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PERFORMING CORELLI IN THE 19TH CENTURY

by CLIVE BROWN

The tremendous European reputation of Corelli's compositions, which is reflected in their rich performance and publication history during his lifetime and in the period immediately following his death, was gradually eroded during the course of the 18th century as newer fashions in music seized the imagination of musicians, connoisseurs, and concert audiences. Nevertheless, among amateurs and more conservative professional musicians his works remained alive in private circles long after they ceased to be fashionable in the public arena; this was especially true in England, where some of Corelli's music even continued to be performed in major public concerts into the next century.

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Fig. 1: Jean Baptist Cartier *L'Art du violon*, p. 34.

At the beginning of the 19th century, despite the almost total absence of Corelli's works from the concert repertoire in most of Europe, he was still regarded as the father of violin playing. In Jean Baptiste Cartier's collection of violin music, *L'art du violon, ou Collection Choisie dans les Sonates des Ecoles Italienne, Français et Allemande* (Paris, 1798), for instance, the names of Corelli and Tartini appear on the index page in larger lettering than the other violinists of the „Ecole Italienne et Lombarde“ (Fig. 1), even though Tartini's pupil Nardini has more pieces in the collection than either of them. In Germany too, Corelli's historical importance was still acknowledged in some quarters. A long article about him appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1811, in which the author referred to Cartier's publication and repeated his high estimation of Corelli's Op. 5 sonatas:

These sonatas can be seen as the elementary works for every future violinist. Art, taste, and erudition are all united here. What is truer, more natural and at the same time more powerful than his Adagios? What more deeply conceived and better executed than his fugues? What more effortless than his Gigue? In a word: he is the originator of the sonata and the one who brought it to its highest level.¹

Such opinions seem to be in contrast, however, with the general opinion of the time. A few years earlier, in the same journal, in a review of a „Pot-Pourri Pour le Pianoforté avec accompagnement de Violoncelle op. 5“ by Phillipe Jacques Pfeffinger, in which the composer employed the theme of „Les folies d'Espagne de Corelli“ („Follia“ op. 5, no. 12) as the basis of a set of his own variations, the reviewer provided a music example of the theme and commented:

So that readers may have some respite before I proceed with my review, I provide the old theme (varied in the third pot-pourri) by father Corelli, whom some people now only put forward in order to ridicule him. Dear God – how different people are! Those people know nothing of Corelli but the name and I think not only that the reader will thank me for this little piece already, but also that at the present day we almost never produce such pretty trifles – perhaps out of sheer prolixity and erudition!²

¹ *AmZ* 13 (1811), 418–419: „Diese Sonaten können als das Elementarwerk für jeden künftigen Violinspieler angesehen werden. Kunst, Geschmack, Gelehrsamkeit, alles ist hier vereinigt. Was ist wahrer, natürlicher, und zugleich kräftiger, als seine *Adagio's*? Was tiefer gedacht, und besser durchgeführt, als seine *Fugen*? was naiver, als seine *Giguen*? Mit einem Worte: er ist der Erfinder der Sonate und derjenige, der sie auf ihre höchste Stufe gebracht hat.“

² *AmZ* 8 (1806), 698 „Damit die Leser, ehe ich meine Anzeige weiter fortsetze, sich erholen können, setze ich ein, im dritten Pot-pourri variirtes, altes Thema von Vater Corelli her, den manche Leute jetzt nur anführen, um ihn lächerlich zu machen. Du lieber Gott – wie sind doch die Menschen verschieden! Ich bilde mir nicht nur ein, die Leser werden mir schon für dies Sätzchen danken, und jene Leute kennen von Corelli gar nichts, als den Namen; sondern auch, wir machen heut zu Tage solche Sächelchen fast gar nicht mehr so hübsch – Vielleicht vor lauter Ausführlichkeit und Gelehrsamkeit!“. The reviewer was, of course, incorrect in attributing the theme to Corelli.

E. T. A. Hoffmann mentioned Corelli a number of times in his literary works, evidently seeing him as a model of pristine musical beauty. In *Johannes Kreislers, des Kapellmeisters, musikalische Leiden* (1810) he has the eccentric Kapellmeister present a copy of Corelli's sonatas to the musically gifted sixteen-year old servant Gottlieb. The story ends:

[„]Throw off the hated servant's coat, honourable Gottlieb! And let me, in time to come, clasp you to my bosom as the fine artist you are capable of becoming, with your excellent talent and deep artistic understanding!["] Gottlieb stood behind me and wiped the tears from his eyes, as I spoke these words aloud. – I pressed his hand silently, and we went up and played the Corelli sonatas.³

Hoffmann provides no clue as to where his imaginary Kapellmeister Kreisler might have acquired the edition of Corelli's op. 5 sonatas he gave to Gottlieb, but it could well have been the lithographed Viennese edition published a few years before Hoffmann's story,⁴ or an engraved Viennese edition of about the same date.⁵ Or perhaps the Kapellmeister could have owned a copy published in Venice a generation earlier.⁶ Despite the extraordinary popularity of Corelli's music in the 18th century, editions of his works dwindled to a trickle in continental Europe during the early 19th century and only one more Italian edition of op. 5, in 1826, seems to have been published before the end of the century.⁷ Had Kapellmeister Kreisler visited England, however, he would have had an abundance of editions to choose from at that time, and also in the following decades. Between 1805 and 1820 at least five different London publishers issued Corelli's op. 5 sonatas.⁸ Even

³ *AmZ* 12 (1810), 833 „Wirf ihn ab, den verhaßten Bedientenrock, ehrlicher Gottlieb, und laß mich nach Jahren dich als den wackern Künstler an mein Herz drücken, der du werden kannst mit deinem herrlichen Talent, mit deinem tiefen Kunstsinn! – Gottlieb stand hinter mir und wischte sich die Tränen aus den Augen, als ich diese Worte laut aussprach. – Ich drückte ihm schweigend die Hand, wir gingen hinauf und spielten die Sonaten von Corelli.“

⁴ *VI Sonate à Violino, e Violoncello. Composte del Sig.^{re} Corelli. Parte I* (Vienna: Nel Magazin della Cas. Real. privilegiata Stamperia chimica, [pl. no. 112, ca. 1803-04]).

⁵ *Sei Sonate per Violino e Basso*. (Vienna: Contoro di Arti e d'Industria, [pl. no. 340, ca. 1805]).

⁶ *Dodici Sonate per Violino e Basso, o Cembalo del Signor Arcangelo Corelli Opera V* (Venezia, Presso Antonio Zatta e Figli, [ca. 1785]).

⁷ *Sei suonate per violino e basso. Per introduzione alla sua celebratissima opera 5. Composte dal celebre m.o Corell.* ed. Francesco Cosatti, (Milano: Gio. Ricordi, [1826]). Two volumes were issued.

