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FROM SOUTH TO NORTH AND FROM THE CENTRE OUT: CORELLI'S RECEPTION IN 18TH-CENTURY SWITZERLAND¹

by CHRISTOPH RIEDO

Situated as it is in the heart of Europe and characterised by its federal state structure and cultural diversity, Switzerland is a particularly interesting place to examine the impact of Corelli's music abroad. Mostly lacking in native composers (except for those who were also Catholic priests), the Old Swiss Confederacy of the 18th century was more a location for the reception of music than for its production. Switzerland must also be comprehended in a certain sense as a cultural periphery, particularly because of the absence of a landed gentry, which in turn would have attracted composers. This does not mean, however, that in the environment of the numerous Catholic institutions, especially in their religious orders, in the *collegia musica* which existed in practically every Protestant city in German-speaking Switzerland or generally among the wealthy urban patrician classes, there would not have been a versatile and vivid musical life.² Actually, since music historiography tends to focus on the locations where composers created their musical works, Swiss music history reveals another largely unknown aspect: the ways in which music spread outwards from those centres to the periphery.

Characteristic and particularly influential on Switzerland was, in addition to the cultural and linguistic diversity, the variety of Christian denominations. Catholics and Protestants sometimes mingled within a small area, and the Protestant faith was represented by different reformers such as Zwingli in Zürich and Calvin in Geneva, as well as their successors. The attitudes towards psalm singing, the function of music, and the presence (or lack) of

¹ I would especially like to thank Agnes Coakley and Barbara Lambert for their help with proofreading and editing. All translations, unless otherwise specified, are by the author.

² The musical life of monasteries in the Old Swiss Confederacy has only recently begun to be investigated in depth. The following is a representative selection of relevant literature: Claudio Bacciagaluppi, „La musique prédomine trop dans nos abbaïes helvétiques. Einige Quellen zur Stellung der Figuralmusik in Schweizer Klöstern“, in: Giuliano Castellani (ed.), *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums. Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress an der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz), 23. bis 24. November 2007*, Bern and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 2010 (Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II/55), 139–176; Christoph Riedo, „Um die Music mit grösserer auferbauligkeit, und mindrer unordnung und ausschweifungen diese hochfeierliche zeit hindurch vollführen zu können – Einblicke in die Organisation der Musik in der Benediktinerabtei Einsiedeln in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der ‚Grossen Engelweihe‘“, in: *ibidem*, 177–216. Regarding *collegia musica* the unmatched overview is Karl Nef, *Die Collegia Musica in der deutschen reformierten Schweiz von ihrer Entstehung bis zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, St. Gallen: Fehr, 1897.

an organ in churches varied from one canton to another.³ Although these issues, especially the question of the liturgical significance of (psalm) singing in Protestant churches, are still the subject of debate,⁴ in the Protestant areas of Switzerland music played only a marginal role in church services.⁵ This is the case even though it is not documented that Zwingli ever explicitly rejected singing in church. Initially, singing had no liturgical function in Protestant services, and in the Canton of Bern the demand that the two songs in a service should be relevant to the material and the text of the sermon was not made until the 18th century.⁶ Instead, music-making thrived in private spheres, as Zwingli had suggested in his time.⁷ Because of the widespread wish to sing psalms and devotional songs in parts, the so-called *collegia musica*, made up of students and upper-class townspeople, evolved in practically every Protestant city in German-speaking Switzerland from the early 17th century onwards. It is this central role of music-making in Swiss society which makes the country an especially interesting location to study Corelli's reception.

Given that Swiss libraries and archives still preserve a large number of music sources bearing Corelli's name, it is intriguing to explore how the

³ In the city of Basel, the organ began to be played again in 1561, very early in comparison to the other Reformed cantons. The Bern Minster, for example, installed an organ in 1729, and only between 1750 and 1850 did new organs replace the cornetts, trombones and other wind instruments that had accompanied psalm singing outside of the city. In the canton of Zürich, this change did not occur until the 19th century. See Dorothea Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal. Auf den Spuren von Zürichs Musikleben*, Zürich: Kommissionsverlag Hug, 2002 (Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich 186 auf das Jahr 2002), 7.

⁴ Regarding the situation in the 16th century, see Beat A. Föllmi, „Calvin und das Psalmsingen. Die Vorgeschichte des Genfer Psalters“, *Zwingliana* 36 (2009), 59–84.

⁵ In 1598, for example, the year church singing was introduced in Zürich, the first psalm was sung before the minister's introductory words, and thus outside of the liturgy proper. Cf. Gerhard Aeschbacher, „Die Reformation und das kirchenmusikalische Leben im alten Bern“, in: *450 Jahre Berner Reformation. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel*, ed. by the Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, Bern: Verlag des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, 1980/81 (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern 64/65), 225–247, especially 237–238.

⁶ Aeschbacher, „Die Reformation und das kirchenmusikalische Leben“ (see n. 5), 237.

⁷ In response to the accusation that Zwingli had introduced lutes, violins, and pipes in place of the organs that had been removed from churches, the reformer replied that these instruments had their place in the musical life of the home. Alfred Ehrensperger, „Die Stellung Zwinglis und der nachreformatorischen Zürcher Kirche zum Kirchengesang und zur Kirchenmusik“, in: *Musik in der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche. Eine Standortbestimmung*, ed. by the Institut für Kirchenmusik der evangelisch-reformierten Landeskirche des Kantons Zürich in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Schweizerischen Arbeitskreis für evangelische Kirchenmusik, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 1989, 15–44, 33. On the topic of music-making in the home, see Christoph Riedo, „Privates Musizieren in zwinglianischem Milieu des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts“, in: Christian Philipsen and Ute Omonsky (eds), *Hausmusik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Michaelstein and Augsburg: Wissner, 2015 (Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 81), forthcoming.

composer's music, in manuscript or in print form, reached Switzerland.⁸ In 1647 the Commander of the Swiss Guard procured two Frescobaldi prints in Rome for his cousin in Lucerne.⁹ This single example documents that one way for the Swiss to obtain music composed in Rome such as by Frescobaldi, the recently deceased organist of St. Peter's Cathedral, was through personal connections. This means of procurement, however, was only one possible way. How, therefore, did Corelli's works – Italian instrumental music for the violin family by a composer not directly linked to the Curia – reach Switzerland a few decades later?

Corelli's music persisted in popularity through the 18th century not only abroad but also in Rome. As Hawkins attests, Corelli's concertos continued to be performed in the Pantheon on the anniversary of Corelli's death until at least 1730.¹⁰ Charles de Brosses reports having heard Corelli's concerto *fatto per la Notte di Natale* performed in English circles in the Holy City even in 1739.¹¹ This suggests that Corelli's music could also have been disseminated directly from Rome. But as Mattheson in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) testifies, Corelli's music had already achieved great success beyond the Alps and notably in some Protestant countries:

⁸ Cf. RISM A/I: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, Vol. II (Cabezón – Eyre), Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1972, 203–217 and Vol. XI (Addenda et Corrigenda A–F), Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1986, 308–312. For the manuscripts see <http://www.rism-ch.org> (23 February 2015). How the majority of these sources arrived in Switzerland, however, is unknown.

⁹ Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Luigi Collarile, „Tutte le opere del Girolamo Frescobaldi' 1647: Roma – Lucerna, solo andata“, in: Brenno Boccadoro and Georges Starobinski (eds), *A fresco. Mélanges offerts au professeur Etienne Darbellay*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2013, 69–88.

¹⁰ John Hawkins, *A General History of Science and Practice of Music*, ed. by Othmar Wesely, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969, Vol. II, 676: „For many years after his decease, this excellent musician was commemorated by a solemn musical performance in the Pantheon, on the anniversary of his death. In the year 1730 an eminent master, now living, was present at that solemnity, who relates that at it the third and the eighth of his Concertos were performed by a numerous band, among whom were many who had been the pupils of the author“. Quoted after Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli. New Orpheus of Our Times*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999 (Oxford monographs on music), 167.

¹¹ Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières sur l'Italie. Publiées d'après les manuscrits avec une introduction et des notes par Yvonne Bezard*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1931, Vol. II, 91: „Les jeunes princes [Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir Stuart (1720–1788) and his younger brother] sont tous deux passionnés pour la musique, et la savent parfaitement; l'aîné joue très bien du violoncelle; le second chante les airs italiens avec une jolie petite voix d'enfant du meilleur goût; ils ont une fois la semaine un concert exquis: c'est la meilleure musique de Rome; je n'y manque jamais. Hier j'entrai pendant qu'on exécutait le fameux concerto de Corelli, appelé la *Notte di Natale*; je témoignai d'avoir du regret de n'être pas arrivé plus tôt pour l'entendre en entier. Lorsqu'il fut fini et qu'on voulut passer à autre chose, le prince de Galles dit: „Non, attendez, recommençons ce concerto; je viens d'ouïr dire à M. de Brosses qu'il serait bien aise de l'entendre tout entier.“ Je vous rapporte volontiers ce trait, qui marque beaucoup de politesse et de bonté“.

I want especially to praise as an excellent paragon the profundity of Corelli's works, despite their age, of which if I am right there are five obtainable in Amsterdam. The incomparable skill of this composer in instrumental chamber music is so exemplary that I have even heard his sonatas in Holland's churches with much pleasure, not just on the organ alone but also with a violin concertato, which is often used for the practice of music students, though outside of the time reserved for the worship service, namely at Vespers or after its conclusion.¹²

Apparently for Mattheson, who remained in Hamburg his whole life, the source for Corelli's music, and probably also for other Italian compositions, was clearly Amsterdam.¹³

In light of these ways that Corelli's music circulated abroad, it is particularly interesting to take a close look at Switzerland, a unique setting of cultural and musical heterogeneity in the middle of the continent.

