Neal Zaslaw

Ornaments for Corelli’s Violin Sonatas, op.5

The letter of dedication of Arcangelo Corelli’s *Sonate a violino e violone o cimballo*, op.5, is dated Rome, 1 January 1700.1 According to information Charles Burney collected in Rome, Corelli had spent three years revising these compositions for the press;2 and from what is known of Corelli’s working habits we may guess that they were probably composed over a much longer period.3 Thus, these sonatas may originally have been written in the 1680s and 90s—some possibly even earlier.4 Following their publication they attained the status of classics, and by 1800 had been republished more than 50 times, in Amsterdam, Bologna, Florence, London, Madrid, Milan, Naples, Paris, Rome, Rouen and Venice.5 No other set of works enjoyed a comparable reception in the 18th century.

This frequent republication, along with the survival of hundreds of manuscript copies and dozens of arrangements, document the fact that the op.5 sonatas continued to be performed and to be used as teaching pieces. Their pedagogical value lay, presumably, in three areas: (1) as études—op.5 contains a body of finely wrought music many movements of which were within the reach of novice violinists;6 (2) as compositional models—most of the sonatas (or ‘solos’ or ‘lessons’) for one violin with basso continuo composed and performed in the first seven or eight decades of the century may be viewed as attempts to enlarge upon or modernize op.5;7 (3) as a basis for improvisation—the plainness of certain movements made them ideal vehicles for practising ornamentation. This ornamentation took two principal forms: through-composed melodic paraphrase of primarily slow movements, and sets of variations based on shorter dance movements.8 The present article is concerned mainly with the former type of ornamentation.

The through-composed ornamentation itself is likewise of two types, for in the musical textbooks of the 18th century a distinction is made between the small or so-called ‘necessary’ ornaments, and the freer, large-scale ornamentation or musical paraphrase, which was understood to be optional. The former, called *agrément*, *wesentliche Manieren* or *abbellimenti*, consist of trills, turns, slides, appoggiaturas and similar items which leave the contours of a melody intact. The latter, called *doubles*, *willkürliche Veränderungen* or *passaggi*, are more like some practices in jazz, where almost anything that works with the set chord progressions can be substituted. The former—the ‘necessary’ ornaments—belong in any movement, slow or fast, and in any performance, even that of a tyro; the latter—melodic paraphrase—belongs
The first title-page of the first edition of Corelli's op.5 (Rome, 1700). Sonatas nos.7–12 had a different title-page.

especially in adagios and in performances of virtuosos with a thorough grounding in harmony and counterpoint.

Because of the ubiquity of Corelli’s op.5 a number of sets of notated ornaments for it survive. Some of these represent the fumbling of beginners, others are teaching manuscripts, and still others reveal attempts to record the ornamentation of well-known violinists. Most of the surviving manuscript and printed sets of ornaments were listed by Hans Joachim Marx in his excellent Corelli catalogue of 1980, and many of these have long been known, if perhaps not fully understood. In this article I have been able to add a few sets of ornaments to those chronicled by Marx, to correct a few errors, and to begin to answer such questions as: who wrote each set?, when?, for what purpose?—and what connection, if any, may it have had with Corelli’s own practices?

Most modern violin instruction is so strongly orientated to the literal reproduction of fixed pieces of music that it may not be amiss to remind ourselves of possible advantages of a type of training that stressed freely improvised ornamentation. One advantage is that no two performances would ever be the same, lending an air of adventure sometimes lacking in modern concerts. Another is flexibility in adjusting the music to varying circumstances: in larger, more resonant venues or on solemn occasions fewer and slower ornaments would work well; in smaller venues, in front of connoisseurs or on festive occasions more profuse and more rapid ornaments would serve better. Violinists with modest techniques could perform with simple ornaments, whereas virtuosos could make the music their own. Allowing violinists their freedom meant that, as styles and tastes varied from individual to individual and from place to place, or evolved from decade to decade, new ornaments permitted the music to be suited to new demands. This is demonstrated by Tartini’s and Galeazzi’s ornaments for op.5; Tartini’s tend to break down the Baroque Fortspinnung into shorter segments resembling the galant style, whereas Galeazzi’s introduce to the melody a kind of chromaticism quite alien to both Corelli’s and Tartini’s music, but idiomatic in music of the late 18th century. Charles Burney expressed this characteristic thus: ‘Corelli is so plain & simple that he can always be made modern.”

Table 1 identifies all known sets of ornaments, with their sources. Not included are wholesale recompositions of op.5, such as Shuttleworth’s or Geminiani’s arrangements of the sonatas as concerti grossi and Veracini’s Dissertationi sopra l’Opera Quinta del Corelli. Also necessarily excluded are ornaments perhaps never notated as well as others certainly notated but apparently lost. Examples of the former include Blainville’s account of Pietro Locatelli’s performing the opening Adagio of the fourth sonata of op.5 so ravishingly that ‘it would cause a canary to fall from its perch in a swoon of pleasure’, and the remark of Haydn’s London impresario Johann Peter Salomon upon the death of François-Hippolyte Barthélémon in 1808: ‘We have lost our Corelli! There is nobody left now to play those sublime solos. (From this and other evidence it is clear that the ability to ornament Corelli’s sonatas was one way in which 18th-century violinists were judged.)

