Passaggio in Italia

Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century

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Edited by

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STIMU
Foundation for Historical Performance Practice
Utrecht 2015

BREPOLS

D/2015/0095/149
ISBN 978-2-503-53568-5

Printed on acid-free paper

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'L'armoniose idee della sua mente': Corelli, the Arcadians, and the Primacy of Rome

Franco Piperno (Rome, Italy)

By 1700, ancient and Christian monuments had been drawing pilgrims and tourists to Rome for nearly two millenia; but Rome was never a museum. Elements of the Arcadian aesthetic, already present in Roman culture at the end of the seventeenth century, were brought together in a very public papal agenda in order to recover and literally re-form the city in the early decades of the eighteenth. The new Roman architecture of sharp and deep contrasts in rhythmic, large-scale designs projected this agenda to those in and beyond the city, as one of its favorite musicians, the composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713), was trumpeted to the world as a master builder.

Any traveller on the Grand Tour who came to Rome during the first quarter of the eighteenth century would have seen the city in one of the most splendid moments of its artistic and cultural life. Full of generous and ambitious patrons, worthy artists and flourishing institutions, Rome itself at that moment displayed an artistic vitality without precedent, after several grey decades marked by the harshness of several popes who had been both especially strict and austere. After years with no carnival celebrations, because of earthquakes in Italy and other natural disasters at the beginning of the century and the bans ratified by papal edicts in 1703,[1] the city set out after 1710 to re-establish a full season of entertainments, with opera productions public and private, comedies, tragedies, *intermezzi,* parties and balls, *serenate* in the piazzas, public races, and everything else that could delight the nobles and the people of Rome, as well as its tourists. In fact, the years around 1710 represent a significant turning point for the history of music in Rome. In 1710 the long-running series of oratorios at the Archiconfraternita del SS. Crocefisso at S. Marcello came to an end; in 1711, first the private theatres, then the Teatro Capranica re-opened, as the only public theatre in Rome at the time; in 1713 Arcangelo Corelli died, and shortly after his death began the myth-making directed toward making him the most representative Roman musician of the period. That Rome had fresh air to breathe in the new decade is confirmed by the director of the French Academy in Rome, Charles François Poerson, who observed with incredulity in 1711 that 'le Carnaval occupe tellement tout le monde de Rome qu'on n'y parle que d'Opéras, de Comédies, de Mascarades et autres divertissemens. L'on dit qu'ils se sont surpassés cette année pour s'indemniser des tems passés, où ces plaisirs estoient défendus'.[2]

For all of this to happen, however, it was necessary for a higher will to approve and encourage it, beyond the particular initiatives of individual, ambitious patrons. That will belonged to Pope Clement XI (Francesco Albani, *reg.* 1700-21), who during his pontificate understood that the irreversibly reduced political role of the papacy in Europe he had inherited could only be compensated for by making Rome the centre from which radiated cultural models of absolute excellence, models that all of Europe would have to emulate. Rome, the centre of the 'True Faith' would impose its cultural primacy on the world.

This essay illustrates the new role given to music in the cultural context of the Arcadian academy and the politics of Pope Clement XI. In particular, I will show first how music—especially instrumental music—came to be understood as an artistic expression that was no longer ephemeral and sensual but rational and analogous to the 'grammar' of architecture, the artistic form in which Rome most visibly manifested its primacy; and second how this came to be identified in the works and career

[1] Filippo Clementi, *Il carnevale romano,* 2 vols (Città di Castello: Unione Arti Grafiche, 1930), 2: 10-12.

[2] *Correspondence des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome,* ed. Anatole de Montaiglon, 18 vols (Paris: Charavay, 1887-1912), 3 (1889): 448.

of Arcangelo Corelli, who became both an emblem and a model of Roman musical culture.