Geneva

The city of Geneva always maintained close historical and cultural links with the Old Swiss Confederacy (and with some cantons in particular) although it only joined the Swiss Confederation in 1815 as the 22nd canton. Because of these cultural ties and because Corelli's music can be documented in Geneva, it is the ideal city in which to begin this investigation. Around 1710, Geneva had only a little more than 20,000 inhabitants. However, an early reception of Corelli's music is documented during Corelli's lifetime in a 1707 inventory of Pierre Fatio (1662–1707). Pierre was the 15th child of Marie Franconis-Lullin (1628–1694) and François Fatio (1622–1704) who, in 1690, possessed the ninth

¹² Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's „Der vollkommene Capellmeister“. A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981 (Studies in musicology 21), 221. The original quotation reads: „§. 105. Wobey ich iedoch absonderlich die Einsicht der Correllischen Wercke, ihres Alters ungeachtet, zum trefflichen Muster angepriesen haben will, deren wo mir recht fünf, und in Amsterdam zu bekommen sind. Die unvergleichliche Geschicklichkeit dieses Verfassers in der zum Kammer gehörigen Instrumental=Schreib=Art hat so was ausnehmendes, daß ich so gar in den Holländischen Kirchen, wiewol ausserhalb der zum Gottes=Dienst bestimmten Zeit, nemlich in den Vespren, oder nach deren Endigung, seine Sonaten nicht nur von dem Organisten allein, sondern auch von einem Violinen=Concert, welches zur Übung der Kunstbeflissenen oft angestellt wird, ehemals mit vielem Vergnügen gehört habe“. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister. Neusatz des Textes und der Noten*, ed. by Friederike Ramm, Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1999 (Bärenreiter Studienausgabe), 163.

¹³ The violinist Jacques Aubert (1689–1753) reports that in France in 1730, Corelli's music was little appreciated, especially by women: „Quoique les Concertos italiens aient eu quelque succès depuis plusieurs années, en France, où l'on a rendu justice à tout ce que Corelli, Vivaldi et quelques autres ont fait d'excellent dans ce genre, on a cependant remarqué que cette sorte de Musique, malgré l'habileté d'une partie de ceux qui l'exécutent, n'est pas du goût de tout le monde, et surtout de celui des Dames dont le jugement a toujours déterminé les plaisirs de la nation“. Cf. Lionel de La Laurencie, *L'école française de violon de Lully à Viotti: études d'histoire et d'esthétique*, Paris: Delagrave, 1922, Vol. I, 208.

largest vested rights of the town.¹⁴ Pierre began his studies in his hometown, continued in Valence, Montpellier and Leiden, and from 1679 to 1685 studied law in Basel. After his time abroad he returned to Geneva, where the young patrician worked as a lawyer and in 1688 became a member of the Council of Two Hundred. Later, he took on the role of spokesman and advocate for the citizens in their struggle against the patrician class, and was seen as a traitor to the establishment. In 1705 his candidacy for the Minor Council was declined in favour of his brother. Charged with participating in a plot to topple the government, Fatio was condemned to death for treason and executed by firing squad in September 1707.¹⁵ The inventory of his estate, dated October the 1st, 1707, lists his private library, including his music books. The very first item on the list is: „Corelli opera quinta f.o Rome“. ¹⁶ Unusually, the inventory cites Rome as the place of publication. It is not clear which of the three editions printed by Gasparo Pietra Santa in Rome in 1700 Fatio owned.¹⁷

Apart from Corelli's op. 5, Fatio possessed music by Johannes Schenk (1660–after 1717) and David Petersen (ca. 1650–1737), in addition to a great deal of Italian instrumental music by such composers as Corelli, Bernardo Tonini (ca. 1666–after 1727), Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), Nicola Matteis (fl. ca. 1670–ca. 1690), Giovanni Bianchi (ca. 1660–after 1720) and Antonio Caldara (ca. 1670–1736). French music by Marchand and de la Barre and other unidentifiable music manuscripts also figure in Fatio's private music library, as well as drinking-songs. No less than seven methods and treatises deal with composition, figured bass, harpsichord, wind instruments, theorbo and guitar. Despite being a Calvinist, Fatio seems to have had a particular liking for Italian music: Italian instrumental music was prominent in his music library, with a total of eleven items including the op. 4–7 of Torelli. Heyd's general assessment of Fatio's library, that „the intellectual taste of Pierre Fatio seems to have been that of a member of the Republic of Letters around 1700“ can equally be extended to Fatio's musical taste.¹⁸

¹⁴ Olivier Fatio and Nicole Fatio, *Pierre Fatio et la crise de 1707*, Genève: Labor et Fides, 2007, 48–49.

¹⁵ Jacques Barrelet, „Fatio, Pierre“, in: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch> (23 February 2015).

¹⁶ Archives d'Etat de Genève (AEG), Jur Civ F 300 (1.10.1707), 24–27. See also Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 55.

¹⁷ Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis. Catalogue raisonné (Supplementband), Arcangelo Corelli. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, Köln: Arno Volk, 1980, 172–173.

¹⁸ Michael Heyd, *Between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment. Jean-Robert Chouet and the Introduction of Cartesian Science in the Academy of Geneva*, The Hague etc.: The Magnes Press, 1982 (Archives internationales d'histoire des idées 96), 185. For a general estimation of Fatio's library see 184–185.

While Fatio most likely purchased most of his music in Amsterdam,¹⁹ his copy of Corelli's op. 5 published in Rome is an exception. The details of how Fatio acquired his music are unknown, but when Antoine Tronchin (1664–1730), a relative, visited Paris, he sent Fatio a pricelist of books he thought would interest him and a second pricelist of books in which Fatio had expressed an interest. Fatio's library must have been known to the Geneva bookseller Vincent Miège, because the latter's apprentice told pastor Isaac Sénebier about a particular volume in Fatio's possession. Apparently Fatio then lent this book to Sénebier, a classmate from university.²⁰ Similar methods for procuring, lending and borrowing would have been common for music books as well.

Regrettably, details about Fatio's music education and the instruments he played are unknown. However, he must have been a very keen musician. The pastor Abraham Berthoud remarked that almost all he knew about instruments – note the plural – he learned from Pierre Fatio.²¹ From the inventory of his estate we discern that Fatio possessed, at least, a large harpsichord,²² and even as an adult he continued music lessons with a certain Dominique Franzoni, about whom we know nothing.²³ Letters and other documents reveal that private concerts and intimate music making were actively pursued by Geneva's upper class,²⁴

¹⁹ It is astonishing that apparently all the Italian instrumental music in Fatio's possession is listed in the sales catalogue of Estienne Roger. Cf. François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales, publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696–1743)*, Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1969 (Publications de la Société française de musicologie. II: documents et catalogues 12). Roger's 1716 sales catalogue includes exactly the same prints of Caldara (62), Bianchi (60), Matteis (74), Schenk (79), Tonini and Torelli (82) as were in the possession of Fatio. Fatio may have encountered Amsterdam prints during his studies in Leiden.

²⁰ Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 56–57.

²¹ Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 65: „Le pasteur de La Brévine Abraham Berthoud qui avait fréquenté avec lui l'Académie de Genève confesse qu'il lui doit tout ce que je sçay de meilleur sur les instrumens de musique“.

²² Archives d'Etat de Genève (AEG), Jur Civ F 300 (1.10.1707), nr. 80: „un Clavesin fort Grand“. Cf. Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 65.

²³ Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 65–66. Cf. Alfred Perrenoud, *Livre des habitants de Genève: 1684–1792*, Genève: Droz 1985 (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève 51). A list of the musicians and dancing masters mentioned here is provided by Corinne Walker, „Des couleurs et des sons. Le goût des arts à Genève au XVIIIème siècle“, *Musicorum* 13 (2012), 27–48.

²⁴ Fatio and Fatio, *Pierre Fatio* (see n. 14), 126: „Ce même soir [24 mars 1707], poursuit [Antoine] Tronchin, un concert a eu lieu chez son cousin germain Jean-Robert Tronchin-Calandrini. Une brillante compagnie y assistait: les représentants bernois, le résident de France, le marquis de Saint-Maurice, le baron Sacke, gentilhomme livonien, conseiller intime du roi Auguste de Saxe. A l'issue du concert, lors d'un entretien avec le très riche genevois Isaac de Cambiague, [Gabriel] Gross confirme ses propos du matin [...]“. On page 199: „Quant à Fatio, il fait l'objet d'une telle suspicion que le baron Sacke refuse de le recevoir pour faire de la musique, à cause de l'état où il se trouve envers son magistrat“.

despite the prevalence of Calvinism.²⁵ Given that a pastor like Berthoud learned music from Fatio, Fatio must have actively participated in the activities of Geneva's intellectual and cultural circles.

In fact, in the last years of Corelli's life and beyond, his op. 5 must have been well-known in Calvinist Geneva. When Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach (1687–1769) from Frankfurt am Main travelled to Geneva in November 1714, seven years after Fatio's death and a year after Corelli's, he visited the dancing master Chiraut, and reported that the composer's music was still being performed.

Friday the 23rd [...] In the afternoon I went to Mr. Chiraut's to hear the concert and met there a Parisian and musician from there named Annibal, who ordinarily plays the viola da gamba and is supposed to be excellent. This time he had a pardessus de viole [quart viol da gamba] and played the violin part so well that I was astonished. He played in so completely agreeable a French manner, had a very firm bow hand and played the small instrument better than I had ever heard it that it has to be preferred to a violin. The eldest daughter of Mr. Chiraut accompanied him playing thoroughbass on the 'Clavier' [harpsichord] so masterfully that it couldn't have been better. They played various solos of Corelli very well and afterwards several sonatas of Mascitti no less expertly. Afterwards she played some very difficult Italian pieces alone with such skill including ornamentations that it was amazing, and she moved her hands so gracefully that it was a pleasure to see. Later the second daughter of Mr. Chiraut began to sing an Italian cantata and was accompanied superbly by her sister. She lacked her elder sister's perfection, but it was still pleasing to hear. There was no one else at the concert but

²⁵ For an overview of musical life in Geneva and a reevaluation of the Calvinist climate, see Walker, „Des couleurs et des sons“, (see n. 23); Corinne Walker, „Le pinceau et l'archet. Les arts à Genève au XIII^e siècle“, in: Bernard Lescaze (ed.), *Tous les chemins mènent à Rousseau. Promenades guidées dans la Genève des Lumières*, Vol. 1/6, Genève: Slatkine, 2012; Robert-Aloys Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois. Gaspard Fritz (1716–1783), Christian Haensel (1766–1850)*, Genève: Slatkine, 1968; Gloria Floreen, „Italianate Music in Geneva during the 18th century and some thoughts on Geneva's Reaction“, in: Eitelfriedrich Thom (ed.), *Musikzentren – Persönlichkeiten und Ensembles. Konferenzbericht der XV. Wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstagung Blankenburg/Harz, 19. bis 21. Juni 1987*, Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1988 (Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 35), 54–71.

two Englishmen. Mr. Chiraut asked me to come to see them more often, and was altogether very friendly.²⁶