⁸ *A New Edition of Corelli's Twelve Solos for the Violin & Violoncello, with a thorough bass for the piano forte or harpsichord, in which a simple method is adopted for facilitating the reading of the tenor clef. By Muzio Clementi, etc.* (London, Muzio Clementi & Co, [ca. 1805]). *Dale's new edition of Corelli's XII solos. For a violin, with a thorough bass for the organ, harpsichord or violoncello / Carefully revised & without the tenor cliff. Opera quinta* (London: Joseph Dale, [ca. 1805]).

A New edition of Twelve Solos for the Violin & Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, etc. (London: R. Birchall, [ca. 1810]).

Twelve Sonatas for two Violins & a Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Organ or Piano Forte ... Opera prima. Carefully revised & corrected. (London: Preston, [ca. 1815]).

Correlli's [sic] Twelve solos for the violin, with an accompaniment for the violoncello, to which is added a thorough bass, for the piano forte or harpsichord: op. 5. (London: G. Walker, [ca. 1820]).

in the mid 19th century there was still evidently a thriving market in England for these works, which appeared in multiple editions around 1850.⁹

Public performances of Corelli were given in England during the first half of the 19th century not only at the „Antient Concerts,“ where older music was the rule, but also at the concerts of the Philharmonic Society and at provincial music festivals, where the popular duo of cellist Robert Lindley and contrabass virtuoso Domenico Dragonetti regularly played sonatas by Corelli as duets or, with another cellist, as trios. Their performances were popular with audiences and with the musical press. A more sceptical contemporary observer (probably Beethoven's pupil, Cipriani Hambly Potter) remarked:

The numerous compositions of Corelli [...] are now almost forgotten, except in England, where old and deep-rooted prejudices still assign them to a rank to which, when compared with the more perfect productions of the modern schools, they are by no means entitled. It cannot, however, be denied, that, amid their stiff and formal counterpoint, and the prim severity of their old-fashioned melodies, they have a purity and sweetness of harmony, in beautiful analogy with the scenes by which they were inspired. But if in listening to a trio by Corelli, as executed by the two Lindleys¹⁰ and Dragonetti, the gentle murmurings of the double-bass and the sweetly-breathing strains of the two violoncellos, melting in the pianissimo into aëriel indistinctness, throw over the mind a spell of luxurious repose in the fragrant noontide air, near the lulling ripple of the brook, and under the shade of wide-spreading foliage, - we cannot help associating with these impressions, the bag-wig, embroidered coat, and diamond buckles of the seventeenth century.¹¹

The fame of these renditions of Corelli by Dragonetti and Lindley even penetrated to the continent, where the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reported in 1823 on a performance in the Philharmonic Society concert series of „a sonata by the here greatly treasured Corelli, which the two darlings of all the local music lovers executed so beautifully that they had to repeat it despite all Mr Dragonetti's reluctance.“¹² And twelve years later the same journal observed that „these two veterans on double bass and cello, perform a Corelli duet every year in one of the Philharmonic concerts, thereby proving

⁹ *Twelve solos for the violin: opera 5 / composed by Arcangelo Corelli; with an accompaniment for the piano forte and separate parts for the violin, violoncello or contra basso by George Piggott.* (London: Robert Cocks & Co, [1849]).

R. Cocks & Co's new edition of Corelli's 12 celebrated Solos, arranged for the Piano Forte, Organ, Harp, Violin, or Violoncello, by Charles Czerny, etc. (London: R. Cocks & Co, [ca. 1850]). *Twelve solos or sonatas for the violin & violoncello with thorough bass for the piano forte New ed.* (London: C. Lonsdale, [ca. 1850]).

¹⁰ Robert and his son William.

¹¹ C. „Dragonetti“, *The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée*, 1 (1832), 72.

¹² *AmZ* 25 (1823), 561: „eine Sonata [...] von dem hier zu Lande sehr geschätzten Corelli [...] welche die beyden Lieblinge aller hiesigen Kunstfreunde so hinreissend schön vortrugen, dass sie trotz alles Sträubens von Seiten des Herrn. Dragonetti wiederholt werden musste.“

to the public that they conscientiously observe every little trill, but also that notwithstanding their advancing years the fullness of their tone and power still remains undiminished.¹³ (cf. Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Domenico Dragonetti, Robert Lindley and John Loder. Daguerreotype ca. 1845.

Perhaps such reports were responsible for inciting emulation in Berlin, where Moritz Ganz, Kelz, and Eisold performed a Corelli trio for two cellos and bass, which the reviewer considered an „interesting antiquity in the strict style;“¹⁴ but when they repeated it later in the year, it was described as „more a curious antiquity than suitable for the concert hall.“¹⁵ In Paris, more than a decade later, it was reported that the cellist Lebone and double bass player Gouffé had performed „fragments of a Corelli sonata,“¹⁶ and later in the year a reviewer noted that „the original voice of M. Gouffé's contrabass came to sing us the variations on the *Folies d'Espagne* by Corelli, an elegy or concertino of his com-

¹³ *AmZ* 37 (1835), 587 „Lindley und Dragonetti, diese zwei Veterane auf Contrabass und Violoncell, spielen alljährlich in einem philharm. Concerte ein Corelli'schen Duett, wobei sie dem Publikum beweisen, dass sie ihm gewissenhaft jedes Trillerchen aufbewahrt, dass aber auch die Fülle ihres Tons und ihre Kraft bei ihren zunehmenden Jahren noch unbeschadet geblieben sind.“

¹⁴ *AmZ* 40 (1838), 196: „interessante Antiquität im strengen Style.“

¹⁵ *AmZ* 40 (1838), 275: „mehr eine kuriöse Antiquität, als für den Concertsaal geeignet.“

¹⁶ *Gazette musicale de Paris* 18 (1851), 103.

position, which was as justly as it was universally applauded.¹⁷ It seems clear, however, that interest in Corelli, not only as a historical figure, but also as a composer worthy of being performed, was growing during the middle decades of the 19th century. This was part of an increasing awareness of, and interest in pre-classical music. In Paris during the 1830s François-Joseph Fétis (who was familiar with the English „Antient Concerts“) collaborated with leading Parisian musicians in mounting historical concerts, at one of which in 1833 Pierre Baillot performed a piece that was described as a Corelli „concerto grosso for violin and orchestra.“¹⁸ In central Europe these events were reflected a little later in, for instance, Mendelssohn's historical concerts at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, and unusual events such as a concert at the Prague Conservatorium, celebrating St Cecilia's day in 1840, in which the aim was „to illustrate the gradual development of music from the earliest to the most recent times through the production of selected compositions in the historical order of their creation.“ As part of this curious undertaking „nine female pupils on five pianos then played an antique concerto by Arcangelo Corelli with praiseworthy precision and complete insight into its character.“¹⁹ This was also the year Louis Spohr premiered his *Historical Symphony* (no. 6, op. 116), in which he aimed to evoke a succession of styles from Bach and Handel to his own day.

