing effect to the eye as well as to the ear." Geminiani attributed the excellent execution of Corelli's orchestra not only to experience and familiarity but also to rehearsal:

Corelli regarded it as essential to the ensemble of the band that their bows should all move exactly together, all up, all down; so that at his rehearsals, which constantly preceded every public performance of his concertos, he would immediately stop the band if he discovered one irregular bow.<sup>82</sup>

Playlists and other records occasionally document rehearsals of Corelli's orchestra. For Pamphili's production in 1689 of *Santa Beatrice d'Este* by Lulier 78 instrumentalists were paid 279 scudi for four rehearsals and a performance.<sup>83</sup> Another entry in the Pamphili archives names the members of a small orchestra (9 string players) that played for a rehearsal of *Santa Maria Maddalena de Pazzi*, an oratorio by Alessandro Scarlatti, in July 1704.<sup>84</sup> This was evidently a preview of the piece for a select audience. The same oratorio was performed in April of the following year with much larger forces, but there is no mention of any rehearsal.<sup>85</sup> Handel's *Resurrezione* in 1708 was rehearsed three times before the main concert. Again the rehearsals seem to have been more like preview performances than working rehearsals, and this time almost all of the orchestra participated, including oboes, trumpets, and the trombone. Records for other years occasionally mention rehearsals for the singers with continuo instruments or with the concertino, but rarely with the entire concerto grosso.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps rehearsals took place immediately before the performances, as Geminiani seems to imply, in which case a single payment would have covered both rehearsal and performance. Multiple performances could also serve as rehearsals. At the end of his long account of the outdoor performance of Scarlatti's *Il regno di Maria assunta in cielo* in the courtyard of the Cancelleria in 1705 the commentator remarks that the performance on the second evening "was executed with more precision than the first one because it was better rehearsed [*per haverla meglio considerata*]."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Mercer, ii. 443.

<sup>83</sup> Marx, "Giustificazioni," 158.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 167-68 (6 vn, 1 vla, 1 vc, 1 cb, 1 lute, 1 hpschd).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 169.

<sup>86</sup> See Brunoro, "Lulier," 277.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. 561.

## THE REPERTORY OF CORELLI'S ORCHESTRA

For almost thirty years Corelli organized and led orchestral performances in Rome. At many, perhaps most, of these events the orchestra performed compositions by Corelli himself: a "sinfonia di novo concerto" during a mass at Santa Casa di Loreto in 1689; a "concerto" before a cantata at the Vatican Palace in 1690; a "sinfonia grande" for a Good Friday performance at the Cancelleria in 1692; "una di quelle bellissime Sinfonie" for a meeting of the Arcadian Academy in 1708; a "sinfonia straordinaria" for the Academia del Disegno in 1709 to honor the presence of the King of Denmark.<sup>88</sup> Yet the only extant compositions by Corelli written for orchestra are the 12 concerti grossi of Opus 6, plus the *sinfonia* for Lulier's *Santa Beatrice d'Este* (WoO 1). Did Corelli's orchestra play these same thirteen pieces at the same events, for the same people, month after month, year after year?

It is likely that Corelli's orchestra sometimes repeated a piece that had been heard before. Crescimbeni, referring to a performance at the Arcadian Academy, remarks that "Corelli began the musical portion of the entertainment by directing one of those magnificent *sinfonie* that he has composed at the Ottoboni palace."<sup>89</sup> Crescimbeni's remark implies that he was familiar with several Corelli *sinfonie* and perhaps had heard the same ones in a variety of contexts. On the other hand, accounts of Corelli performances often refer to "new *sinfonie*" or "newly composed *sinfonie*."<sup>90</sup> In all likelihood, Corelli kept composing new music for his orchestra to play from the beginning of his career until his retirement or close to it.<sup>91</sup> The identity and fate of all these new *sinfonie* and concertos that Corelli's orchestra performed between 1680 and 1709 remain a mystery.