Corelli's *sonate a violino e violone o cimbalò* were played by the Parisian gamba player Annibal on the pardessus de viole, which Uffenbach found just as convincing as a performance on the violin.²⁷ Furthermore, the gamba player adopted French ornaments as a matter of course, and this too caused no negative reaction. Indeed, we have an example of the cultural assimilation of Roman instrumental music on multiple levels. The geographical location of Switzerland and its cultural diversity favoured such a fusion of diverse cultural backgrounds. From Uffenbach's report it appears that the pardessus de viole was solely accompanied by a harpsichord: on this particular occasion the second part of Corelli's title, *violone o cimbalò*, was taken 'à la lettre' in

²⁶ Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek: D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, vol. I. Quoted here from the typescript by Alste Horn, 1968–70: D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, 625–626. „Freitag den 23ten [...] Nachmittags Ginge zu dem He Chiraut, das concert zu hören und fande alda einen pariser und musicanten von hier namens annibal, der sonsten eine viol da gambist ist, ist [sic] fürtrefflich spielen soll. es hatte dießes mahl ein quart viol da gamba und spielte die violin-stim so wohl darauf daß mich verwunderte. er hatte die völligen agreabeln französche manieren, und einen sehr fermem strich und spielte das kleine instrument so wohl daß es niemahls so gehört und einer violin weit fürzuzuziehen war. die älteste tochter des He chiraut accompagnirte mit dem general bass auf dem clavier so meisterhaft, daß es nicht beßer zu hören war. sie machten verschiedene Solo aus dem corelli sehr fertig hinweg, und nachmahls etliche Sonaten aus dem maschitti nicht minder meistermäßig. nachdem spielte sie allein etliche sehr schwehre italienische stück mit solcher fertigkeit und agrement daß es zu verwundern war, und warff die hände dergestalt, und mit einer guten aire durcheinander daß es eine freude zu sehen war. nachdem finge die 2te tochter des He chiraut an zu singen eine italienische cantate, und wurde von ihrer schwester unvergleichlich accompagnirt. es fehlte dießer an der perfection viel gegen der ältesten jedoch war es auch noch wohl zu hören. Sonsten war niemand in dem concert als 2 engelländer so mit zuhörten. He chiraut bathe mich öfters zu ihnen zu kommen und waren insgesamt sehr höfflich“. A paraphrase of this passage can be found in Eberhard Preussner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach. Aus einem Reisetagebuch des Johann Friedrich A. von Uffenbach aus Frankfurt a. M. 1712–1716*, Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1949, 52–53.

²⁷ A transcription for viola da gamba of Corelli's op. 5 is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris under the shelfmark F-Pn Vm7-6308. See Hazelle Miloradovitch, „Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli & Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and ‚Pièces de Viole““, *Chelys* 12 (1983), 47–73, 49: „Sonatas, op. 5, nos. 6 and 11 for solo bass viol, dating probably from about 1713 [...] were edited by Gordon Dodd from the engravings by T. Cross which are bound into some copies of the first and third editions of Simpson's *The Division Viol*“. Most of the sonatas have been transposed down an octave in this manuscript. See also Peter Walls, „Performing Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5“, *EM* 24/1 (1996), 133–142, 142. RISM A/I C 3820; CC 3820, printed in Amsterdam in 1716, bears the indication: „on a gravé la Basse & le Dessus chacun à Part pour la Commodité de ceux qui jouent de la Viole de Gambe ou de la Basse“. A copy of this print is preserved today in Geneva under the shelfmark CH-Gc Rpg 40. This source, which was formerly in the possession of Fritz Ernst, is not cataloged in RISM A/I.

favour of the harpsichord.²⁸ Corelli's compositions were performed along with music of the Neapolitan Michele Mascitti (1664–1760), who settled in Paris in 1704. There Mascitti published all nine volumes of his music, of which his op. 2 (1706) and op. 3 (1707) provide compositions *a violino solo col violone o cimballo*. It therefore seems likely that on this occasion in Geneva, Annibal performed only duo sonatas for violin with violone or harpsichord, rather than sonatas for violin and continuo.

In Geneva, the German Uffenbach met several compatriots, but at the end of his report he also alludes to a strong English presence in the city on the Rhone. Here, a letter from Robert Price to Lord Haddington introduces us to another aspect of Corelli's reception in Geneva:

[...] I hope we may be able to get Fritz a little money by it but they are such abominable Goths here that I can answer for nothing. They cannot bare [sic] anything but Handel, Correlli [sic], & Geminiani. which they are Eternally playing over & over again in their Concerts. I was at a Concert at Lord Brookes where Carbonelli play'd the first fiddle; Tate brought with him some Concertos of Locatelli without solo parts, which are extreemly easy, but because there were some passages out of the Common Road, they look'd upon them as the most extravagant things in the world & not to be play'd at sight.²⁹

This letter, dated December 19th, 1741, and written in London, describes Corelli's reception in Britain, but the protagonists involved, Price, Haddington, Fritz, Brooke and Tate, are surprisingly all associated with Geneva. There, between approximately 1737 and 1743, a group of young, well-connected English aristocrats gathered in the so-called Common Room of Geneva.³⁰ Several had met before in Rome on their grand tour, gathering later on Lake Geneva. The Common Room of Geneva counted among its members William Windham (1706–1761) and his tutor Benjamin Stillingfleet (1702–1771),³¹ Richard Aldworth (1717–1793, who changed his name to Richard Neville Aldworth-Neville in 1762), Thomas Hamilton (1721–1794), seventh Earl of Haddington, and his brother George (1723–1797, who had taken the surname Baillie), together with their tutor the Reverend John Williamson (1713–1763) as well as Robert Price

²⁸ See David Watkin, „Corelli's op. 5 Sonatas. ‚Violino e violone o cimballo?“, *EM* 24/4 (1996), 645–663.

²⁹ Gaspard Fritz, *Concerto pour violon*, ed. by Xavier Bouvier and Anna Jelmorini, Genève: Editions Université-Conservatoire de Musique, 1994 (*Musiques à Genève* 2), XII. The letter from Robert Price to Lord Haddington belongs to the collection known as the Ketton Manuscripts. See Jacques Horneffer, „Gaspard Fritz (II). Londres – Genève – Catalogue des symphonies“, *Revue Musicale de Suisse romande* 39/4 (1986), 178–188, here 187, note 2.

³⁰ John Shipley Rowlinson, „Our Common Room in Geneva' and the Early Exploration of the Alps of Savoy“, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 52/2 (1998), 221–235.

³¹ NGroveD-online on Benjamin Stillingfleet: „From 1738 to about 1742 he and Windham, with Robert Price and others, formed a common room in Geneva for the purpose of performing plays. Stillingfleet, Windham and Price supplied the music, scenery and machines, and Gaspard Fritz led the orchestra. He returned to England in 1743 [...]“. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (23 February 2015).

(1717?–1761)³² and Benjamin Tate (?–1790) with his tutor Thomas Dampier (1713–1777). The minor figures also of interest included the young George William Hervey (1721–1775, later second Earl of Bristol), a certain Churchill, and others.³³

The Tate mentioned in the letter, therefore, together with the correspondents Price and Haddington, all belonged to the so-called 'Bloods', as the members of the Common Room of Geneva called themselves. Even the above-mentioned Lord Brooke, that is, Francis Greville, First Earl of Warwick (1719–1773), known as Lord Brooke from 1727 to 1746 and Earl Brooke from 1746 to 1759, had spent some time in Geneva. This is recorded in a diary entry of Mayor François Calandrini of Geneva in 1738,³⁴ later by Charles Burney³⁵ and finally in the dedication of Gaspard Fritz's op. 1, published in London.³⁶ The Fritz mentioned in the letter is in fact the violinist Gaspard Fritz (1716–1783) of Geneva. Thus the members of the Common Room introduced Fritz's music into London society and the printer Walsh published several of Fritz' works.³⁷ Benjamin Tate even showed Fritz's music to Locatelli, favourably comparing their abilities.³⁸ The personal encounter of Dampier and Tate with Locatelli could be the reason why Benjamin Tate brought some music of Locatelli to the concert at Lord Brooke's a few months after their stay in Amsterdam. It

³² *NGroveD-online* reports about Robert Price: „About 1738 he went to Geneva, where he took part in amateur theatricals with Gaspard Fritz, R.N.A. Neville, J. C. Smith, Benjamin Stillingfleet, William Windham and others. Price superintended the orchestra, painted the scenes, composed airs for the pantomimes and acted various roles. About 1742 he returned to London, where he participated as a gentleman performer at the Apollo Academy“. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (23 February 2015). Regarding John Christopher Smith, see note 39.

³³ Benjamin Stillingfleet, *Literary Life and Select Works of Benjamin Stillingfleet*, ed. by William Coxe, Vol. I, London: Nichols and Son, 1811, 73–80; Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois* (see n. 25), 21–37; Jacques Horneffer, „Gaspard Fritz (1716–1783). Ses amis anglais. Le Dr. Burney, Le Concerto de violon“, *Revue Musicale de Suisse romande* 37/3 (1984), 120–131, here 120 and 129–130; Rowlinson, „Our Common Room in Geneva“ (see n. 30), 221–222 and 231.

³⁴ Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois* (see n. 25), 27–28 (note 5).

³⁵ Charles Burney, *Music, Men and Manners in France and Italy 1770. Being a Journal Written by Charles Burney*, London: Eulenburg [1974], 29–30. „Next day I visited M. Fritz, a famous performer on the violin here and a good composer whom I have many years wished to hear. He has taught several of my friends and acquaintances—among whom was Lord Brook and Lord Orford when in Swisserland [sic]“.

³⁶ Gaspard Fritz dedicated this music book to „Francesco Grevile Baron di Brooke“. It bears the inscription „mi continuerà la preziosa protezione compartitami sin dal suo soggiorno in Genevra“ (your precious protection accorded to me since your last stay in Geneva). See Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois* (see n. 25), 40–41.

³⁷ Cf. Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois* (see n. 25), 53, 62, 65 and 77. Robert Price arranged for Fritz's op. 1 to be printed by John Walsh. Cf. Horneffer, „Gaspard Fritz (II)“ (see n. 29), 178–179.

³⁸ Albert Dunning, *Pietro Antonio Locatelli. Der Virtuose und seine Welt*, Vol. I, Buren: Frits Knuf, 1981, 202–206.

is due to none other than Dampier that Fritz's music was shown to Handel.³⁹ Thereby this group of English aristocrats and musical devotees gathering in Geneva clearly contributed to the promulgation of Fritz's music and the dissemination of a central part of the musical life of Geneva at that time. The influence flowed both ways: not only did the English aristocrats spread Genevan culture to a wider audience, they also affected the cultural life of Geneva by promoting Corelli's music.