From the late 1850s several new collections of pre-classical music were published in Europe, which were aimed not only at amateurs who were developing an interest in old music for the first time, but also at the growing number of conservatoire students, for whom a rounded and comprehensive musical education was considered important. The appearance of these collections partly reflected, and partly stimulated interest in this repertoire. The first to be published was Edouard Deldevez's *Pièces diverses choisies dans les œuvres des célèbres Violinistes-Compositeurs des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (*Various pieces chosen from the works of celebrated violinist composers of the 17th and 18th centuries*) in 1857, which was described on the title page as having „concertante parts added to the author's original text and realised for piano and violin.“²⁰ A report on the collection prepared by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which was signed by Auber, Carafa, Ambroise Thomas, Reber, Clapisson, and Berlioz, describes it thus:

¹⁷ *Gazette musicale de Paris* 18 (1851), 109: „la voix originale de la contrabasse de M. Gouffé est venue nous chanter les variations sur les *Folies d'Espagne*, de Corelli, une élégie ou concertino de sa composition, qui a été aussi justement que généralement applaudi.“

¹⁸ *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* 4 (1833), 56.

¹⁹ *AmZ* 42 (1840), 1054 „die allmälige [sic] Entwichlung der Musik von den ersten bis auf die neuesten Zeiten durch Produktion ausgewählter Tonstücke in historischer Reihenfolge ihrer Entstehung darzustellen. [...] Dann spielten neun weibliche Zöglinge auf fünf Pianos ein antikes Konzert von Arcangelo Corelli mit lobenswerther Präzision und voller Einsicht in den Charakter desselben.“

²⁰ Edouard Deldevez, *Pièces diverses choisies dans les œuvres des célèbres Violinistes-Compositeurs de XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles avec parties concertantes ajoutées au texte original des auteurs et réalisées pour piano et violon par E. M. E. Deldevez. Ouvrage approuvé par l'Institut et adopté par le Conservatoire de musique. Op. 19. Paris, chez S. Richault.*

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the art of the violin took a new form which was constantly developed and enlarged up to the present day. It is from Italy, that motherland of the arts, that the founder of our modern schools, Corelli, came. Then came Geminiani, Tartini, Locatelli, etc., etc., and finally Viotti. All the works of these masters bore the grand and original character that still makes up the most beautiful monuments of the art of the violin. M. Deldevez has correctly thought that such masterpieces ought not to remain buried in libraries. To translate the original text of the old masters in a way intelligible to all; to create rich accompaniments which add brilliant execution to the interest of the composition; in a word, to set off the merit of these works and make them better appreciated by contemporaries - that is the aim proposed by M. Deldevez, and which his work fully achieves.

The collection was also endorsed by Meyerbeer, who wrote a testimonial for the first edition, and a committee of the Paris Conservatoire, which concluded that it was „excellent from both a historical and a practical point of view,” and that „pupils will find there the benefit of being familiarised with masterpieces no less different in style than in period, and of following the art of the violin in all its mechanical development.”²¹ Shortly afterwards, in Germany, Carl Witting published an edition of the op. 5 sonatas with plain and ornamented violin versions for the adagio movements, and with the continuo part realised for piano, as the first volume of a series entitled *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, „a collection of the best works for this instrument from Corelli (1653) to our own time.”²² And in 1863 Jean Delphin Alard began his series *Les maîtres classiques du violon*, subtitled „collection of pieces chosen from the masterpieces of the greatest Italian, German and French classical masters, with the style, phrasing, expression, fingering and bowing proper to the traditional interpretation of these works.”²³ The series began with Corelli's „Follia” variations. Fifty-six issues, ranging from Corelli to Paganini, were to be published over the next twenty years, though only one other issue (no. 21) contained a piece by Corelli (op. 5, no. 1). These publications may well have stimulated Ferdinand David, in collaboration with Breitkopf & Härtel, to embark upon his more concise *Die Hohe Schule des Violinspiels*, containing „works by celebrated masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,” which were designated as: „For use in the Leipzig Conservatorium and for pub-

²¹ See <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/work/759> (31.03.2015).

²² Carl Witting, *Die Kunst des Violinspiels. Eine Sammlung der besten Werke für dieses Instrument von Corelli (1653) bis auf unsere Zeit*, Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, n.d., listed in Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* for December 1860.

²³ Jean Delphin Alard, *Les maîtres classiques du violon. Collection de morceaux choisis dans les chefs d'œuvres des plus grands maîtres classiques Italiens, Allemandes et Français avec le style, le phrasé, l'expression, les doigtés, et les coups d'archet propres à l'interprétation traditionnelle de ces œuvres*. Mayence: Schott, 1863. For bibliographic details see: <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/jean-delphin-alard-i-les-ma-tres-classiques-du-violon-i-george-kennaway/> (31.03.2015).

lic performance.²⁴ This series, in twenty issues that were published in quick succession between 1867 and 1870, began with a Biber sonata in C minor and was followed by Corelli's „Folies d'Espagne“ (op. 5, no. 12) as the second issue. Then, in the early 1870s, came another French publication of pre-classical violin music, which appeared as the seventh part of the *École Léonard pour le violon*. This was Hubert Léonard's *L'Ancienne École Italienne du violon*, which, alongside pieces by Geminiani, Tartini, Giardini, and Nardini, began with a „Sonate en Ré majeur“ (op. 5, no. 1) and an „Adagio et Allemande“ by Corelli.²⁵ Other publications of selections of violin music in the last decades of the 19th century, aimed mostly at the amateur market, also included individual items by Corelli. At the same time, a more musicologically-motivated interest in his music corresponded with the growing 19th-century concern to assemble scholarly editions of the collected works of important composers. This resulted in the publication of Corelli's collected works, edited by Joseph Joachim and Friedrich Chrysander between 1869 and 1871, in an essentially „Urtext“ version that was devoid of bass realisation or editorial performance instructions in the violin part.²⁶ Practical editions of all twelve op. 5 „Violin Sonatas“ were later edited by Arnold Dolmetsch (Novello, 1888)²⁷ and Gustav Jensen (Schott/Augener, 1892),²⁸ supplied with a piano accompaniment as well as fingering, bowing and copious performance instructions in the violin part.