As an example of certainly notated but lost ornaments for op.5 one can cite Nicola Matteis, Jr. Quantz acquired a manuscript of Matteis’s ornaments for the 12 adagios of the first six sonatas around 1720, but my enquiries in the places where Matteis worked (London and Vienna) and where Quantz’s manuscripts have come to rest (Berlin, Stockholm, Kraków) have failed to turn up a copy. Another instance is a manuscript owned by the composer John Cousser (Johann Kusser) of ornaments...
Table 1 Extant sets of free ornaments for Corelli’s op.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parte Prima. Sonate a violino e violone o cimbalò … opera quinta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonata I [D major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Grave-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Allegro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Grave-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Allegro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Allegro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata II [F major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Allegro- [Fuga]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vivace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Adagio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Vivace. [Fuga]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sonata III [C major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Adagio</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Allegro. [Fuga]-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Adagio</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Allegro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Allegro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sonata IV [F major]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Adagio</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Allegro. [Fuga]-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Vivace</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Adagio</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Allegro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sonata V [G minor]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Adagio</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Vivace. [Fuga]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Adagio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Vivace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Giga. Allegro†</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sonata VI [A major]
1 Grave
2 Allegro, [Fuga]-
   Adagio
3 Allegro
4 Adagio
5 Allegro, [Fuga]

Parte Seconda. Preludii, Allemande, Correnti, Gighe, Sarabande, Gavotte e Follia

Sonata VII [D minor]
1 Preludio. Vivace
2 Corrente. Allegro
3 Sarabanda. Largo
4 Giga. Allegro

Sonata VIII [E minor]
1 Preludio. Largo
2 Allemanda. Allegro
3 Sarabanda. Largo
4 Giga. Allegro

Sonata IX [A major]
1 Preludio. Largo
2 Giga. Allegro
3 Adagio
4 Tempo di Gavotta. Allegro

Sonata X [F major]
1 Preludio. Adagio
2 Allemanda. Allegro
3 Sarabanda. Largo
4 Gavotta. Allegro†
5 Giga. Allegro

Sonata XI [E minor]
1 Preludio. Adagio
2 Allegro
3 Adagio
4 Vivace
5 Gavotta. Allegro†

[Sonata XII, D minor: Variations on La Follia]

* free ornamentation
v set of variations (only those in MSS containing free ornaments—see Robert Seletsky’s article elsewhere in this issue)
c cadenza or close
† ornaments by Michael Festing, discovered by Harry Johnstone as this article went to press
PEZ ANON A Second collection of / sonatás / for two / flutes and a bass, / by / Sign' Christopher Pez, / to which is added / Some Excellent solo's out of the First Part of / Corelli's Fifth opera; / Artfully transpos'd and fitted to a flute and a bass, / yet Continu'd in the same Key they were compos'd in; / the whole fairly Engraven. / London Printed for I. Walsh Serv't to Her Ma'ie at the Harp and Hoboy in Katherine Street near Somerset House in ye Strand / I. Hare Instrumentmaker at ye Golden Viol and Flute in Cornhill near ye Royal Exchange, and P. Randall Instrument: / seller at ye Viol and Lute by Pauls grave head Court with out Temple Barr in the Strand [1707; RISM P689, Marx, Die Überlieferung, pp.314-15, no.2].

LUKE French lute tablature of 1712: in the library of Jules Écorcheville in 1927 according to Marc Pincherle (see n.30). I have been unable to trace this manuscript.

CORELLI sonate / a Violino e Violone o Cimbalò / de arcangelo corelli / da Fussignano / opera quinta ... Troisième Edition ou l'on a joint les agréemens [sic] / des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez [sic] par / Mr. A. Corelli comme il les joue. / À AMSTERDAM / CHEZ ESTIENNE ROGER Marchand Libraire [1710; RISM C3812; Marx, Die Uberlieferung, pp.176–7, no.11].

BL 17,853 British Library, Add. Ms. 17,853: a commonplace book of English provenance, written in several hands between 1694 and the 1730s; the Corelli entries were probably made before 1720.

DUBOURL 'Corelli's / Solos / Grac'd by / Dubourg' [sic]. This manuscript, preserving ornaments by Handel's concertmaster and Geminiani's pupil Matthew Dubourg (1703–67), belonged to Alfred Cortot, to Albi Rosenthal and then to Marc Pincherle. It was purchased by an unknown party at the sale of Pincherle's library (3–5 March 1975). Its contents apparently date from before 1721.

ROMAN Stockholm Kungelige Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Roman Collection Ms.s 61 and 97. Two manuscripts in the hand of Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758), apparently written during his years of study in England, 1715–21. Some of Roman's ornaments were copied from Dubourg's.

WALSH ANON A manuscript bound into a London re-edition of op.5 by Walsh & Hare (c.1711; RISM C3816; Marx, pp.177–8, no.14). Formerly owned by David Boyden, now in the Music Library of the University of California, Berkeley (uncatalogued). For keyboard solo; English provenance, c.1720 [Marx, Die Überlieferung, p.322, no.B(a)].