In fact, the young Englishmen arrived in the city on the Rhone at a moment when Calvinist Geneva was becoming more culturally receptive. Although in 1732 the Minor Council prohibited theatre – whether public or private – only five years later, from March 1738 on, the Parisian troupe Gherardi was allowed to give sixty performances.⁴⁰ In the same year, and probably from 1737 on, the members of the Common Room „met daily after dinner [...] and they astonished the strict society of that city by performing plays and pantomimes in public“.⁴¹ As Stillingfleet reports in his *Literary life*, John Hughes' *Siege of Damascus* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* were performed in a surprisingly early period on the Continent. Stillingfleet notes: „The Orchestra led and directed by the celebrated Violin, Gaspard Fritz“⁴².

Even after the Common Room of Geneva became inactive in 1743, the English continued to play an important role in the cultural life of Calvin's city. Achilles Ryhiner-Delon (1731–1788) from Basel visited Geneva in 1758 and reported on February 2nd on other musical events with English participation:

In the afternoon I was introduced to Mr. Pitt at whose house was a great concert. He is English and is staying here for several years with his two daughters. [...] There is a regular concert once a week at his house; fine society is there and women are rarely present. The English living in Geneva ordinarily go there. As Mr. Pitt is strongly biased towards the tastes of his country, one hears a lot of English music there. The best subjects one encounters usually are Mr. Fritz for the violin and Mr. Baridon for the violoncello. [...] Mr. Pitt's concerts take place in great order and silence. Those who want to converse are in a neighbouring room and in a third one plays Wisque [sic]. The doors between one room and the other are

³⁹ The presence of Handel's assistant John Christopher Smith (1712–1795) in Geneva, mentioned in the *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith* (William Coxe, London 1799) is today strongly questioned or even denied, but it is still generally assumed by Percy M. Young, „Uvedale Price, Handel, and Aspects of the Picturesque“, in: Klaus Hortschansky and Konstanze Musketa (eds), *Georg Friedrich Händel – ein Lebensinhalt. Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt (1934–1993)*, Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 1995 (Schriften des Händel-Hauses Halle 11), 187–205, especially 188–190.

⁴⁰ Mooser, *Deux violonistes genevois* (see n. 25), 17–18.

⁴¹ Rowlinson, „Our Common Room in Geneva“ (see n. 30), 222.

⁴² Stillingfleet, *Literary Life* (see n. 33), Vol. I, 78.

open and before the music begins, tea, wine, some pastries, jam and other things are served.⁴³

Ryhiner-Delon confirms that English music was regularly played within the English circle around Thomas Pitt – but English music by which composers? Robert Price, having just returned from Geneva to London in 1741, wrote that Handel, Corelli, and Geminiani were particularly popular among the English upper classes („They cannot bare [sic] anything but Handel, Correlli [sic], & Geminiani“). It is not surprising, then, that London music prints by these three composers are still to be found in libraries in Geneva. Evidently, the English aristocrats' musical taste was the same whether in London or abroad. Today, in Geneva a compilation of several music prints bound together bearing the shelfmark CH-Gc Rpg 7/1-4 contains the following works (in this order): Corelli (op. 6), Geminiani (op. 2), Geminiani (op. 3), Corelli-Geminiani (first part of op. 5), Corelli-Geminiani (second part of op. 5), Handel (op. 3), Handel (op. 4), Handel (op. 6, second edition), Handel (op. 7), Handel („overtures from all his operas and oratorios“), Handel (*Water Musick*) and Hasse (op. 3). Each print is by Walsh. Only the violino primo part book of Handel's op. 4 has been replaced with a newer copy by Walsh's successor William Randall. Corelli's op. 6, plate no. 370 (RISM A/I C 3847; CC 3847), is dated ca. 1731 by RISM. Geminiani's adaptation of the first part of Corelli's op. 5 was published around 1735 (RISM A/I C 3870; CC 3870)⁴⁴ and the copy of the second part in the library of the Conservatoire de Musique, Geneva, bearing the plate no. 377, is ca. 1732 (RISM A/I C 3878; CC 3878).⁴⁵ Additionally all four part books have a leather binding on which we read „Concertos & Overtures Violino Primo“ or „Concertos Overtures Bass“. Based on the wording, the first could have been labelled by a French scribe, but the second, with „Bass“ instead of

⁴³ Martin Staehelin, „Gaspard Fritz im Urteil eines Zeitgenossen“, *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 108/4 (1968), 239–242, 240–241. The original quotation reads: „L'après midi je fus introduit chez Mons:r Pitt chès lequel il y avoit grand Concert. il est anglois et demeure ici depuis quelques Années avec ses deux filles. [...] il a Concert chès lui règulièremment une fois la Semaine; tout le beau monde s'y trouve, rarement l'on y voit des femmes. Les anglois qui se trouvent à Genève s'y rendent ordinairement. Come M:r Pitt est fort prèvenu pour le gout de son païs, l'on y entend beaucoup de Musique angloise. Les meilleurs sujets qui s'y trouvent à l'ordinaire sont le Sieur Fritz pour le Violon et le Sieur Baridon pour le Violoncello. [...] Les Concerts de M:r Pitt se font avec beaucoup d'ordre & de silence; ceux qui ont envie de causer sont dans une Chambre voisine & dans une 3.me l'on joue au Wisque [sic]. les portes sont ouvertes d'une chambre à l'autre; avant que la musique comance, l'on prèsent du Thè, du Vin, quelques patisserie, confiture et autres“.

⁴⁴ RISM A/I: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (see n. 8), Vol. XI, 311.

⁴⁵ Cf. William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh During the Years 1721–1766*, London: Bibliographical Society, 1968 (Bibliographical Society Publication for the Year 1966), 99–100. A copy of the same print is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek Winterthur under the shelfmark CH-W MN_2043/A-G. All four volumes bear the stamp „Musik-Collegium Winterthur“. The collegium musicum acquired the collection, however, sometime in the 19th century.

the French „Basse“, was certainly written by an Englishman. Since the script is identical, however, we can assume that both were written by an English hand. Moreover, the set of music prints bears the ex libris „No 304. N. Bloc“: violinist Nathan Bloc (1794–1857). Born in Carouge, a suburb of Geneva, he studied with violinist Christian Haensel (1766–1850) and in 1835 became the first director of the Conservatoire in Geneva. Undoubtedly the works were compiled on the Rhone during Bloc's lifetime at the latest, and the volume was probably passed on by the English to locals. Given the frequently-encountered Walsh prints from between 1737 and 1743, when the Common Room gathered in Geneva, it seems reasonable to think that this compilation originated from an English circle in Geneva.⁴⁶ Robert Price's report in December 1741 to his associates of the „Bloods“ provides strong evidence that the same English upper-class individuals residing in Geneva introduced this current London repertoire to those living on the Rhone. This conclusion is particularly convincing because almost no other English music from the 18th century is found in Swiss libraries and archives today.

However, the above-mentioned compilation is not the only collection of English prints in Geneva. A set of Corelli's op. 1–4, printed by John Walsh in London in 1735, plate nos. 364–367, is catalogued CH-Gc Rpg 1/1–4 and has the same binding as CH-Gc Rpg 7/1–4. They likely have the same provenance. Furthermore, several other English 18th-century prints are also preserved in Geneva. In another library, under the shelfmark CH-Gpu Ib 37000/8, Corelli's op. 1–4 appear again, with the imprint „London, Preston and Son“ on op. 1. The *organo* part book of the same opus bears „Geo. Watts“ in manuscript; it seems to have been in the possession of an Englishman.⁴⁷

Zürich

In Geneva Corelli's music is found in the possession of individuals. In Zürich his music appears in the collection of organizations such as of the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule*, one of three coexisting collegia musica.⁴⁸ The provenance of the first work, dated October 1720, is ascribed to Conrad Bullinger: the note on the copy reads: „II. Mr.

⁴⁶ This suspicion is also supported by the fact that one member of the „Bloods“, Robert Price, is known to have been in personal contact with John Walsh. Cf. Horneffer, „Gaspard Fritz (II)“ (see n. 29), 178–179. Some prints of this compilation originate from a time after 1743, such as Hasse's op. 3 of 1749; see Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works* (see n. 45), 180. Handel's op. 3, plate no. 507 and the *Water Music*, plate no. 489, were published once after 1734 and after ca. 1733 respectively, cf. William C. Smith, *Handel. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1970, 219–220, 255.

⁴⁷ This collection was donated by the musicologist Emile Amoudruz in 1961. I thank librarian Thierry Dubois at Bibliothèque de Genève for this information.

⁴⁸ On the genesis of the diverse collegia musica in Zürich see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Die Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft Zürich. Gründungsphase und Blütezeit im historischen Kontext*, Winterthur: Amadeus, 2011 (Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich 196 auf das Jahr 2012).

Conrad Bullinger donated to the collegium Corelli's op. 5 which is copied cleanly in his own hand. Subsequently accepted with abundant gratitude".⁴⁹

Conrad Bullinger (1699–1790), son of goldsmith Hans Jakob Bullinger (1650–1728), took over his father's business and held the rank of captain in the artillery.⁵⁰ The membership of Hans Jakob in the twelve-person guild *zum Schaf* (at the sign of the sheep) may have contributed to the social reputation and prosperity of the Bullinger family. Collegium musicum documents list Conrad Bullinger as a member only from 1717 to 1720.⁵¹ This is rather unusual, since membership in a music society typically lasted many years. The reason for this is that Bullinger converted to Catholicism and became a Benedictine monk in the Princely Abbey of Kempten in Bavarian Swabia.⁵² Father Joseph Franz Salesius was the archivist and librarian there and in 1738 compiled an inventory of the *Hofmusici*, listing the musicians at the abbey. Although Bullinger had played Corelli's sonatas in his youth, his name does not appear in the roster of musicians in Kempten, and he may therefore not have been a sufficiently good musician. This could imply a rather high musical level in the Benedictine monastery as well as among those violinists outside it who played Corelli's op. 5, given that in Geneva they were played for enjoyment by amateurs, including even lawyers. The fact that Bullinger donated a copy at the end of his membership in the music society suggests that the music was a farewell gift and that he may have owned it for some time. It might have been either in manuscript or a print from Rome, Bologna, London, Amsterdam, Paris, Rouen where the editions of op. 5 published before 1720 originated.⁵³ However other accounts of the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule* reveal other procurement channels for Corelli's music. An entry of November 1734 specifies:

Various expenditures for authors: 5 florins for the Concerts of Spiess paid to Mr. Bachofen the cantor the 30th of September. 8 florins 10 shillings for Bassani's Op. XI. 6 florins for Corelli's Opus posthumous. 8 florins for Vivaldi's Op. 1. Note: these three authors have been sent from Holland and paid the 18th of November, bill number 10.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ CH-Zz, AMG Archiv IV A4, 160. „II. Verehrte hr. Conr[ad]. Bullinger dem Collegio Corelli Opus 5.tum von seiner eigenen hand sauber geschriben, nachher zu großem dank abgenommen ward“.