The editorial practices of these later 19th-century editors of Corelli differed with regard both to the realisation of the bass lines and the presentation of the violin parts. Although a few early attempts had been made to revive the use of instruments of the harpsichord family, most notably by Moscheles in London and Fétis in Paris and Brussels, the normal expectation was that the accompaniment would be realised on the piano; and even when the harpsichord began to be revived in the early 20th century, notably by Arnold Dolmetsch

²⁴ Ferdinand David, *Die Hohe Schule des Violinspiels. Werke berühmter Meister des 17ten. u. 18ten. Jahrhunderts. Zum Gebrauch am Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig und zum öffentlichen Vortrag bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ferdinand David*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, [1867]. For bibliographic details see: <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/ferdinand-david-i-die-hohe-schule-des-violinspiels-i-clive-brown-george-kennaway/> (31.03.2015).

²⁵ Hubert Léonard, *École Léonard pour le violon N. 7. L'Ancienne École Italienne du violon*, Paris: Richault, 1874.

²⁶ In the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst*, (Bergedorf bei Hamburg: H. Weißenborn, 1869, 1871). See my article „Joachim's Performance Style as Reflected in his Editions and Other Writings“, in: Michaela Calella and Christian Glanz (eds), *Wiener Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. Anklänge 2008*, Vienna: Mille tre Verlag, 2008, 205–224.

²⁷ *Twelve sonatas for the violin, op. 5* / composed by Arcangelo Corelli; the pianoforte accompaniment (constructed upon the original figured bass), marks of expression, bowing and fingering, by Arnold Dolmetsch.

²⁸ *Zwölf Sonaten für Violine mit figuriertem Bass. Opus 5. von A. Corelli, für Violine mit Klavierbegleitung bearbeitet, mit Bogenstrich- Finger- und Vortragsbezeichnung versehen von Gustav Jensen. / 12 Sonatas for Violin with Figured Bass (a Violino Solo e Violone e Cimbalo) by Arcangelo Corelli Op. 5. with Pianoforte accompaniment worked out from the figured bass of the author and with all necessary indications for bowing and execution of ornaments by Gustav Jensen.*

(who, however, makes no suggestion of using it in his 1888 edition of Corelli's op. 5), the vast majority of performances, both public and domestic, would still have been expected to take place with a piano.

The earliest of these practical editors, Deldevez, explained his editorial stance towards the realisation of the accompaniment in a preface, commenting that „the ancient authors were content to write only a figured bass as accompaniment, while the moderns, profiting from the progress of art, made a set of parts; thereby treating the accompaniment as the necessary complement to their initial idea. Musical compositions, which were then considered satisfactory, seem from our point of view, in the light of our current practices, unfinished.“ And he added that by supplementing an accompaniment which his contemporaries would find too simple, he could „add to the interest of performing the compositions“ and thus „increase the value of the works and make them better appreciated by our contemporaries.“ But Deldevez conscientiously noted that he had taken care in preserving „all the bass or textual parts and following the composer's figured harmony,“ and that the „figures and imitations“ of his accompaniments were based on the material of the violin part.²⁹

A similar claim was made in the publisher's preface to Alard's *Les maîtres classiques*, where it was asserted that „our intention would not have been completely achieved if, retaining the figured bass accompaniments that were in use in former times, we had not substituted an accompaniment on the piano. We hasten to say, however, that the work was done with the most scrupulous care, changing nothing of the masters' thoughts, and without altering the harmony which they had written.“³⁰ The third French author to update Corelli for the late 19th-century public, Léonard, made no comments about the realisation of the accompaniment, which in his *Ancienne École Italienne* is very simple, much of it with a single part added above the bass.

In contrast to these editors, Ferdinand David, a skilful composer, adopted a much more ambitious approach to the treatment of accompaniments in his editions of 17th- and 18th-century music, which he evidently began preparing several years before the publication of the complete collection. He already performed Corelli's „Follia“ at a Gewandhaus concert in 1866, when a reviewer referred specifically to his treatment of the keyboard part:

²⁹ „Les auteurs anciens se sont contentés d'écrire pour accompagnement une basse chiffrée toute seule, tandis que les moderns, profitant des progrès de l'art, ont formé un ensemble de parties; traitant ainsi l'accompagnement comme le complément nécessaire de leur idée première. La production musicale, dont on se contentait alors, considérée de notre point de vue, et en égard à nos habitudes actuelles, paraît donc inachevée.“

„nous ajouterions à l'intérêt de l'exécution celui de la composition que nous aurions mise en relief, et que par ce moyen nous augmenterions la valeur des œuvres et les ferions mieux apprécier de nos contemporains.“

„toute en conservant la basse, ou partie textuelle, et d'après l'harmonie chiffrée des auteurs.“ „Les dessins et imitations sont tirée de la partie de violon“.

³⁰ Jean Delphin Alard (ed.), *Les maîtres classiques du violon*, Preface.

Another solo piece of the evening, which must be mentioned are [sic] the violin variations, „Les Folies d’Espagne“ by Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), presented by Concertmaster David. This is a very entertaining piece, which even becomes a very interesting one through the manner in which Herr David has worked up the underlying bass line for piano. In this he has once again shown himself the sensitive and accomplished artist, as which we always knew and loved him; this is also the case with his performance of the piece, which again bore the stamp of the aforementioned properties. Thus, it is not surprising that he did not fail to gain applause and a curtain call.³¹

David’s more elaborate accompaniments, with their varied textures and clever imitations of figures from the violin part, may look distinctly unidiomatic to those who have become accustomed to the idea of relatively lightweight realisations of the bass line in this repertoire: Neal Peres Da Costa has argued, however, that David’s realisation bears a striking similarity, in its general characteristics and procedures, to the realisation of Corelli’s op. 5 made by one of his contemporaries, Antonio Tonelli (1686–1765), and that David’s realisations also accord to a significant extent with advice on the treatment of continuo parts in Georg Muffat’s *Regulae Concentuum Partiturae* (1699), Francesco Gasparini’s *L’Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo* (1722), and Johann David Heinichen’s *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (1728).³²

Unsurprisingly, each of the 19th-century editors took a distinctive approach to their presentation of the violin parts and to the nature and extent of their additional performance indications. All of them supplemented Corelli’s slurs with their own additional ones to a greater or lesser extent, and included dynamic instructions, comprising not only dynamic levels, but also dynamic nuances both in words and symbols. Alard also provided metronome marks. The publisher’s introduction to Alard’s editions makes his intentions explicit, stating that he was responsible not only for „seeking out and classifying the works which must constitute this collection“, but also for „annotating and completing them in such a way by means of the traditions of which he is the