GEMINI An The manuscript of op.5, no.9 by Corelli's pupil Francesco Geminiani is lost, but it was published in John Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (London, 1776).

FESTING Ornaments by Michael Festing recently dis-covered by Harry Johnstone, who is preparing a study of this new source.

TARTINI Padua Biblioteca Antoniana, Ms. 1896, possibly in Giuseppe Tartini's hand, probably used in his violin teaching.

TENBURY Formerly St. Michael's College, Tenbury, Ms. 752, now Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ornamented arrangements for keyboard solo, probably from the mid-18th century. English provenance.

CAMBRIDGE Cambridge University Library Add. Ms. 7059, a miscellany, probably from the 1730s and 1740s. The two Corelli movements are of English provenance; Sonata IX is for violin, Sonata VII for keyboard solo.

MANCHESTER Manchester Public Library (Newman Flower Collection), Ms. 130, with other manuscripts from Handel's circle; impossibly claimed to preserve the ornaments of Corelli's pupil Pietro Castrucci (1679–1752), ?c.1750.


EASTMAN ANON Written into a copy of Jean-Baptiste Cartier's L'art du violon (Paris, 3[c.1803]) in the Sibley Library, Eastman School of Music, Rochester (Vault MT 260 C327), p.63.

FORLI ANON Written into a copy of a Walsh edition of op.5 in the Biblioteca comunale Aurelio Saffi, Forli (Piancastelli 103).

WALThER Johann Gottfried Walther, 'Alcuni variationi sopr’un basso continuo del Sign' Corelli.' Only the first variation keeps Corelli's melody.

BL 38,188 British Library Add. Ms. 38,188: a learner's notebook of songs and keyboard works, with a series of easy, fingered pieces. English provenance, perhaps dating from the 1740s.

MADAN Written by (or for) Martin Madan, Alumnus of Oxford, into a copy of a Walsh & Hare edition (London, c.1711) of op.5 (RISM C3816 = Marx, Die Überlieferung, pp.177–8, no.14), in the private library of Michael D’Andrea.

GIPEN Written by (or for) Anna Sophia Gipen into a copy of a Walsh edition (London, 1740) of op.5 (RISM C3827 = Marx, Die Überlieferung, pp.181–2, no.26), in the private library of Michael D’Andrea.
Ex. 1 Corelli, Sonata, op. 5 no. 9, first movement, with various sets of ornamentation

for op.5 by his Dublin colleague, the violinist William Viner. Geminiani and Galeazzi apparently both ornamented much of op.5, but from the former we have only one sonata, and from the latter only one movement.

Ex.1 contains a movement from one of the sonate da camera of op.5 for which a number of ornamented versions survive. Even a superficial examination of these ornaments reveals a wide range of approaches. Some of the ornamenters worked in such a way that the principal notes of Corelli's melody are still readily perceptible, no matter how many fast, light notes may intervene; other ornamenters have nearly smothered Corelli's melodies, although the structural notes can usually still be spotted. These different philosophies of ornamentation may have arisen from the personal tastes of given ornamenters, from considerations of a given performer's technique, or from the nature of the occasions for which the ornaments were set down on paper. But there is also another factor at work here: generally speaking, as the 18th century progressed, the notated ornaments for op.5 grew denser. This chronological development of ever denser ornamentation can
be corroborated by evidence that is completely independent of these Corelli ornaments. What can this mean?

First of all, it means that the sonatas were being played ever slower as the century progressed. Not only does the tempo slow down, but in places the player of the accompaniment must break the tempo entirely, waiting until the violinist has completed his flourishing: both Roger North in the second decade of the century and Quantz in the sixth condemned a density of ornamentation for Corelli’s sonatas that required players of the bass line to pause.20

Second, this apparent attempt of each subsequent generation to out-ornament its teachers’ generation would of course eventually reach a point of diminishing returns. That point can perhaps be sensed in the extravagant, late 18th-century ornaments for a Tartini Adagio, the first page of which was reproduced in *Early music* (Jan 1979), vii, p.51.21

Third, the progress of ornamentation toward its most extreme forms coincided with the rise of the newer galant and classical styles and the gradual abandonment of the solo accompanied by basso continuo. Viewed in this light, the ever more
elaborate ornamentation may have been the result of attempts to sustain an increasingly old-fashioned style in the face of growing criticism or lack of interest. And the galant predilection may also explain why the early policy of Corelli, Petz and Matteis to ornament only the adagios of the sonate da chiesa (nos.1–6) was abandoned in later sources to embrace also fast movements and the sonate da camera (nos.7–11).

Finally, the history of this trend toward denser ornamentation leaves open the crucial question of what Corelli himself had in mind when he or one of his colleagues or pupils performed a sonata from op.5. That is to say, the extant sets of ornaments provide plenty of evidence for how some famous violinists and other musicians may have played or taught Corelli’s sonatas from the 1720s onward, but what evidence is there for Corelli’s own practices? The answer to this question is that there are two important if ambiguous types of evidence: the already-mentioned set of ornaments attributed to Corelli and some descriptions of him performing.