⁵⁰ F. Otto Pestalozzi, „Aus der Geschichte des Geschlechts der Bullinger von Bremgarten und Zürich“, *Zürcher Taschenbuch* 50 (1930), 1–82, 39 and 52.

⁵¹ CH-Zz, AMG Archiv IV A4, 125 (1717), 135 (1718), 144 (1719), 152 (1720).

⁵² Pestalozzi, „Aus der Geschichte des Geschlechts der Bullinger“ (see n. 50), 39 and 52; Adolf Layer, *Musikgeschichte der Fürstabtei Kempten*, Kempten: Verlag für Heimatpflege, 1975 (Allgäuer Heimatbücher 76), 37, 44, 51, 58.

⁵³ Cf. Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis* (see n. 17), 172–179.

⁵⁴ CH-Zz, AMG Archiv IIA 3,6 1734–1739, fol. (7v): „Ausgeben Allerleÿ um Authores 5. tt. p[er] Spiessen Concert in 5. Tom. bezahlt Hr. Cant. Bachofen d[en] 30. 7br. 8tt. 10. p[er] Bassani opus xi.u[m] 6tt. p[er] Corelli opus posthumu[m]. 8tt. p[er] Vivaldi opera 1.a. N[ota] Dise 3. authores wurd[en] aus Holland beschickt und bezahlt. d[en] 18. 9br. Lz. N[o] 10. [...]“. I am indebted to Claudio Bacciagaluppi for bringing this document to my awareness.

Apparently the music prints were ordered from Holland. This entry then has a correspondence which informs us even more accurately about the *longue durée* of the music repertory within this collegium musicum:

On the 18th some requested authors from Holland arrived, Bassani's Opus XI because the older was unusable. Cost 4 florins 10 shillings. Corelli's Opus posthumous 3 florins. Vivaldi Ist Opus 4 florins.⁵⁵

When the former parts of Bassani's op. 11 had become unusable, the music society decided to order new parts for the same music book instead of replacing this older work with a newer one, though that would have been easy to do when ordering music from Holland. Bassani's *Concerti sacri, motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci con violini e senza* were published for the first time in Bologna by Pier Maria Monti on commission from Marino Silvani in 1692 (RISM A/I B 1191; BB 1191). Silvani had the work reprinted in 1697 (RISM A/I B 1192; BB 1192). On a third edition of the same music book we read: „In Bologna. Per Marino Silvani. E se vendono a Amsterdam, apresso Estienne Roger Marchand Libraire“ (RISM A/I B 1193).⁵⁶ Copies of the second and third editions are preserved in the Zürich Central Library.⁵⁷ Thus, the collegium musicum first possessed a copy of Bassani's op. 11 printed in Bologna and then one published in Amsterdam. Italian music books could have arrived in Switzerland in the middle of Europe via a southern or a northern route. Vivaldi's op. 1, the twelve *Suonate da camera a tre, due violini e violone o cembalo*, were initially published in Venice in 1705 (RISM A/I V 2191), then reprinted twice in Amsterdam in 1715 (RISM A/I V 2192; VV 2192) and again sometime after 1723 (RISM A/I V 2193; VV 2193), both bearing the plate no. 363. Fortunately the 1737 sales catalogue of Michel Charles Le Cène, Amsterdam survives. It reads „Bassani opus undecimum Motetti à 1, 2, 3 e 4 voci con Violini e senza. f. 4. 10“ and the price in the catalogue corresponds exactly with the 4 florins 10 shillings the collegium musicum paid.⁵⁸ Likewise Vivaldi's op. 1 is given in the sales catalogue as „363 Vivaldi opera prima XII. Sonate à 2 violini &

⁵⁵ CH-Zz, AMG Archiv IV A4, 357: „Den 18.t[en] langten einiche auß holland beehrte authores an, sc. Bassani Opus XIu[m], weil das alte ganz ohnbrauchbar. Kostete 4. fl. 10. ß. Corelli opus posthumu[m] 3. fl. Vivaldi Opera 1.a 4. fl.“.

⁵⁶ CH-Zz AMG XIII 106 & a-g. As Collarile has shown, this reprint was an unauthorised copy, since it had clearly not been printed in Bologna. See Luigi Collarile, „Estienne Roger, Marino Silvani, Giuseppe Sala. Prime ricognizioni intorno un'operazione editoriale complessa“, in: Tiziana Affortunato (ed.), *Musicologia come pretesto. Scritti in memoria di Emilia Zanetti*, Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 2011, 103–117.

⁵⁷ See Georg Walter, *Katalog der gedruckten und handschriftlichen Musikalien des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts im Besitze der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich*, Zürich: Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft, 1960, 9. RISM A/I B 1192: AMG XIII 509 & a-g; RISM A/I B 1193: AMG XIII 106 & a-g. The Bassani copy of 1697 is indeed very damaged. However, the prints of Meinrad Spiess, Vivaldi and Corelli also mentioned in the accounts of the collegium musicum zur deutschen Schule in November 1734 are no longer in the Zürich Central Library.

⁵⁸ Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales*, (see n. 19), facsimile of the sales catalogue, 11.

basso continuo. f. 4. 0“, this just three years after the first purchase.⁵⁹ The price paid for it by the Zürich Collegium also corresponds exactly to that in the catalogue: the difference between the 8 florins on the invoice is a result of additional costs for bookbinding and perhaps the shipping.

If we initially thought that Corelli's „Opus posthumous“ refers to his *Concerti grossi*, we are disabused of this notion. Le Cène's 1737 catalogue includes: „198 A Corelli opera posthuma Sonate à tre, due Violini e basso continuo. f 3. 0“. ⁶⁰ This entry is the only one in the catalogue referring to an „Opus posthumous“ and furthermore the prices concur. The *Sonate a tre, due violini col basso per l'organo di Arcangelo Corelli [...] ouvrage posthume* (RISM A/I C 3860; CC 3860) were published by Estienne Roger in 1714 and also bear the plate no. 198, the same as in the catalogue. Consequently, the collegium musicum purchased trio sonatas later appraised by Marx as genuine Corelli and classified as works without opus number (Werke ohne Opuszahl). Marx gave them the catalogue number WoO 5-10.⁶¹

This Corelli print was therefore still available in 1734 and was purchased by the collegium musicum twenty years after its initial publication, whereas it had been 29 and 43 years since the first publication of Vivaldi's op. 1 and Bassani's op. 11. However in 1734 only Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) was still living, while Giovanni Battista Bassani (ca. 1647–1716) as well as Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) must have been considered composers of the past. It may be that the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule* was informed about Roger's and Le Cène's prints from abbreviated catalogues of single sheets sometimes included with shipments of music prints.⁶² However, it would not be surprising if they had had access to the printer's complete catalogues and an overview of the available prints. Bassani is a special case, given his op. 11 already belonged to the collegium, thereby providing the amateurs with new copies of music they already knew. The situation for the Corelli and Vivaldi prints is, however, completely different, because they consist exclusively of instrumental music.

The collegia musica in German-speaking Switzerland were initially founded for the purpose of singing Psalms and aimed to quench the thirst for polyphonic music. Instrumental music was introduced only by degrees in the collegia, and this process began comparatively late: not until 1684 did our particular collegium discuss the question „whether it would not be meritorious to introduce instrumental music“ („ob es nit verdienstlich were, wann man die Instrumentalmusic könnte einführen“). And on the 6th of January 1735 – not even half a year after the Vivaldi and Corelli acquisitions – one member warned that „instrumental music should not be practised too much

⁵⁹ Ibidem, sales catalogue, 55.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, sales catalogue, 55.

⁶¹ Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis* (see n. 17), 218–226.

⁶² This is the case for the 3rd edition of Bassani's op. 11 (1698), CH-Zz AMG XIII 106 & a-g. Here we find in the organ partbook: „N. 7. Catalogue des Livres de Musique nouvellement imprimez à Amsterdam chez Estienne Roger, Marchand Libraire, ou dont il a nombre, avec les prix“.

and to the detriment of vocal music“ („die Instrumentalmusic nicht allzuvil und zum Nachtheil der Vocalmusic getriben“).⁶³ That the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule* acquired Vivaldi's *Suonate da camera* op. 1 containing dance movements, together with trio sonatas of Corelli, is an impressive testament to the exalted place of these two composers. Corelli and Vivaldi were seen as *the* composers of instrumental music in Zürich at that time.⁶⁴



Fig. 1: Frontispiece of collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule*, Zürich 1713. Zürich Central Library, CH-Zz AMG Q 341.

⁶³ Friedrich Jakob, „Der Kontrabass in der Lokalmusikgeschichte Zürichs“, in: Volker Kalisch et al. (eds), *Festschrift Hans Conradin zum 70. Geburtstag*, Bern and Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1983 (Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft II/33), 53–60, 54.

⁶⁴ In a music inventory of the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule* from 1698, one finds several compositions with string parts, e.g. by Hammerschmidt, Briegel, Horn and Speer, but no purely instrumental music. Cf. <http://inventories.rism-ch.org> (23 February 2015).