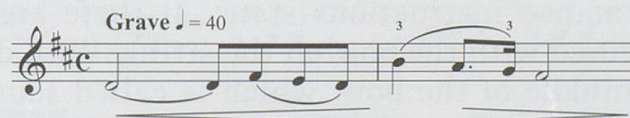
³¹ *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 24 (1866), 901: „Als ein weiteres Solostück des Abends sind die Violin-Variationen ‚Les Folies d’Espagne‘ von Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), von Herrn Concertmeister David vorgretragen, zu nennen. Es ist dies ein ganz amüsante Piece, die sogar zu einer sehr interessanten durch die Art und Weise geworden ist, in der Herr David die zu Grunde liegende Generalbaßstimme für Clavier bearbeitet hat. Hierin hat er sich wieder einmal als der feinfühlig und wirkungskundige Künstler documentiert, als welchen wir ihn schon immer kannten und liebten, sowie auch seine Executierung des Stückes wieder den Stempel jener erwähnten Eigenschaften trug. Somit kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, wenn Applaus und Hervorruf nicht ausblieben.“

³² Neal Peres Da Costa, „Preserving the Spirit of Italian Full-Voiced Continuo Realization. Nineteenth-Century Piano Accompaniments to Corelli’s Music“ (unpublished paper given at conference *Global Corelli. Fame and Music in the Early Modern World* held at the School of Music, Australian National University, in November 2013). MS of Tonelli’s realisations in Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Mus. F. 1174.

faithful repository, of fixing the tempo by the metronome – in a word, of giving each piece its true colour, by the valuable marking of nuances and accents.”³³

All these editors supplied fingering, but their stylistic characteristics differed. Deldevez gave quite basic fingering of a largely technical nature, while Alard and Léonard, both of whom, unlike Deldevez, were leading concert violinists, indicated fingering that had expressive connotations. Dolmetsch and Jensen, who were both trained violinists though not noted soloists, also provided fingering that reflects 19th-century aesthetics. The opening sections of op. 5, no. 1 nicely illustrate these distinctions. Alard (Ex. 1a), apparently envisaging an open *d*-string for the first note, provided a fingering in bar 2 of the Grave that retains the tonal quality of a single string and at the same time implies an audible position change between the *a*¹ and *g*¹. Dolmetsch (Ex. 1b) and Jensen (with ornamentation) (Ex. 1c) began on the *g*-string but employed the same shift from *a*¹ to *g*¹ as Alard in bar 2. Léonard (Ex. 1d) went a stage further in dressing out Corelli according to the tastes of the later 19th century, with his instruction that the whole of this passage should be played on the *g*-string. Further examples of fingerings in Alard's edition that would have elicited an audible slide occur in the second bar of the Adagio, with the position change from the harmonic on *a*² to a third finger on *d*² (a fingering also provided by Jensen), as well as the shift on the second beat; and again in the first bar of the second Adagio section, with the shift from 3rd to 1st position between *b*¹ and *e*¹ (also employed by Jensen), as well as the shifts in the second and third bars (Ex. 2a). Léonard's fingering is less complete, but his concern to retain the colour of a single string, involving the use of positions as high as 5th, is apparent in the first Adagio section (similarly indicated by Dolmetsch in this passage); and in the penultimate bar of the second Adagio section he evidently envisaged a slide on the *g*-string between *c*^{#1} and *a* (which is also implied by Dolmetsch; see Ex. 2b).

Ex. 1a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Grave, mm. 1–2, ed. by Alard (cf. n. 23).

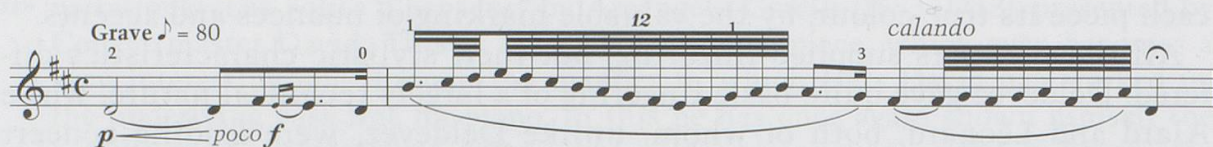


Ex. 1b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Grave, mm. 1–2, ed. by Dolmetsch (cf. n. 27).



³³ See <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/preface-to-alards-i-les-ma-tres-classiques-du-violon-i/> (31.03.2015).

Ex. 1c: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Grave, mm. 1–2, ed. by Jensen (cf. n. 28).



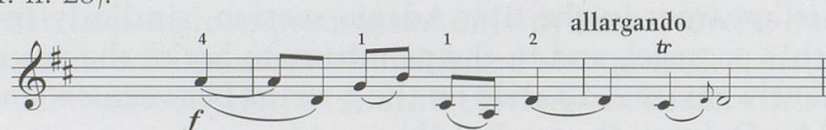
Ex. 1d: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Grave, mm. 1–3, ed. by Léonard (cf. n. 25).



Ex. 2a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, Sonata I: First Adagio, mm. 1–3 and second Adagio, mm. 1–5, ed. by Alard (cf. n. 23).



Ex. 2b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Second Adagio, mm. 10–12, ed. by Léonard (cf. n. 25).



For the bowing of the Allegro sections in this movement Alard clearly expected a springing bowstroke, since he marked the notes with staccato dots. His general performance instructions state: „If there are no dots over the notes they are executed with the bow on the string. With dots, however, they are played in the middle of the bow, which is called *sautillé*.“³⁴ In contrast Léonard instructed that these notes should be played „with the point of the bow,“ suggesting either that he expected a *martelé* bow stroke or a short on-string *détaché*.³⁵ Dolmetsch and Jensen gave no explicit instructions for the bow stroke here; Dolmetsch gave no articulation, while Jensen merely marked staccato dots, providing no explanation of their implication for bowing.

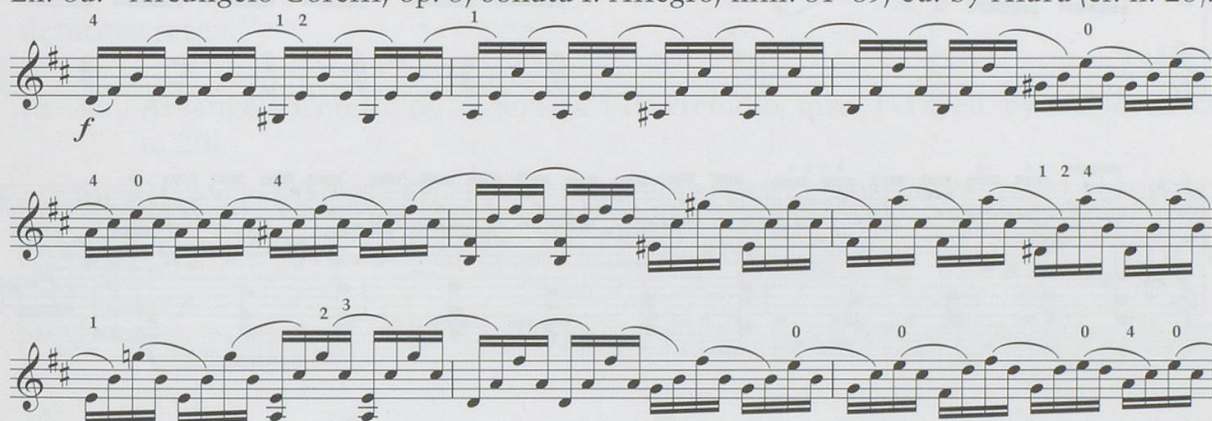
Other editorial interventions also reveal personal stylistic preferences. In the fugal Allegro of op. 5, no. 1, for instance, Corelli marked a succession of three- and four-part chords with the word „arpeggio.“ Delvedez included the