The edition of op.5 with ornaments for the adagios of the first six sonatas ‘composed by Corelli as he plays them’ was published in Amsterdam in 1710 and almost immediately republished in London. These highly idiomatic ornaments create a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort by avoiding shifting during each passage. They are well known, for they were included in the old complete works of Corelli edited by Joseph Joachim and Friedrich Chrysander; but doubt has been cast on their
genuineness. The earliest sceptic was Roger North, who, although he had never visited Italy, knew a few good Italian violinists working in London. When North saw these ornaments after their London publication in 1710–11 they must have contradicted what he understood about Corelli’s practices, for he wrote:

It would be endless to call in all those elegant turnes of voices and instruments which are taught by the Italian masters ... [and] accounted glorious ornaments, and to subject them to a resolution. They are such as I may terme curling graces, and are applied often at cadences, and other principall passages, resembling a neat Lesson contracted with a soft slurre[,] more or less as there is occasion or time to lett it in. These are shewed as fine things neer [at] hand solo, but have no use or effect at [a] distance or in consort, and for that reason the best masters in such cases decline them, and sound plain. Some presumer hath published a continuall course of this sort of stuff in score with Corelly’s solos. ... Upon the bare view of the print any one would wonder how so much vermin could creep into the work of such a master. And nothing can resolve it but the ignorant ambition of learners, and the knavish invention of the musick sellers to profit thereby. Judicious architects abominate any thing of embroidery upon a structure that is to appear great, and trifling about an harmonious composition is no less absurd.24

Scepticism about the genuineness of these ornaments attributed to Corelli must have been expressed in other quarters as well, for in 1716 their Amsterdam publisher, Estienne Roger, felt the need to append to an advertisement of his edition the following offer: ‘... those who are curious to see Mr. Corelli’s original, with his letters written on this subject, may see them at Estienne Roger’s
establishment. Although it is undeniably the better part of wisdom to be cautious in accepting the claims of publishers on title-pages and in advertisements, Roger would have had to be extraordinarily foolish to have made this offer if he had not had Corelli’s manuscript and authenticating letter in his shop. But, it has been objected, by 1716 when Roger invited curious parties to examine his Corelli autographs, Corelli was dead, and no one in Amsterdam would have been in a position to authenticate his writing.

On the contrary, I suspect there were people in Amsterdam (among them Locatelli) who, by handwritting and paper, would have known the difference between a Dutch forgery and an Italian original. The ornaments, after all, were published during Corelli’s lifetime at a moment when Roger was already negotiating the publication of Corelli’s op.6 concerti grossi.

This last remark leads to three interrelated hypotheses as to why Corelli would have been publishing in Amsterdam instead of Rome or Venice: (1) the differences between the obsolete music-printing technology in Italy (Renaissance moveable type) and the modern technology in Holland (engraving); (2) the superior placement of the Amsterdam merchants to distribute their publications throughout Europe, given the decline of Italy in international trade; and (3) a gradual shift of the centres of European wealth, culture and power to north of the Alps, with a concomitant rise of markets there for published music.

Whatever the reasons, Corelli between his op.5
(Rome, 1700) and op.6 (Amsterdam, 1714), Albinoni between his op.3 (Venice, 1701) and op.4 (Amsterdam, c.1709), Marcello between his op.1 (Venice, 1708) and op.2 (Amsterdam, before 1717), Valentini between his op.8 (Rome, 1714) and the Concerti a 5 e 6 stromenti (Amsterdam, 1716), and Vivaldi between his op.2 (Venice, 1709) and op.3 (Amsterdam, 1711) each decided to publish in Amsterdam rather than at home. I take all this as circumstantial evidence for the probable genuineness of the much maligned ornaments attributed to Corelli.

The publication of the ornaments attributed to Corelli raised a few astonishingly modern-sounding qualms on the part of the anti-Newtonian, pro-Cartesian Jesuit scientist Louis-Bertrand Castel (1688–1757), known to music historians for his theoretical disputes with Rameau and for his colour harpsichord. Castel (who had never been outside France, much less outside Europe) wrote a critique of an attempt to notate Chinese music published by a contemporary of his who had travelled in Asia:

We would like to know how to appreciate the Chinese airs that are running around Paris since the publication in four large volumes of the new and very curious Histoire de la Chine, written by the Reverend Father du Halde.

These airs are notated in the French or European manner and as a result are neither European nor Chinese, and have no determined style. It is like a literal translation, which can never represent the author’s spirit.

If they [the Chinese airs] were notated in the Chinese manner—that is to say, with the entire assemblage of Chinese inflections, accents, national styles and articulations; with all their connections to dances, to declamation, to gesture, to movements of the head, throat, shoulders, and hands, to the very turn of mind, and to the country’s manner of thinking—we would doubtless like them even less. As they are, they appear merely flat and without expression. Whoever notated the pieces and charmed the Chinese by playing them was unaware (and was unable to perceive) that he hadn’t put the Chinese spirit and taste into his notes that he (also unaware) had put into his playing.