Bern

An early performance of Corelli in the Protestant milieu is also documented in Bern. Uffenbach again, before journeying on to Geneva, visited the collegium musicum there on the 11th of November 1714. On the Aare River the transient German reported:

Afterwards they played sacred music with singers and Mr. Schürer's beloved wife also sang. Meanwhile a traveller from Italy, a nobleman from Brabant, came in and played with the above-mentioned Spaniard several sonatas from Corelli's compositions for three voices but not particularly special ones. The Spaniard though played the bass, in fact very well and better than the violin.⁶⁵

According to Uffenbach, the Spaniard was a former violinist of the current king of Spain and had played a piece for solo violin without bass the day before.⁶⁶ The Corelli trio sonatas that he and the nobleman from Brabant played the next day were most likely printed sonatas from op. 1–4, although it is not completely clear if they performed *sonate da chiesa* or *da camera*. They may be casual references, but both the Catholic convert Conrad Bullinger, in Zürich, and the Spaniard and the nobleman from Brabant, in Bern, may suggest that Corelli's music was owned and played more often within a Catholic context. Corelli's music does not appear on the 1697 music inventory of the Bern students' collegium musicum, nor does it appear on the 1761 one from the Bern French Church's music society where Uffenbach heard the performance.⁶⁷ The nobleman from Brabant may have purchased the trio sonatas in Italy in 1714 and had them in his possession.

⁶⁵ D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, Vol. I, Quoted here from the typescript by Alste Horn, 1968–70: D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, 594: „nachdem machten sie was geistliches mit vocal stimmen wozu des He Schürers frau liebste auch wohl mit sange. während der zeit kahl ein passagier Italien ein edelman aus brabant dahin und machte nebst dem vorigen spanier etliche Sonaten aus des corelli 3 stimigten sachen nicht gar sonderliche[.] der spanische aber spielte den pass dazu und zwar sehr wohl und besser als die violin“. In the paraphrasing of Preussner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach* (see n. 26), 51: „Während des Konzertes kommt ein Brabanter Edelmann aus Italien an; er spielt zusammen mit dem Spanier aus des Corelli dreistimmigen Stücken“.

⁶⁶ D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, Vol. I, In the typewritten transcription by Alste Horn, 1968–70: D-Gua, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, 592: „außer ein neu angekommener burger von hier nahmens Haglesteg[?] so vor einiger zeit violonist des izigen königs in spanien in der capelle geweßen seyn soll. ein man der viol instrumenta fertig spielen soll aber deßen ver-teuffelte alte maniren mir gar nicht gefallen. er machte mir zu ehren ein Solo ohne paß mit doppelten griffen auf der violin, sehr künstlich und ungemein geschwind allein weder strich noch goust darin, und mühsam gefiedelt. er spielte aber nach der hand einen französchen pass extra wohl so mir besser als seine violin gefallen“.

⁶⁷ These historical music inventories, and other Swiss music inventories, are available online, cf. <http://inventories.rism-ch.org> (23 February 2015).

The monastery of Engelberg and the Catholic milieu of the Old Swiss Confederacy

Corelli's music was not only popular in the Protestant parts of the Old Swiss Confederacy, it was also to be found in Engelberg in the small central Catholic canton of Obwalden. Due to a spark from a firework, a fire raged in the Benedictine monastery of Engelberg on the 29th of August 1729, destroying a considerable part of the monastery, including the music library. Father Ildefons Straumeyer relates that the fire destroyed so many musical works that nobody in the monastery could even approximate how many were lost.⁶⁸ Fortunately Ildefons, who was the chapel master at that time, considered it important to make a record immediately after the fire of what music he could remember including some current composers. Concerning the lost music books, Ildefons mentions „all the symphonies of Mr. Correlli [sic] and a great number of newer symphonies of Italian masters“ („ac symphonias omnium operum signoris Correllii [sic], sexcentasque recentiores symphonias authorum Italicorum“).⁶⁹

It seems very likely that Straumeyer was referring to Corelli's op. 1–4 when he mentioned „symphonias omnium operum signoris Correllii“. That would mean that not only the liturgically useful *sonate da chiesa* but also the *sonate da camera* owned by the Benedictine monastery. It is not clear if Straumeyer is giving his opinion when speaking of „recentiores symphonias“, but in the broader context he probably only wants to specify that they also possessed more current Italian instrumental music without necessarily considering Corelli's music as outmoded.

In this regard it is interesting what the Lucerne patrician and priest Franz Joseph Leonti Meyer von Schauensee (1720–1789) writes in a letter dated January 1st, 1747:

[...] with regret I had to hear and see that through the music prints introduced by certain people some years ago in our country, our music has been continuously destroyed to such an extent that amongst the students you hardly come across one who is keen to study music thoroughly. In my time, one studied Corelli, who is the father of the fundament and the rules of music. Now he is no longer fashionable, but our students are provided with beautiful printed songs and dance books. What else do you want to know!

⁶⁸ Franz Huber, „Die Pflege der Kirchenmusik im Stifte Engelberg während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts“, in: Sigisbert Cavelti et al. (eds), *Angelomontana. Blätter aus der Geschichte von Engelberg. Jubiläumsausgabe für Abt Leodegar II von Engelberg*, Gossau 1914, 395–429, 406: „Das Feuer zerstörte so viel musikalische Werke, dass niemand in unserm Kloster die Zahl derselben annähernd angeben kann“.

⁶⁹ Stiftsarchiv Engelberg: CH-EN StiA, cod. 200, without page numbers, cap. V (De rebus combustis). Around 1850 Father Plazidus Tanner made a copy and a German translation of Ildefons' Latin document. Here we read: „und die Sýmphonien omnium Operum des Signiors Correllii [sic]: ebenso hundert und hundert Sýmphonien Italienischer Authoren“. CH-EN StiA, cod. 201, 63. I thank the archivist Rolf De Kegel for procuring for me copies of the original documents.

The works of Father Rathgeber, which appeared almost twenty years ago and have been highly damaging to our music, have had such an effect that here a general opinion has arisen, which I have often heard from dull and ignorant, and yet arrogant, musicians, who afterwards enjoy a good reputation and are supposed to be consummate musicians: they know enough, if they can only play and sing Rathgeber! O learned and venerable musician!⁷⁰

Meyer von Schauensee is speaking about a musical trend that has, in his eyes, displaced an older style and had a disastrous impact in general. He rails against the works of Southern German clerics who often published their music at Lotter in Augsburg, including the Benedictines Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750), Gallus Zeiler (1705–1755), Meinrad Spieß (1683–1761), Marianus Königsperger (1708–1769) and the Augustinian Benedict Geissler (1696–1772).⁷¹ Indeed Straumeyer mentions the presence of the complete works of Rathgeber and all the offertories of Cajetan Kolberer (1658–1732), another Benedictine monk, in 1729 in Engelberg.⁷² Originating from an aristocratic family from Lucerne and therefore Catholic, Meyer von Schauensee is very well-informed about the music repertoire in Catholic Switzerland. As a child he was taught by the organist Wilhelm Müller in Lucerne and later in the Benedictine schools of Neu St. Johann and St. Gallen before entering the Cistercian monastery of St. Urban in 1738, where he spent only one year.⁷³ According to him, Corelli's compositions were studied by everyone (at least in his Catholic context) – and then abandoned with the advent of a new musical trend.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern: CH-Lz, Pp Msc 167 fd., without page numbers, in the letter of 1st of January 1747 under litt. W: „ich mit bedauern hören und sehen müsse, wie daß durch gewisse von einigen jahren her in unser land introduciert wordene getruckte compositiones unsere musique also und also destruiert, daß under so lehrjung kaum 1 rechten anzutreffen, welcher daß studium die music fundamental zu erlernen Ihme laset angelegen seyn. bey meiner zeith lehrte man den corelli, welcher der vatter deß fundaments und Regel der music, nunmehr ist dieser nicht mehr die mode, sondern unsere lehrenden werden schöne getruckte lieder und dänztbücher vorgelegt. Waß will man mehr wissen! Die vor etwan 20. Jahren ans taglicht getrettene, und unser music höchst schädliche opera deß R.P. Rathgebers, haben einen solchen effect gemacht, daß bey uns ein allgemeiner weidspruch entsprugen, den ich schon oft von einigen der tragheit ergeben nichts wissenden, und doch hochmütigen musicanten, die danach gute Beneficia genießen und obligiert wären vollkommene musicanten zu seyn gehört sagen: sie wissen genug, wan sie nur den Rathgeber singen und geigen können! O Wohlgelehrt und verehrendswürdiger Musicantd!“

⁷¹ Christoph Riedo, „Franz Joseph Leonti Meyer von Schauensee: Musiker, Offizier, Politiker, Geistlicher und eine einflussreiche Stimme in Sachen katholischer Kirchenmusik der Alten Eidgenossenschaft“, in: Joachim Kremer and Franz Körndle (eds), *Der Kirchenmusiker. Berufe – Institutionen – Wirkungsfelder*, Laaber: Laaber, 2015 (Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik 3), 273–4.

⁷² Cf. Huber, „Die Pflege der Kirchenmusik im Stifte Engelberg“ (see n. 68), 406.

⁷³ Eugen Koller, *Franz Josef Leonti Meyer von Schauensee, 1720–1789. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frauenfeld and Leipzig: Huber, 1922, 2–6.

⁷⁴ Meyer von Schauensee mentions in his 1757 biography that he studied from „der kleinen und großen Generalbaß-Schule“ of Mattheson, cf. Koller, *Franz Josef Leonti Meyer von Schauensee* (see n. 73), 2–3.