³⁴ „Toutes les fois qu'il n'aura pas de points, ils s'exécutera l'archet sur la corde. Au contraire avec des points, ce sera du milieu de l'archet, ce qu'on nomme *sautillé*.“

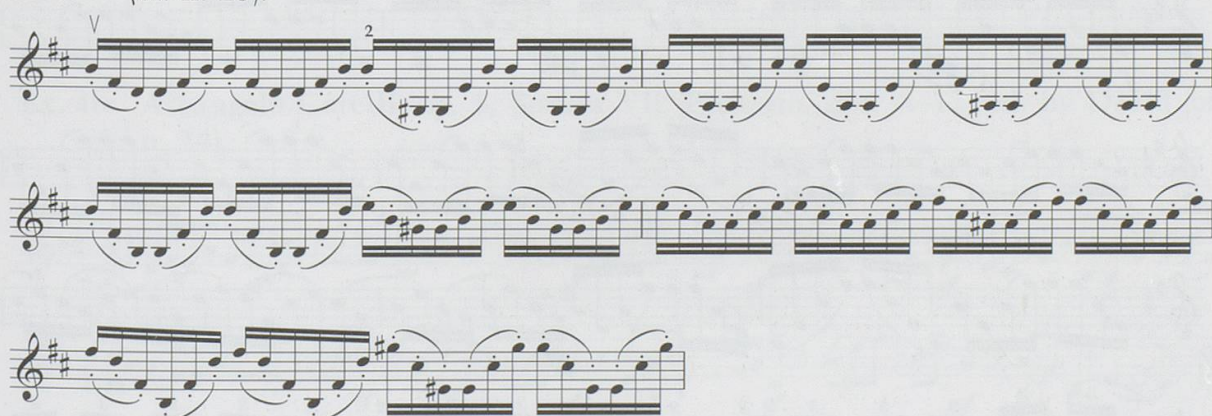
³⁵ „de la pointe de l'archet“.

conventional wavy line before each chord without suggesting a realisation, and Alard wrote out the arpeggios in semiquavers with a typical „Viotti School“ bowing pattern across the beats (Ex. 3a), while Léonard indicated a more virtuoso springing slurred staccato in sextuplet semiquavers (the bow stroke envisaged in the cadenza of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto; see Ex. 3b). Both Alard and Léonard, having established their pattern for realising the arpeggios, retain it to the end of the passage. Dolmetsch and Jensen, however, do not. Dolmetsch (who provides the original notation on a separate stave; see Ex. 3c) and Jensen (who does not; see Ex. 3d) both change to faster triplets in the last two and a half bars. Jensen also varies the figurations and bowing patterns several times in the preceding bars, in a style that recalls Ferdinand David's treatment of the arpeggios in his edition of J. S. Bach's „Chaconne“ from the *d* minor Partita for solo violin.³⁶

Ex. 3a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Allegro, mm. 31–39, ed. by Alard (cf. n. 23).



Ex. 3b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, Sonata I: Allegro, mm. 31–39, ed. by Léonard (cf. n. 25).



³⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach: *Sechs Sonaten für die Violine allein* [...] zum Gebrauch bei dem Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig, mit Fingersatz, Bogenstrichen und sonstigen Bezeichnungen versehen von Ferdinand David (Leipzig: Kistner, 1843). <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/45/9/#page> (31.03.2015).

Ex. 3c: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, Sonata I: Allegro, mm. 31–39, ed. by Dolmetsch (cf. n. 27).

Arpeggio

p

mf

f

Ex. 3d: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, sonata I: Allegro, mm. 31–39, ed. by Jensen (cf. n. 28).

f

mf

cresc.