At this point in his polemic, Castel recalled the ornaments attributed to Corelli:

It was doubtless only after the fact that Corelli had composed a separate volume, which I have seen, of all the appoggiaturas, passing tones, and small and large ornaments which he added to his sonatas when playing them, but which he had not thought to provide when he first gave the sonatas to the public. Composers are never happy with the way people perform their works. In what way, then, have they put their spirit into the notes?28

Castel’s question is, of course, the question—the one that the early-music movement came into being to try to answer.
Ex. 2 Corelli, Sonata, op. 5 no. 4, first movement, as ornamented by Corelli, the Pez anonymous and Roman
The only other ornaments for op.5 resembling those attributed to Corelli are in two sonatas 'illustrated throughout with proper Graces, by an eminent Master', published in a 1707 volume of sonatas by Christopher Pe[tl]z. These have a style, density and function similar to Corelli's ornaments, even though they are for recorder rather than for violin. They are also the only other extant set of ornaments from Corelli's lifetime, all the others apparently having originated later. Ex.2 shows an Adagio from one of the sonate da chiesa as graced by Corelli and by the Pe[tl]z anonymous of 1707.

But what could it possibly mean that these are Corelli's ornaments 'as he played them', given that we believe that he would not have played them the same way in varying acoustics and for differing occasions? In attempting to answer this question we should not forget a fundamental difference between music in manuscript and published music: in general, music in manuscript was tailored to the tastes and requirements of a particular time and place; published music, on the contrary, had to be calculated for many tastes and requirements in unknown times and places. Common sense suggests, therefore, that any ornaments Corelli sent to Amsterdam to be published would have been minimal, all-purpose examples that could work for many types of violinists in a variety of venues. These would have been intended primarily for inexperienced players who needed to be shown what was wanted in this type of music, not for virtuosos, who would be well able to take care of themselves in that department. This emerges not only from a general understanding of the function of ornamented editions, but from Roger's announcement, while his ornamented edition of op.5 was being prepared, that,

... he is presently engraving the ornaments of the adagios of these sonatas, which Mr. Corelli himself has been good enough to compose completely afresh, as he plays them. These will be true violin lessons for all amateurs.

Furthermore, by six years after Roger published Corelli's ornaments, when (as we have seen) their authenticity was apparently being questioned, he took the trouble to alter his wording from 'the ornaments ... as [Corelli] plays them' to 'the ornaments ... as Mr. Corelli wishes that people play them.' People' here means amateurs. If all this suggests that on various occasions Corelli himself would have played more notes than (and, certainly, some different from) those found in his published ornaments, it does not necessarily mean, however, that he would have favoured the kinds of ornaments that became fashionable only in the decades after his death.

We come now to descriptions of Corelli performing. The Frenchman François Raguenet (c.1660–1722) was in Rome in 1698, when the two most prominent violinists were Corelli and his pupil and life companion Matteo Fornari. Returning home, Raguenet wrote of the violin playing he had witnessed in Rome:

If a Storm, or Rage, is to be describ'd in a Symphony, their Notes gives us so natural an Idea of it, that our Souls can hardly receive a stronger Impression from the Reality than they do from the Description; every thing is so brisk and piercing, so impetuous and affecting, that the Imagination, the Senses, the Soul, and the Body it self are all betray'd into a general Transport; 'tis impossible not to be born down with the Rapidity of these Movements: A Symphony of Furies shakes the Soul; it undermines and overthrows it in spite of all its Care; the Artist himself, whilst he is performing it, is seiz'd with an unavoidable Agony, he tortures his Violin, he racks his Body; he is no longer Master of himself, but is agitated like one possesst with an irresistible Motion.

If, on the other side, the Symphony is to express a Calm and Tranquility, which requires a quite different Style, they however execute it with an equal Success: Here the Notes descend so low, that the Soul is swallow'd with 'em in the profound Abyss. Every String [recte stroke] of the Bow is of an infinite Length, ling'ring on a dying Sound, which decays gradually 'till at last it absolutely expires.

The anonymous author of this translation, published in 1709, appended a note to this passage, which reads as follows:

I never met with any Man that suffer'd his Passions to hurry him away so much, whilst he was playing on the Violin, as the famous Arcangelo Corelli; whose Eyes will sometimes turn as red as Fire: his Countenance will be distorted, his Eye-Balls roll as in an Agony, and he gives in so much to what he is doing that he doth not look like the same Man.

An Englishman who owned a copy of this translation of Raguenet, and who apparently had heard Corelli perform, glossed the translator's gloss with the words: 'Corelli is a conceited fellow[,] half madd for all hee is so great a master.'
The frontispiece of the first edition of Corelli's op.5. An allegorical figure presents Corelli's music to a warrior holding the escutcheon of Sophie Charlotte of Hanover, Electress of Brandenburg, to whom op.5 is dedicated. On the left are the instruments of war, to the right, symbolizing the arts and sciences, musical instruments and a classical pavilion.