Meyer von Schauensee had mentioned Corelli previously in his letters, namely in the documents dated June 8th 1746:

I know from much experience in Germany that not only in the monasteries and prelatures but also in the cities and even in the lowlands of Germany one endeavours to obtain compositions from Italy. In summary there is nothing else to say than that he who is not able to sing, play and beat such *appoggiaturas* is not a musician but an ass, because our ancient ancestors such as Corelli, Mossi, Valentini and suchlike admirable artists did not need to add such manners, because they knew in any case where to add them. These days anyone who has hardly touched an instrument and is not yet confident already adds a lot of them [manners], thinking that he is even better than the composer and knows how to embellish. Therefore for more than twenty years musicians have been urged to add all the manners in the compositions.⁷⁵

In passages not quoted of this letter he speaks about *appoggiaturas* in particular rather than ornaments in general. One wonders why Corelli is specifically mentioned with regard to *appoggiatura*. On the one hand it was certainly because Corelli was greatly respected. On the other it is not clear why Meyer von Schauensee expounds on ornamentation and why he mentions Corelli together with earlier Roman composers such as Giovanni Mossi (ca. 1680–1742) and Giuseppe Valentini (1681–1753). For more than twenty years, Schauensee writes, it has now been necessary to add the *appoggiaturas* that were once natural for the composers. It seems that he was aware of the ornaments of Corelli and the Roman school, probably through Estienne Roger's „troisième Edition ou l'on a joint les agréments des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par M.r A. Corelli comme il les joue“ of 1710, republished twice by Le Cène and copied later in London. In fact one reaches the conclusion that Meyer von Schauensee must have come to know Corelli's music via Roger's prints because in this passage of the letter the less significant Giovanni Mossi is mentioned together with his far more popular colleagues. Mossi's music being available via Roger in Amsterdam like the works of the two others, it seems logical that Meyer von Schauensee associated them for this reason.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ CH-Lz, Pp Msc 167 fd., unpaginated, in the letter of June 8th 1746 under litt. H: „Dan ich habe so velle erfahrungheit auf teütschland, daß nicht nur in dem hohen stüften, und Praelaturen, sondern in stätt und flach teütschlandts man trachtet auß Italien *composizioni* zu bekommen. In summa nur nichts mehrers zu meldten, wer dergleichen vorschläg so wohl im singen, geigen, und schlagen nicht machen kann, ist kein musicant, sondern ein esel, dan unsere alte vorfahren als wie der Corelli, Mossi, Valentini, und dergleichen vortrefliche künstler haben nicht nötig gehabt solche manier beÿ zu setzen, weilen sie ohne dis gewußt, wo dise nötig beÿ zu setzen, allein weil beÿ dem jetzig weltlauf ein jeder, der kaum ein Instrument anrühret, und noch nicht gesicheret ist, schon aller hand, und beßer, als der componist beÿsetzen, und erkünstlen will, so ißt man seith etlich und 20 jahr hero gemüßiget worden den musicanten in den composizioni alle manieren bey zu setzen“.

⁷⁶ Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales* (see n. 19), in the 1737 sales catalogue see 42, 55 and 60–62 respectively. I am particularly grateful to Agnese Pavanello for this remark.

Basel

A music source in the University Library of Basel may bear witness to Corelli's reception in the city on the Rhine. The score of the op. 6, printed in London in 1732 (RISM A/I C 3852; CC 3852; CH-Bu Kk VIII 213) by Thomas Cross, is another of the rare English prints in Switzerland. In the preface of this edition we read: „It seems needless to Mention to you, how usefull these Compositions in Score, will be for all Students in Musick, or that they are ye most Compleat Lessons, for performers on the Organ or Harpsichord, as you will have the pleasure of Contemplating ye One, & hearing ye Other [...]“. Indeed this particular copy has certainly been studied most carefully, since we find in this source numerous pencil annotations and occasionally some in ink where articulation, accidentals, and tempi are annotated. The printed bass figures – seeming to derive from the 18th century – have been filled in or corrected along with other errors in the print. Not only has the score obviously been studied in depth, but because so many errors have been corrected including numerous accidentals (even of passing notes), one has the impression that the score may have served as the source from which partbooks were created. When only studying the score, it would not have been necessary to add trills or articulation markings – these were only needed for performances – and it seems impossible to have found all these errors without playing the music, at least on the harpsichord or at best with strings. However it is not clear if this source is decidedly related to Basel, to whom and to which institution.⁷⁷

Corelli is recalled in the satirical pamphlet *Die Reise nach dem Concerte*, published anonymously in Basel in 1755.⁷⁸ It includes a conversation between a local and an old pastor from a rural community in the canton of Bern, who is surprised about the new manners in the city. During a concert of the collegium musicum Basel they conduct the following discussion:

He replied: It was „Spring“ by Mr. Vivaldi; he wanted to present it and did it really not so badly. It also suits this time of the year. It's a pity that one does not perform his other concertos in the other seasons; he did all four and has to be esteemed the greater since he was the first in doing so; only *Corelli* exceeds him in harmony. I replied: Will we hear something by him? Alas, no, was his answer, these great men are hardly honoured once a year. A certain pedantry reigns among the musicians that they despise everything that is old: no matter how beautiful it is, they don't find it so, if it is more than ten years old. I replied: A young man doesn't love an old woman, because she is not pretty any more, and an out-dated calendar is cast away because time passes by and it becomes thereby useless. Only our ears don't change every ten years, and what is once truly beautiful remains

⁷⁷ On the basis of the shelfmark it is possible to date its acquisition by the University Library of Basel to between 1908 and 1912. I am indebted to Christoph Ballmer for this information.

⁷⁸ Staehelin has dedicated an entire book to this pamphlet and has identified the author as Emanuel Wolleb (1706–1788): Martin Staehelin, *Der Basler Schultheiß Emanuel Wolleb und seine satirische Schrift „Die Reise nach dem Concerte“*, Basel: Schwabe, 1999 (Neujahrsblatt der Gesellschaft für das Gute und Gemeinnützige in Basel 177).

beautiful for ever. It may well be the case that many things of beauty exist at the same time, and when a new beauty appears, the old should not be rejected. Just therein, he answered, lies the pedantry of the young musicians. They think that nothing can be right but that which arises in their lifetime. Some of them want to appear smart when they praise many resolved dissonances, and if that doesn't please someone else, they say they are learned in the art which ignorant people cannot even understand. But the true masters are above this. They search for what is pleasant, and try to please the audience, just as *Molière* wrote for the public and not for himself. Whereas the half- and quarter- virtuosi, partly out of envy and partly out of pride, try to outclass the old. And why not? They are sure of the fact that the new, only because it is new, has the merit.⁷⁹

In Engelberg in 1729, newer and older Italian sinfonias are mentioned without either pejorative or positive connotations. In 1755, while actually listening to Vivaldi, the conversation turns – significantly – towards Corelli. He is mentioned in a discourse on classical beauty which endures through all times and epochs. The same discourse, in almost the same words, was held by Roger North in England some years previously.⁸⁰ By mid-century Corelli's music is also classified in Switzerland as old, but has now gained an additional qualification: for connoisseurs (and the fact that a cleric participated in the conversation may be no coincidence) Corelli has undoubtedly entered into the canon of classics. Because we are not informed in detail about the music

⁷⁹ Staehelin, *Der Basler Schultheiß Emanuel Wolleb* (see n. 78), 117–118: „Er versetzte: Es war der Frühling des Herrn Vivaldi; er wollte diesen vorstellen und hat es so übel nicht getroffen. Auch schickt es sich für diese Zeit. Es ist schade, daß man nicht in anderen Jahreszeiten seine übrigen spielt; er hat sie alle vier gemacht und war um soviel grösser als er die Musik zuerst empor gebracht hat; nur *Corelli* trifft ihn an Harmonie vor. Ich erwiederte: Werden wir was von ihm hören? Ach nein, war seine Antwort, des Jahrs kaum einmal ziehet man diese grosse Männer zu Ehren. Es regiert eine gewisse Pedanterie unter den Musikanten, daß sie verachten, was alt ist: wäre es noch so schön, so finden sie es nicht so, wann es über zehen Jahre hat. Ich sprach: Ein junger Mann liebt eine Alte nicht, weil sie nicht mehr schön ist, und einen ferndrigen Calender wirft man weg, weil die Jahre dahin laufen und er dardurch unbrauchbar geworden. Allein unsere Ohren werden ja nicht alle zehen Jahr anderst, und was einmal recht schön ist, bleibt's allzeit. Es können wohl verschiedene Schönheiten beysammen bestehen, und wann eine neue kömmt, so sollte man die alte deßwegen nicht verwerfen. Eben darin (antwortete er) steckt die Pedanterie bey den jungen Musikanten. Sie meinen, es könne nichts rechts seyn, als was zu ihren Zeiten jung geworden. Theils von ihnen wollen darin geschickt scheinen, wann sie viel aufgelöste Dissonantien loben, und so es einem andern nicht gefällt, so meinen sie sich gar gelehrt, die Kunst einzusehen, welche die Unwissenden nicht einmal begreifen können. Aber die wahren Meister sind hierüber aus. Diese suchen das Angenehme, und den Zuhörern zu gefallen, gleichwie auch *Molière* dem Volk, nicht sich, zu liebe schrieb. Da indessen die halb- und quart-Virtuosen, theils aus Neid, theils aus Hochmuth, wollen über alle Alten sein. Und warum nicht? Sie sind ihrer Sache gewiß, wo das neue, nur darum, weil es neu ist, den Vorzug hat“.

⁸⁰ North on Music, *Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728*, ed. by John Wilson, London: Novello & Co., 1959, 346–347. Quoted from William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England. A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*, Oxford etc.: Clarendon Press, 1992, 86.

repertoire of the collegium musicum in Basel in the first half of the century, we can therefore only, on the basis of this pamphlet, justifiably suspect that Corelli's works were well known here. This report is the most recent about Corelli in Switzerland in the 18th century.