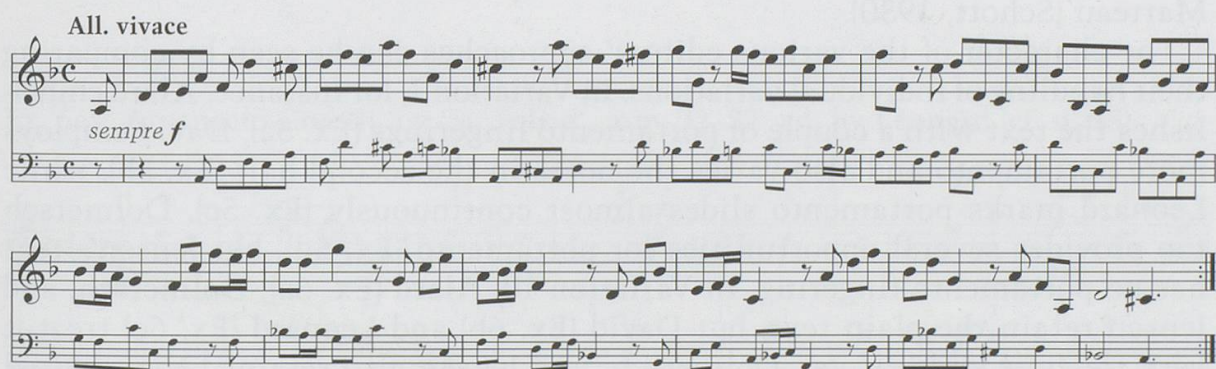
f

mf

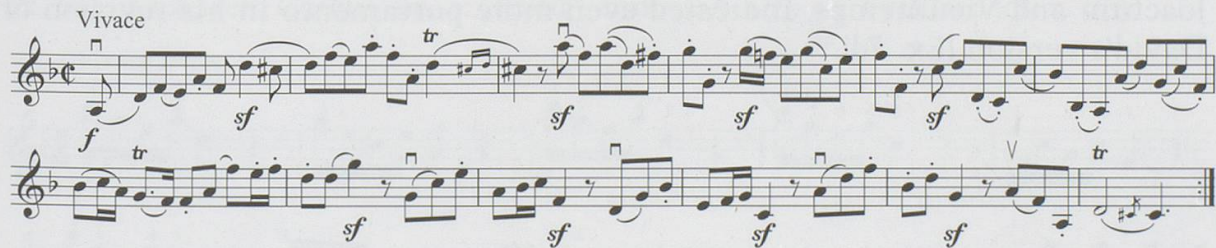
f

The various mid 19th-century editors also took quite different approaches to the provision of additional slurring. At the opposite ends of the spectrum were Deldevez and David. As their treatment of the first movement of op. 5, no. 7 demonstrates, Deldevez (Ex. 4a) added few extra slurs (none in this passage), but David (Ex. 4b) clearly did not regard the absence of slurs in the original as an indication that separate bows were specifically intended, and supplied sophisticated patterns of expressive slurring and dynamics. The level of David's intervention in this respect remains exceptional. Dolmetsch quite often added slurs, but mostly in adagio or on rapid groups of conjunct notes. Jensen sometimes employed up-bow staccato on passages of rapid notes where Dolmetsch indicated ordinary slurs, and elsewhere Jensen used slurring patterns that evidently owe a debt to Bach's. These two late 19th-century editors were generally more sparing in their addition of slurs than David, but much more specific in their bowing instructions than Deldevez, as comparison of their versions of the „Preludio“ and „Corrente“ from Sonata No. 7 in d minor demonstrates.³⁷

Ex. 4a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, Sonata VII: Preludio, mm. 1–12, ed. by Deldevez (cf. n. 20).



Ex. 4b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5, Sonata VII: Preludio, mm. 1–12, ed. by David (cf. n. 24).



³⁷ See <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/1899/42/#page> (31.03.2015) and <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/2508/26/#page> (31.03.2015).

Alard, David, and Léonard, as well as the two late 19th-century editors of op. 5, each made editions of the „Follia“ variations, which became one of the most frequently performed works by Corelli at that time. Alard confined himself to providing metronome marks, fingering, bowing, articulation, and dynamic and expressive markings, but, like Dolmetsch and Jensen, he left the musical text largely unaltered. David, in contrast, while retaining the original structure and essential elements of the violin figuration, modified and elaborated it in many respects, and inserted a twenty-bar cadenza before the final cadence (which, however, he later excised in his own performance).³⁸ His influential edition was later revised by Henri Petri (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900), Friedrich Hermann (Peters, 1901), and Paul Klengel (Simrock, 1919). Léonard's approach was even freer, for his version (with piano or orchestral accompaniment) is a highly personal virtuoso showpiece. It contains only variations 1, 2, 5, 7, 12, 13, 17, 18, 10, 15, and 20 of the original (in that order), many of which are only loosely based on Corelli's text, together with a seventy-one-bar cadenza before the final restatement of the theme.³⁹ Léonard's arrangement proved immensely popular as a concert piece and was frequently revised and reissued by, among others, Leopold Lichtenberg (Schirmer, 1901), Fritz Meyer (Schott, 1910), Emil Sauret (Schott, 1916), Marco Anzoletti (Ricordi, 1926), and Henri Marteau (Schott, 1930).

The character of the various editors' approaches can be seen by comparing their handling of individual variations. In Variation 1, for instance, Alard embellishes the text with a couple of portamento fingerings (Ex. 5a), David employs more portamento and also varies the notes in the second half (Ex. 5b), while Léonard marks portamento slides almost continuously (Ex. 5c). Dolmetsch too provides several opportunities for portamento (Ex. 5d), but Jensen's text has no portamento fingering. In Variation 10, Alard (Ex. 6a), Dolmetsch, and Jensen retain the plain text, but David (Ex. 6b) and Léonard (Ex. 6c) treat it very freely. Alard (Ex. 7a), Dolmetsch, and Jensen also retained the original text in Variation 15, which was surely intended to be embellished. David (Ex. 7b) and Léonard (Ex. 7c) responded to the spirit of the text, but neither of their versions have any plausible connection with Baroque models, both making a prominent feature of expressive portamento. Henri Petri, a pupil of Joachim and Vieuxtemps, indicated even more portamento in his revision of David's version (Ex. 7d).⁴⁰

³⁸ See David's personal copy <http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/pdf/387/7/#page> (31.03.2015).

³⁹ Arcangelo Corelli: *La Folia. Variations sérieuses*, Brussels: Schott, 1877.

⁴⁰ Ferdinand David, *Die hohe Schule des Violinspiels* [...]. Neue revidierte Ausgabe von Henri Petri, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel [ca. 1900].

Ex. 5a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 17–32, ed. by Alard (cf. n. 23).

$\text{♩} = 80$

mf, sostenuto

p

Ex. 5b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 17–32, ed. by David (cf. n. 24).

Allegretto

p *p* *p* *cresc.* *pp*

f

Ex. 5c: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 17–32, ed. by Léonard (cf. n. 25).

espressivo

pp *espr.* *cresc.* *f*

Ex. 6a: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 154–159, ed. by Alard (cf. n. 23).

Vivace $\text{♩} = 144$

f

Ex. 7b: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 201–216, ed. by David (cf. n. 24).

Adagio ♩ = 72
4ta

p espressivo

f *pp dolce*

f

Ex. 7c: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 201–216, ed. by Léonard (cf. n. 25).

Adagio

p espressivo

f

Ex. 7d: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 201–216, ed. by David, ed. Petri (cf. n. 40).

Adagio
IV

p espressivo

pp dolce

f *gliss.*

It is clear that public performances of the „Follia“ variations during the late 19th century were intended to show off the skills of the performer rather than to present the music in a manner that reflected any kind of historical piety. Another review of Ferdinand David's 1866 Gewandhaus performance commented:

The piece is certainly historically valuable, but we could not completely suppress a feeling of dryness and monotony. (Whether a piece of music ought to be performed in the spirit of the time in which it was created and whether, if so, it is appropriate to use springing bowstrokes in Corelli, we will leave it to those who are knowledgeable about the specific history of violin playing to answer.)⁴¹

Probably he was thinking specifically of David's treatment of Variation 14, which is marked *saltato* (springing; see Ex. 8). In fact, bowstrokes of this kind are indeed encountered in 17th-century German violin music.

Ex. 8: Arcangelo Corelli, op. 5: „Follia“, mm. 193–200, ed. by David (cf. n. 24).