One possibility is a massive loss of repertory. "In the course of nearly 40 years of artistic activity in Rome," says Hans Joachim Marx, "Corelli wrote a large number of compositions that we know about only through contemporary accounts. The great bulk of these unpublished compositions disappeared after Corelli's death."<sup>92</sup> Marx has identified 10 of these unpublished compositions, argued in each case for Corelli's authorship, and published them in the *Gesamtausgabe* as "works without opus number."<sup>93</sup> To account for the missing repertory, however, requires many more than 10 compositions. Extrapolating from the figures in Table 4.2, which covers three and a half years, it seems as though Corelli's orchestra played at least 200

<sup>88</sup> Marx, "Unveröffentlichte Kompositionen," 55; Marx, "Kardinal Ottoboni," 123; Piperno, "Anfione in Campidoglio," 192.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli*, 149. Rinaldi does not give a source for this quotation.

<sup>90</sup> Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 552; Marx, "Unveröffentlichte Kompositionen," 55.

<sup>91</sup> Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: Catalogue raisonné* (Cologne, 1980), 41.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 40.

<sup>93</sup> Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*. Of the 10 works that Marx includes among the "Works without opus number" only one is for orchestra, the *Sinfonia* to Lulier's *Santa Beatrice d'Este* (WoO 1). The others are sonatas à 3 and à 4.

and probably more performances over the course of his career, from 1680 to 1709. If he composed new music for even half of these performances, this implies that there are something like 100 missing works by Corelli. Given Corelli's reputation, the prestige of his music, and the number of people who had access to the parts, it is hard to imagine that the bulk of the music he wrote for his orchestra has vanished without a trace.

Another solution that has been proposed to the mystery of the missing repertory is that, like Poe's purloined letter, it is lying in plain sight. Before Corelli published his Op. 6 *Concerti Grossi*, he published four sets of works scored for two violins and bass: Opus 1 and Opus 3, later designated "sonate da chiesa," and Opus 2 and Opus 4, designated "sonate da camera" by Corelli himself. Several commentators have suggested that Italian trio sonatas, particularly church sonatas, may have been performed in Corelli's day with more than one on a part.<sup>94</sup> There is no direct evidence that Opus 1 and Opus 3 were performed in this manner. A Sonata a Quattro by Corelli (WoO 2) is transmitted in a seven-part version with a concertino and a concerto grosso and also in a version in which "solo" and "tutti" indications have been written into the parts.<sup>95</sup> Francesco Geminiani, Corelli's student, published arrangements of Corelli's Opus 3 as concerti grossi, with the original trio as the concertino and ripieno parts added.<sup>96</sup> It is hard to know, however, whether these later arrangements represent the Roman practice of Corelli's day, much less of his orchestra.

There is in addition the evidence of Georg Muffat, the German organist and composer sent by his patron to Rome around 1680 to study with Bernardo Pasquini.<sup>97</sup> Muffat met Corelli and was so impressed by the master's "concertos, performed with the greatest exactness by a large number of instrumentalists,"<sup>98</sup> that he composed his own pieces in imitation of Corelli's style. Muffat's sonatas were premiered at Corelli's home, presumably by musicians from Corelli's orchestra. Published in 1682 as *Armonico Tributo*, these sonatas are scored for strings in five parts, but Muffat explained in an introduction that they could be played as trio sonatas in three parts, as quartets, as quintets, or "in concerti pieni" with a three-part concertino and a concerto grosso.<sup>99</sup> In the partbooks Muffat inserts "S" for solo and "T" for tutti to indicate where the concertino should play alone and where the concerto grosso should join in. His statement about large ensembles playing Corelli's concertos has been interpreted to mean that Corelli's Opus 6 concertos were already written and were being performed when Muffat was in

<sup>94</sup> Stephen Bonta, "The Church Sonatas of Giovanni Legrenzi" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964), 207; John Daverio, "In Search of the Sonata da camera before Corelli," *Acta musicologica*, 57 (1985), 195–214 at 204; Sandra Mangsen, "The Trio Sonata in Pre-Corellian Prints: When Does 3 = 4?," *Performance Practice Review*, 3 (1990), 138–64 at 161. Peter Allsop criticizes this view (*Italian Trio Sonata*, 43).

<sup>95</sup> Marx, "Unveröffentlichte Kompositionen," 62–63.

<sup>96</sup> Geminiani's arrangements are reprinted in Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonate da chiesa: Opus I und III*, ed. Max Lütolf (Laaber, 1987).