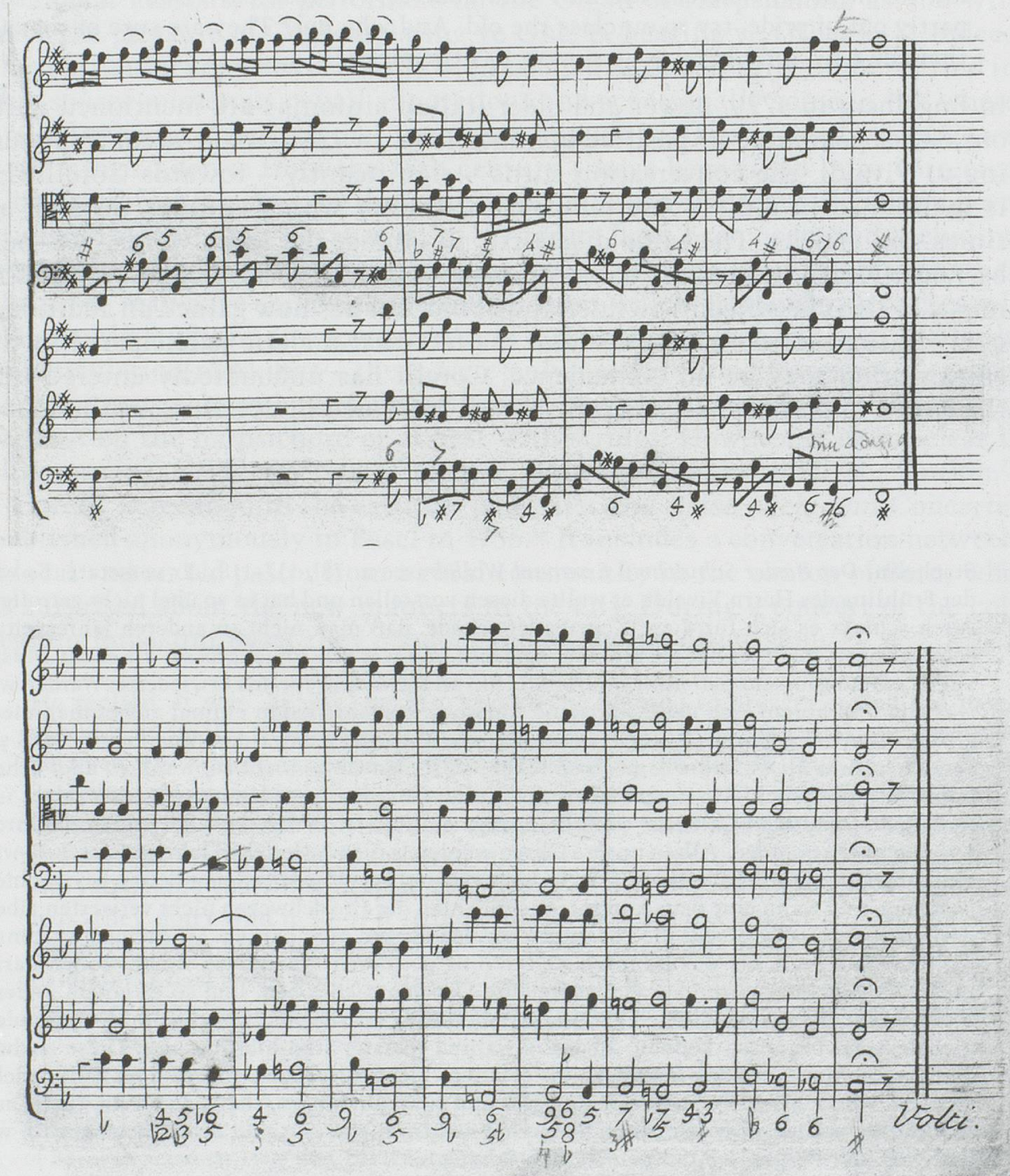


Fig. 2: Detail of Corelli's op. 6 printed by Thomas Cross in 1732 (RISM A/I C 3852). University Library of Basel, CH-Bu Kk VIII 213 (page 8 and 16).

Conclusion

Corelli's music was widespread in the present territory of Switzerland from an early date: Pierre Fatio possessed a copy of op. 5 in Geneva in 1707, during Corelli's lifetime. Though Fatio's copy was printed in Rome, the most common acquisition channel seems to have been via Amsterdam. Copies printed in London were also imported directly by the British circles of Geneva. Although many music books from Italy reached Switzerland, prints arriving from the southern route are not documented in Corelli's case, with the exception of Fatio's copy and perhaps the music brought by the nobleman from Brabant. Amsterdam was thus an important centre for the distribution of music prints throughout Europe, which helps explain Corelli's decision to publish his op. 6 with Estienne Roger there – especially because the prints made in London are effectively reprints of Continental editions. The fact that almost no Corelli manuscripts are mentioned in Switzerland reminds us of the importance of music printing.

Corelli's works were known and performed in different contexts in Switzerland, in Protestant as well as Catholic milieus – not forgetting the Anglican circles in Geneva – and soon reached even far-afield places like the monastery of Engelberg in its remote valley. Depending on the cultural context, Corelli's violin music could also have been played on the *pardessus de viole*, using French ornaments, but his op. 5 was performed by an ensemble of only two musicians. At the same time, the Catholic Meyer von Schauensee apparently knew Roger's published ornaments. Either they were by Corelli as Roger stated, or they can be attributed to another Roman violinist of Corelli's time. Interestingly, we did not learn of any women possessing Corelli's compositions; the question of whether Corelli's style was disliked by Swiss women, as it is reported by Aubert in France in 1730, cannot be conclusively answered.⁸¹ At the same time we are also informed about the places where Corelli's music apparently was not received: several Swiss music inventories from the 17th and 18th centuries have survived and none mentions Corelli's music.⁸² This altogether modest reception might be explained by the fact that the Old Swiss Confederacy did not have a tradition of pure instrumental music: in the Catholic churches music had to serve the liturgy, which favoured vocal music, and the Protestant *collegia musica* arose from the desire to sing the Psalms in parts. Accordingly, purely instrumental music gained importance in these spheres only during the course of the 18th century. This might be the reason why the reception of Corelli's op. 6 is only documented in Geneva together with Geminiani's arrangement of the op. 5 within an English circle.⁸³

⁸¹ La Laurencie, *L'école française de violon de Lully à Viotti* (see n. 13), Vol. I, 208.

⁸² Cf. <http://inventories.rism-ch.org> (23 February 2015).

⁸³ It is not certain if a op. 6 was really heard in the Collegium Basel. Incidentally, Rasch mentions six former 18th-century owners of op. 6: Rudolf Rasch, 'Corelli's Contract. Notes on the Publication History of the „Concerti grossi ... Opera sesta“ [1714]', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 46/2 (1996), 83–136, 109–110.

As early as 1729, we find op. 1–4 as a collection together.⁸⁴ This might be the first sign of owners consciously beginning to collect Corelli's works, although the impetus came clearly from the printers themselves, since they had published op. 1–4 together. Consequently Corelli's works, as documented by the Catholic Franz Joseph Leonti Meyer von Schauensee, were widely studied and served as compositional models over a long period. The score of op. 6 in the University Library of Basel exemplifies this. Corelli's music had certainly become part of the canon of musical classics by the middle of the 18th century in Switzerland, confirmed by the Basel pamphlet of 1755. With regard to the situation in England, Weber writes: „The cult for Corelli developed much more among amateurs than among professional musicians“⁸⁵ and argues that this was „because amateurs could master them [Corelli's concertos] relatively easily“.⁸⁶ Indeed op. 1–4 and 6 are not very technically demanding and could have been performed by almost any amateur. Corelli thus reached everyone with his music, especially the growing class of musical amateurs. This also helps to explain his success. In comparison, Corelli also wrote for more advanced players; his op. 5 is much more demanding. Zaslaw considered its twelve sonatas significant „as études“, „as compositional models“ and „as a basis for improvisation“.⁸⁷ With the knowledge that in Geneva and Zürich amateurs were among the purchasers of Corelli's op. 5, and that it circulated widely within these bourgeois spheres, we can now better understand the increasingly high number of reprints this opus experienced in the 18th century. Although the twelve sonatas cannot be counted as virtuoso compositions, it may nevertheless be surprising today that amateurs were technically capable enough to make use of them. The fact that we encountered op. 5 among amateurs suggests that the sonatas were actually performed in these circles and not necessarily purchased as collectors' items.

⁸⁴ Cf. the following sources: CH-Gc Rpg 1/1-4 (John Walsh, London 1735, plate nos. 364–367); CH-Gpu BGE Ib 4166 1-4 (Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène, Amsterdam 1715, plate nos. 351–354); the same Roger editions are found under CH-Bu kr XII No. 1-4 (the organo part book is lacking); and again the same four Roger editions are also preserved in the collection of Erwin Reuben Salomon Jacobi (1909–1978) under the shelfmark CH-ZZ Mus Jac B 3,1-3,4 as well as in the Benedictine abbey of Einsiedeln under CH-E Ma 54. All the Einsiedeln copies bear the owner mark „Jos. Brugger“ and „J. Tollmann“. Cf. Lukas Helg, *Die Drucke vor 1800 in der Musikbibliothek des Klosters Einsiedeln. Ein Katalog*, Einsiedeln: Kloster Einsiedeln, 1999, 22. Corelli's op. 6 (CH-E 729,2; RISM A/I C 3889), published by Robert Birchall around 1790 was donated by Robert Lucas Pearsall (1795–1856) to the abbey.

⁸⁵ Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (see n. 80), 82.

⁸⁶ Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (see n. 80), 83. Here: „It has been argued that during the eighteenth century the number of editions of his works was matched only by those of the much more prolific and world-travelling Franz Joseph Haydn. Corelli's sonatas, Op. 1, had thirty-five editions between 1680 and 1735 alone; his concertos, Op. 6, forty-two by 1800. Groups of amateurs and music societies were the main purchasers of these editions; over fifty clubs can be found on the subscription lists of the Corelli editions put out between 1725 and 1750“.

⁸⁷ Neal Zaslaw, „Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas, op. 5“, *EM* 24/1 (1996), 95–116, 95.

With the discovery of the contract between Corelli and Estienne Roger, Rudolf Rasch was able to shed light on Corelli's publishing strategies and we discerned the composer's great business sense. In this article Rasch suggests that „the engraved edition of the op. 5 violin sonatas of 1700 was a private edition („Chez l'auteur“) in the first place, issued at Corelli's own risk and expense and for his own profit and benefit“.⁸⁸ Rasch has come to this conclusion among others because he believes that the copper plates left in Corelli's will to his friend Matteo Fornari (1655–1722) were not of op. 4 but rather of op. 5.⁸⁹ With the plates of op. 5, Corelli would have given his partner the opportunity of republishing the sonatas any time he liked.⁹⁰ Fatio's inventory and the documents from the collegium musicum *zur deutschen Schule* support Rasch's claim suggesting that Corelli's aim with his op. 5 was probably not to publish his most virtuosic compositions. Rather, Corelli intended to reach a wider audience, a larger market and thus a greater earning potential. The reception of Corelli's music abroad finally leads us to a reevaluation of Corelli's compositions, suggesting his personal intentions in music publication, and revealing, ultimately, something more about his personal character.

⁸⁸ Rasch, „Corelli's Contract“ (see n. 83), 92.

⁸⁹ The transcription of the will must have been incorrect and the relevant word should be read as ‚quinta‘ instead of ‚quarta‘. This conclusion is inevitable since „[n]o Italian engraved edition of Corelli's Op. 4 is known to exist, to have existed or to have been prepared“: thus no Italian plates of op. 4 are known. Rasch, „Corelli's Contract“ (see n. 83), 126–127. Having seen the original source, Rasch is of the opinion that this word is written in such a shaky manner that both readings are possible. I thank Rudolf Rasch for this personal communication.

⁹⁰ Of course that would have meant that Fornari could earn some money whenever he wanted: it was almost a private pension plan. In fact, copies bearing the names of Filippo Farinelli and Innocenzo Massimini prove that the plates were used in Rome for republications until the second half of the 18th century. I am again grateful to Rudolf Rasch for this information and the interesting debate on this topic.