A final description of Corelli performing does not pretend to be an eye-witness account. Rather, it is an account of his peculiar gifts as imagined by a distant admirer; we may suppose that it is based on hearsay and on a sensitive estimate of what would convey Corelli's greatness to French auditors. This is François Couperin’s Le Parnasse, ou L'Apothéose de Corelli, published in Paris in 1724, a trio sonata in seven movements bearing the following programmatic inscriptions:

1 At the foot of Mount Parnassus, Corelli beseeches the Muses to accept him among them.
2 Delighted by the favourable reception given him on Parnassus, Corelli indicates his pleasure. He proceeds with his followers.
3 Corelli drinking from the Hippocrene spring, his followers proceed.
4 Corelli's enthusiasm, caused by the Hippocrene's waters.
5 After his enthusiasm, Corelli sleeps; and his troupe plays the following sommeil.
6 The Muses awaken Corelli and seat him next to Apollo.
7 Corelli’s thanks.

For the present inquiry, the relevant movements are the third and fourth. The 'Hippocrene spring' of the third movement is so called because, according to Greek mythology, it had gushed forth under the hoof of the winged horse Pegasus; it was said to have the virtue of conferring poetic inspiration on those who drank its water. The results of Corelli's imbibing can then be heard in the fourth movement, where the word 'enthusiasm' is of course used in its original sense of 'possession by a god, supernatural inspiration, prophetic or poetic frenzy'. The evidence of ex.1 suggests that Couperin was not the only 18th-century admirer of Corelli who equated poetic frenzy with demisemiquavers.
Given the relatively simple, apparently Apollonian nature of Corelli’s music, it has seemed to some modern commentators that the Dionysian wildness just described can be accounted for only by astounding ornamentation, more like that documented in the later 18th-century sources than that attributed to Corelli himself. These wild descriptions have therefore been brought forward to cast increased doubt on the relatively modest 1710 ornaments attributed to Corelli. On the contrary, I should like to raise the question of the nature of these supposedly eye-witness testimonies.

In a review of a book containing numerous eye-witness accounts of Chopin, Charles Rosen pointed out a main truth that is often overlooked: what audiences see and hear is profoundly influenced by what they are expecting to see and hear.17 If a performer’s reputation precedes him, it is likely to alter powerfully perceptions of his playing. Received notions about the nature of inspiration will likewise exert their influence on perceptions. The wild descriptions of Corelli performing must, therefore, be evaluated in the context of similar descriptions. Here, then, are accounts of some other instrumentalsists ornamenting or improvising.

Locatelli in Kassel in 1728:

What does the common man know about precisely to which grimaces inspiration can tempt one? If grimaces and inspiration were entirely inseparable, then one might rather wish to become less of a highflyer and to remain more in control of oneself. ... Anyone who heard Locatelli improvise ... knows what grimaces occurred on that occasion; before coming out of his trance he from time to time shouted, ‘Ah!, que dites-vous de cela?’18

Mozart in London in 1765:

Finding that he was in humour, and as it were inspired, I then desired him to compose a Song of Rage, such as might be proper for the opera stage. The boy again looked back with much archness, and began five or six lines of a jargon recitative proper to precede a Song of Anger. This lasted about the same time with the [previously requested] Song of Love; and in the middle of it, he had worked himself up to such a pitch, that he beat his harpsichord like a person possessed, rising sometimes in his chair.19

C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg in 1772:

After dinner ... [he sat] down again to a clavichord, and he played, with little intermission, till near eleven o’clock at night. During this time, he grew so animated and possessed, that he not only played, but looked like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance.20

Beethoven in Vienna in 1799:

In his improvisations ... Beethoven did not deny his tendency toward the mysterious and gloomy. When once he began to revel in the infinite world of tones, he was transported also above all earthly things — his spirit had burst all restricting bonds, shaken off the yokes of servitude, and soared triumphantly and jubilantly into the luminous spaces of the higher aether. Now his playing tore along like a wildly foaming catarract, and the conjurer constrained his instrument to an utterance so forceful that the stoutest structure was scarcely able to withstand it; and anon he sank down, exhausted, exhaling gentle plaints, dissolving in melancholy. Again the spirit would soar aloft, triumphing over transitory terrestrial sufferings, turn its glance upward in reverent sounds and find rest and comfort on the innocent bosom of holy nature.21

Paganini in Paris in 1831:

The extraordinary expression of his face, his livid paleness, his dark and penetrating eyes, together with the sardonic smile which occasionally played upon his lips, appeared to the vulgar, and to certain diseased minds, unmistakable evidence of a Satanic origin.22

But the most famous 18th-century description of musical possession is Diderot’s fictional portrayal of Jean-Philippe Rameau’s nephew, Jean-François, written in the 1760s. The scene is a Parisian café. During a discussion of music reminiscent of the disputes of the Guerre des Bouffons of the early 1750s, Rameau’s nephew has gone into a trance and, with his voice alone, performs passages from famous church music and operas of the period, while everyone else in the café has ceased eating, drinking, or playing chess and stares at him:

... he noticed nothing, he kept on, in the grips of mental possession, an enthusiasm so close to madness that it seemed doubtful whether he would recover. ... [H]e aped the different instruments. With swollen cheeks and a somber throaty sound, he would give us the horns and bassoons. For the oboes he assumed a shrill yet nasal voice, then speeded up the emission of sound to an incredible degree for the strings, for whose tones he found close analogues. He whistled piccolos and warbled transverse flutes, singing, shouting, wailing about like a madman. ... He wept, laughed, sighed, looked placid or melting or enraged. ... He had completely lost his senses.23

That these descriptions of musical inspiration or possession are so strikingly similar from one to the
next, and to descriptions of people in states of madness or of religious or sexual ecstasy, signals the presence of a historical topos. That is, the vocabulary and the imagery for describing such states were pre-existent, and may have been used more-or-less automatically by writers to whom they seemed the proper way of dealing with certain mysterious aspects of human behaviour. This is not to suggest that performers, when exerting themselves to improvise, did not make grimaces or become abstracted, but rather that the topos of demonic possession, firmly entrenched in the minds of the observers, coloured their descriptions and explanations of what they witnessed, privileging certain aspects and rendering others invisible.

One can counter the wild descriptions of Corelli with his pupil Geminiani’s report to John Hawkins that the style of Corelli’s performance ‘was learned, elegant and pathetic, and his tone firm and even’, resembling ‘a sweet trumpet’. Hawkins adds that ‘Corelli is said to have been remarkable for the mildness of his temper and the modesty of his deportment’. Here is another topos that could be documented: Arcangelo Corelli as archangel.

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1 Facsimiles of the editions of Rome 1700 and Amsterdam 1710 are found in Archivum musicum: Collana di testi rari, xxi (Florence, 1979). Another facsimile of the Rome 1700 edition is in Corelli and his contemporaries, ed. J. Adas, The Eighteenth-Century Continuo Sonato, i (New York, 1991).


3 E.g. Georg Muffat heard some of Corelli’s concerti grossi when he was in Rome in the 1680s, but they were not published until 1714. See also Sir John Hawkins, A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (London, 1776; R/New York, 1963), ii, p.677.


6 Burney, General History, iii, p.556; ed. Mercer, ii, p.442. In a manuscript of op.5 in Forli dated 1842 (Biblioteca comunale Aurelio Saffi, MS L/95) the sonatas are called ‘lezioni’; in the Bologna edition of 1711 (RISM C3805; Marx, Die Überlieferung, p.177, n.10.13) they are said on the title-page to be ‘Al’ Insegna del Violino’.

7 Hawkins, General History, ii, p.678; Burney, General History, iii, p.87n; ed. Mercer, ii, pp.442f. Consider also Paolo Benedetto Bellinanzi, 12 Suonate da chiesa a 3 ... ad imitazione d’Arcangelo Corelli; William Topham, Six Sonata’s ... compos’d in imitation of Arcangelo Corelli ... opera terza; and Georg Philipp Telemann, Corellisierenden Sonaten.

8 For the variations for short dance movements, see Robert Seletsky’s article elsewhere in this issue.


11 In this context it might be worth recalling two early 17th-century writers who suggested that unornamented versions serve novices with limited technique as well as true artists, who will add their own ornaments, whereas versions with written-out ornaments are for performers with big techniques but small understanding (Bartolomeo Barbarino, Il secondo libro della motetti ... a una voce sola (Venice, 1614), preface; Enrico Radesca di Foggia, Il Quinto libro delle canzonette, madrigali et arie, a tre, a una, et a due voci (Venice, 1617), preface; quoted in R. Donington, ‘Monteverdi’s first opera’, The Monteverdi companion, ed. D. Arnold and N. Fortune (New York, 1968), p.267n).


17. Burney reported having studied the violin and French with Nicola Matteis, Jr in Shrewsbury in the early 1740s, adding: ‘He played Corelli’s solos with more simplicity and elegance than any performer I ever heard’ (General History, ii, p.410n; Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769, ed. S. Klima, G. Bowers and K. S. Grant (Lincoln, 1988), pp.33–5). But Matteis, Jr died in Vienna and was buried in the parish of St. Jacob, Penzing, on 23 October 1737 (A. D. McCredie, ‘Nicola Matteis, the Younger: Caldara’s collaborator and ballet composer in the service of the emperor, Charles VI’, Antonio Caldara, essays on his life and times, ed. B. W. Pritchard (Aldershot, 1987), pp.156–82). So the man Burney studied with must have been a son of Matteis, Jr—probably the ‘Mr J Nichola Mattees’ who died in Shrewsbury in 1760 and was buried in St Chad’s parish (N. Zaslaw, ‘The Vanishing Violinist: Nicola Matteis the Younger’, Country life (24 March 1988), chxxii, p.176).

18. Yale University, Beinecke Librayary, Mus. ms. 16 (Cousser’s commonplace book).


20. Roger North on music, p.162; Quantz, On playing the flute, pp.179–80. Likewise, in the music notebook of an early 18th-century English harpsichord pupil, John Barrett, after explanations of the two principal types of ornaments apparently dictated by his teacher, is the remark: ‘But (N.) whether they be Beats, or Shakes, you must be sure to play them in time; otherwise you had better play only the plain notes’ (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 41,205).