Towards the end of the 19th-century concepts of historical awareness and notions of stylistically appropriate performance were being developed, and Baroque music was beginning to be more widely valued for its artistic content. Students were increasingly encouraged to regard engagement with this repertoire as an essential aspect of their training, not only for their awareness of the music in its historical context, but also because it was felt to foster particular qualities in their playing. Appreciation of the noble simplicity of Corelli was especially strong in London, where his music had never been entirely neglected. Wilma Norman-Neruda made a speciality of playing Corelli's Sonata in D major op. 5, no. 1, and in 1880, for instance, she was „highly and deservedly applauded for her magnificent playing of Corelli's sonata.“⁴² Her frequent performances of the piece in London concerts during the 1880s testify to the popularity of what *The Musical Standard* in 1884 called „Corelli's fine sonata in D;“⁴³ and when she played it at the Monday Popular Concerts in November 1884

⁴¹ *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* Neue Folge 1 (1866), 395: „Historisch Wertvoll ist das Stück gewiss, doch konnten wir eine gewisse Trockenheit und Monotonie nicht ganz verwinden. (Ob übrigens ein Musikstück im Geist der Zeit seiner Entstehung vorgetragen werden müsse, und ob, wenn ja, der springende Bogen bei Corelli passend anzuwenden sei, wollen wir den Kennern der speciellen Geschichte des Violinspiels zu beantworten überlassen.)“

⁴² *The Musical Standard* 18 (1880), 53.

⁴³ *The Musical Standard* 27 (1884), 257.

a reviewer remarked that „the third allegro was encored, and the lady quite carried away her audience. The lower notes were remarkably full and rich.“⁴⁴

It is no surprise therefore to find that another London violinist and teacher, Henry Holmes, advised in the epilogue to his 1884 revision of Spohr's *Violin School*:

The Solo Sonatas of Corelli and Tartini must form another feature in the scholar's studies. By a wise selection from these works no exception to their rare excellence will be whispered; they will touch the student's sense of the natural, perfect, bold, and beautiful, as his taste verges into a love of classical art.⁴⁵

It was recognised that, as Holmes put it: „To play the works of Corelli as they stand in their original publication would be, to use an analogy, like reciting poetic verse without the aid of inflexions of voice, punctuation, or aught which makes eloquence.“ And he advised that „the addition of those indications of expression and bowing which were wholly omitted by the composer – such indications being, of course, of a character in harmony with the true spirit of the composition – is of the greatest consequence.“⁴⁶ Holmes himself had attempted to show how such additions could be in harmony with the true spirit of the composition in his Augener edition of *Chamber music for violin solo with pianoforte accompaniment. A selection from the solo sonatas of Corelli, Tartini, Bach and Handel / the pianoforte accompaniment (constructed upon the original bass) and marks of expression, bowing & fingering by Henry Holmes*. The performing instructions in this edition are, of course, like those of other 19th-century editors, entirely in the spirit and style of their own time.

The last two important late 19th-century editors, Dolmetsch and Jensen, both had the reputation of being specialists in historical repertoire: Dolmetsch, a violin pupil of Henri Vieuxtemps and Henry Holmes, shows more connection with 19th-century performing traditions in his edition of Corelli's op. 5 than he does with the kind of pioneering historical activity with which he was later more exclusively involved. His fingering of the violin part is entirely in the style of his own time, using harmonics and higher positions on lower string (with fingerings suggesting the use of portamento) to achieve distinctive tone colours and expressive effects that are entirely uncharacteristic of Corelli's practices, which infrequently necessitated position changing. Jensen, a violinist and composer, despite his focus on editing Baroque violin music, was evidently interested primarily in making the music available to the widest possible range of users unlike Dolmetsch, he included the ornamentation supposedly supplied to the original Amsterdam publisher, Estienne Roger, by Corelli (which had been published in the Joachim and Chrysander edition),⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *The Musical Standard* 27 (1884), 271.

⁴⁵ *Spohr's Violin School*, ed. by Henry Holmes, London: Boosey & Co., [1884], 199.

⁴⁶ *Spohr's Violin School* (see n. 45), 180.

⁴⁷ For a judicious evaluation of the „authenticity“ of the ornaments see Neal Zaslaw, „Ornaments for Corelli's Violin Sonatas op. 5“, *EM* 24 (1996), 95–115.

but his edition gives little indication that he was concerned with what the reviewer of Ferdinand David's 1866 concert had referred to as performing the music „in the spirit of the time in which it was created.“ Jensen's fingering is characteristically 19th-century, though with fewer expressive position changes than Dolmetsch provided.

A review of Jensen's edition of the „Follia“, which was published separately before the complete set of op. 5, may act as a fitting summary of late 19th-century perceptions of Corelli and his works.

Who has not heard of Corelli's famous *Follia* with its twenty-three variations, the twelfth number of his most popular work, Op. 5, for solo violin and bass or harpsichord? We need, therefore, not shed any ink either in its defence or for its glorification. It belongs to things classical, which lie outside the sphere of criticism. Professor Jensen's pianoforte part shows the *maestria* to which he has accustomed us; it is very interesting, being clever as well as musicianly. He has also judiciously fingered and bowed the violin part, and tastefully indicated the expression with which it should be played. Thus violinists have ready to their hands a composition excellent for practice and display, for study, drawing room, and concert hall.⁴⁸

At the end of the 19th century, therefore, Corelli was acknowledged not only as a major figure in the history of music, but also as a composer whose works were firmly re-established in the repertoire. Yet musicians seem not to have considered it necessary at that time to adopt a style of playing significantly different from the normal practice of the day. The search for a distinctive sound and performing idiom for Corelli's compositions lay some decades in the future. Later 20th-century approaches to the performance of his music, involving the use of period instruments and performing practices, and based on carefully-researched interpretations of historical evidence, could hardly have been imagined in the 1890s. It was only towards the middle of the 20th century that the „early music“ movement began to enter the mainstream as an increasing number of musicians sought to master historical instruments and to evolve historically-inspired styles and techniques for the performance of Baroque music. During the past half century, period instrument performers' approaches to this repertoire have developed and changed, but there is no reason to think a „correct“ or ideal solution to performing Corelli's music has been found, nor that the nature of future, perhaps substantially different, approaches can be predicted. We can never know with confidence how Corelli would have understood the relationship between the sounds he imagined and created, and the imperfect notational system with which he was obliged to commit his conceptions to paper. Our present practices, despite the use of more or less appropriate historical instruments and an abundance of historical research, may be scarcely closer to recapturing the style and spirit of Corelli's musical imaginings than the performances of Ferdinand David, Delphin Alard, Henry Holmes, or Wilma Norman-Neruda. Questioning the *status quo* in

⁴⁸ *The Monthly Musical Record* 21 (1891), 157.

artistic matters is inevitable, and the promise of new insights and fruitful experimentation, broadening and deepening, or simply changing our notion of Corelli's expectations, is a fine prospect for the continuing vitality of his music in the 21st century.