<sup>97</sup> Georg Muffat, *Armonico tributo: 1682 . . . concerti grossi, zweiter Teil*, ed. Erich Schenk (Vienna, 1953), p. viii. This is the same Georg Muffat who studied with Lully in Paris in the 1660s. See Ch. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Georg Muffat, *Sechs Concerti Grossi*, 8.

<sup>99</sup> Muffat, *Armonico tributo*, p. xxv.

Rome (1680–82).<sup>100</sup> But in 1682 Corelli was just coming into his own as a bandleader and had only recently published his Opus 1 trio sonatas. It seems more likely that Muffat's sonatas and their instructions represent the performance practice of Corelli's Opus 1 or, perhaps, Opus 3 trio sonatas "in concerti pieni."<sup>101</sup> It is possible, then, that some of the Corelli's trio sonatas or movements from these trio sonatas represent part of the missing repertory of his orchestra.

A third possible solution to the mystery of the missing repertory is that the twelve concerti grossi of Corelli's Op. 6 represent more than twelve pieces—that the "concerti" and "sinfonie" that Corelli and his orchestra performed in many of their engagements were individual movements or movement pairs from Op. 6. According to this hypothesis, Corelli developed his orchestra's repertory gradually over the period 1680–1705, then, toward the end of his life, selected, revised, and combined pieces for publication in twelve homogeneous sets.<sup>102</sup> Some diplomatic evidence supports this selection–revision hypothesis. The single surviving Corelli autograph is a double sheet with the Pastorale from Op. 6 No. 8 on one side and the Corrente of Op. 6 No. 10 on the other.<sup>103</sup> These two pieces, then, were composed at about the same time, possibly for the same purpose, and independently of the concerti grossi with which they were eventually published. The same manuscript also provides evidence of revision: the corrente in the autograph is in D major, but when Corelli included the piece in Concerto Grosso No. 10, he transposed it to C. Another example of selection and revision comes from the introductory sinfonia that Corelli composed for Lulier's *Santa Beatrice d'Este* in 1689. The second movement of the sinfonia, a largo, turns up, with extensive revisions in scoring and voice leading, as the third movement of Op. 6 No. 6. The other movements from the sinfonia do not appear in the Concerti Grossi. Corelli himself, in a letter to a German prince who had asked him for a "concertino da camera," complained that he could bring himself to publish his music only after a long process of revision ("doppo molte, e lunghe correzzioni").<sup>104</sup> Perhaps the largo from the *Santa Beatrice* sinfonia was tried out in performance several times and revised before Corelli considered it ready for Op. 6. Peter Allsop, on the other hand, argues that the concertos of Corelli's Opus 6 show many signs of having been conceived and composed as unified works rather than being anthologies of a preexisting repertory.<sup>105</sup> Some of them seem to have

<sup>100</sup> Marc Pincherle, *Corelli: His Life, his Work*, trans. Herbert Russell (New York, 1956), 120–22.

<sup>101</sup> John Daverio, considering the same evidence, believes that Muffat probably heard Corelli trio sonatas in orchestral scorings ("In Search of the Sonata da camera," 204).

<sup>102</sup> Piperno, "Le orchestre di Corelli," 46. See also id., "Corelli e il 'concerto' seicentesco: lettura e interpretazione dell'opera VI," in *Studi Corelliani IV*, ed. Petrobelli and Staffieri, 359–80 at 364.

<sup>103</sup> See above. Corelli ran out of room for the Pastorale, so he put the last few bars on the other side of the page, after the Corrente. Thus the Corrente must have been composed first. Marx believes that the Pastorale was written for Christmas 1689. See Hans Joachim Marx, "Römische Weihnachtsoratorien aus der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 49 (1992), 163–99 at 193.

<sup>104</sup> Letter to Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, quoted in Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli*, 444.

<sup>105</sup> Allsop, *Corelli*, 150–51.

thematic links between movements (Concertos 3, 12); in others the movements have similar formal plans (Concertos 3, 6).

Perhaps all three solutions to the mystery of the missing repertory are correct. Corelli's orchestra may well have played some works by Corelli that are now lost. The orchestra may also have performed pieces that Corelli published as trio sonata movements; and if so, the trios were most likely turned into concerti grossi by adding the full ensemble in loud passages. Finally, Corelli's orchestra almost certainly played individual movements or pairs of movements from Op. 6 as independent works in separate performances.