22. Marx, Die Überlieferungen, pp.176–7. My sources are the 1979 facsimile of the 1710 Amsterdam edition (see n.1 above) and a copy of the 1711 London edition pirated from it, in the Cornell University Music Library (Locked Press MS M219 C79++ op.5).


29 Christopher Pe[t]z, A Second collection of sonatas, for two / flutes and a bass / ... to which is added / Some Excellent solo’s out of the First Part of / Corelli’s Fifth opera; / Artfully transpos’d and fitted to a flute and a bass, / yet Continu’d in the same Key they were Compos’d in (London: Walsh & Hare, [1707]). The phrase illustrated throughout with proper Graces, by an eminent Master’ comes not from the publication itself but from an advertisement for it in the Post Man (12–15 Apr 1707). The likeliest candidate for authorship of these ornaments is one of two recorder virtuosos: John Paisible (active in London c.1674–1721) or John Loeillet (active in London c.1705–30).

30 There is, however, also a modestly ornamented Sarabande from op.5, no.7, in a French lute manuscript, which apparently dates from 1712 (see M. Pincherle, ‘De l’ornamentation des sonates de Corelli’, Feuilles d’histoire du violon (Paris, 1927), pp.133–43, here 139–40). According to Quantz (see n.16 above) Matteis’s ornaments were similar to Corelli’s but somewhat more elaborate. The ornaments attributed to Corelli’s pupils Castrucci and Gemini

31 For instance, Georg Philipp Telemann, Sonate methodiche a violino solo o flauto traverso, op.13 (Hamburg, 1728); Carlo Zaccari, The True Method of Playing an Adagio made Easy by Twelve Examples (London, c.1765); Pietro Nardini, VII Sonates ... avec les Adagios brodés ... après les manuscrits originaux de l’auteur (Paris, n.d.); and the Tartini Adagio cited in n.21 above.

dlement les Agrément[s] des Adagios de ces Sonates, que Mr. Corelli lui même a eu la bonté de composer tout nouvellement comme il les joue. Ce seront de véritables leçons de violon pour tous les Amateurs.’

33 The 1710 title-page’s ‘l’on a joint les agréments des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par Mr. A. Corelli comme il les joue’ has become in the 1716 notice, ‘... avec les agréments marqués pour les adagio, comme M. Corelli veut qu’on les joue.’

34 François Raguenet, Parallèle des italiens et des français en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra (Paris, 1702; R/Genova, 1767), pp.43–5; ‘... s’il faut faire une symphonie qui exprime la tempête, la fureur, ils en impriment si bien le caractère dans leurs airs, que souvent la réalité n’agit pas plus fortement sur l’âme; tout y est si vif, si aigu, si perçant, si impétueux & si remuant, que l’imagination, les sens, l’âme, & le corps même en sont entrainé d’un commun transport; on ne peut se défendre de suivre la rapidité de ces mouvements; un symphonie de Furies agite l’âme, la renvers, la cultive malgre elle; le joueur de violon qui l’Exécute ne peut s’empêcher d’en être transporté & d’en prendre la fureur, il tourmente son violon, son corps, il n’est plus maître de lui-même, il s’agit comme un possède, il ne saurait faire autrement.

‘Si la Symphonie doit exprimer le calme & le repos, quoi qu’elle demande un caractère tout opposé, ils ne l’ex
cutent pas avec moins de succès; ce sont des tons qui descendent si bas, qu’ils abiment l’âme avec eux dans leur profondeur; ce sont des coups d’archet d’une longueur infinie, traînez d’un son mourant qui s’affaiblit toujours jusqu’a ce qu’il expire entièrement.’

35 A comparison between the French and Italian music and opera’s. Translated from the French; with some remarks. To which is added a critical discourse upon opera’s in England, and a means proposed for their improvement [trans. attrib. J. E. Galliard, perhaps wrongly as Galliard is not known to have visited Italy! (London, 1709), pp.20–21. The reprint, ed. C. Cudworth
(Farnborough, 1968), is of an anonymously annotated copy at Cambridge University.

36 A comparison between the French and Italian music and opera's, p.21.


39 Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, annotation to his Dutch translation of Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces (London, 1773) as Rijk gestoof-ferd verhaal van de eigenlijke gesteld- heid der hedendaagse Toonkunst ... (Groningen, 1786), p.389: 'Wat heeft het gemeen juist te weeten, tot wat grijzingen de geestdriftig konne verleiden? Waren dezelve daarvan volstrekt onafscheidelijk, so mogt men liever wenschen, een minder soort van oversvlieter te worden en in 't bezit te blijven van zich zelven. ... [W]ie ... Locatelli heeft hooren fantaseeren, die weet, wat Grimansen daar bij voor- viel: aler Hii, weer tot zich zelven komende, zomwijlen uitriep: “Ahl, que dites-vous de cela?”'


41 Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, ii, p.260.


February 23, 1745
Marriage ceremony of Louis, Dauphin of France, and Maria Theresa, Infanta of Spain
Hennin col. - Photo: BNF