Rebuilding Clementine Rome

The cultural initiatives and patronage of the arts undertaken by the Albani pope *restitutor bonarum artium* were numerous, and all were marked by his will to recast Rome's image and to connect with the political realities of the time. Christopher Johns has observed, 'Any discussion of papal art in the early eighteenth century must be informed by an understanding of the political postures assumed by the Holy See and official policies adopted by the popes in response to particular situations'.[3] In particular, Clement XI fostered the unassailable and absolute primacy of Roman artists, above all, of Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) and Carlo Fontana (1638-1714) as true heirs of Raphael, Michelangelo, the Carracci, and Bernini.[4] This was an undertaking, according to Stella Rudolph, that would 'imply the *restauratio* as well as the *renovatio* of the City as the Capital of the arts fostered by Clement XI'.[5] To affirm the primacy of Rome meant extolling the glories of the past (ancient and medieval), taking its monuments as a model, and reconstructing a victorious *imago Urbis*. From this came the enormous interest in restoring the early Christian basilicas and the start of massive initiatives in building construction and city planning. Under Clement important projects changed the structural and visual dispositions of S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria in Trastevere; under him Carlo Fontana planned a vast "Gallery of Fame" in the Vatican Palace;[6] under him so many well-known palaces (De Carolis, Ruspoli, Spada, Borghese, the hospice of S. Michele a Ripa Grande) were erected, enlarged, or finished, that only then did Rome actually become the most awe-inspiring European capital. For Clement XI, it was architecture more than any other artistic discipline that signified the visible, solid, and enduring expression of Roman artistic primacy and the concrete realization of the values of order and rationality of the Arcadian culture in which he was deeply immersed. But next to architecture, the more ephemeral artistic expressions—among them music--also contributed to the same project to re-cast the image and role of the city. Arcadian Rome, to whose architectural appearance had been entrusted this task of symbolizing the solidity of its own power and its own primacy, is the backdrop before which the works of Corelli as well as the myth-making of which he became the object, need to be figured.

Corelli as exemplar and musical myth

After his death, Corelli and his music came to be regarded as models of the classical and universal. Let us recall the musical honour offered him by François Couperin's *Le Parnasse ou l'Apothéose de Corelli* (1724); the sepulchral memorial dedicated to him by Filippo Juvarra in 1735; the mannerist homage paid by Telemann in his *Sonates corellisantes (*1737), and the homage paid by a convinced classicist like Raphael Mengs, who *painted* an Annunciation (1779) 'in the style of a Corelli sonata'.[7] What was it that made Corelli a musician more exemplary than anyone else before him, except perhaps

[3] Christopher M. S. Johns, *Papal art and cultural politics: Rome in the age of Clement XI* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3.

[4] Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) dominated Roman artistic taste in the early *Settecento*. 'Prince' of the Accademia di San Luca (1698-1713), he turned painting toward an academic style characterized by complex architectonic perspectives. Carlo Fontana (1634-1714) occupied a dominant position in Roman building construction as the official papal architect. Also a 'prince' of the Accademia di San Luca (1694-1698), he dedicated himself to the recovery and restoration of classical Roman architecture, and he adopted architectural solutions marked by *chiaroscuro* effects of pictorial conception. On the close artistic understanding between Clement XI and Carlo Maratti, see Stella Rudolph,'La direzione artistica di Carlo Maratti nella Roma di Clemente XI', in Giuseppe Cucco, ed., *Papa Albani e le arti a Urbino e a Roma, 1700-1721* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001), 59-61.

[5] Rudolph, 'La direzione artistica di Carlo Maratti', 59.

[6] Johns, *Papal art and cultural politics*, 6.

[7] See [Giovanni Morelli], 'Il culto di Corelli: falsi, apoteosi e reliquie', in Giovanni Morelli, ed., *L'invenzione del gusto: Corelli e Vivaldi. Mutazioni culturali, a Roma e Venezia, nel periodo post-barocco* (Milan: Ricordi, 1982), 67-76: 72. The 1779 painting is part of Catherine the Great's collection in the Hermitage.

Palestrina and, in part, Frescobaldi? We should note that Corelli was an 'incomplete' musician, since he was unarguably only and solely an instrumentalist: a violinist, composer of instrumental music, and a 'regolatore' (director or conductor) of orchestras. How did it fall to Corelli to become 'the' model of Roman music, and not Alessandro Scarlatti or Bernardo Pasquini, who like Corelli were both admitted exceptionally into the Arcadian Academy in 1706 and moreover were both *maestri di cappella* in full measure? And why not Francesco Gasparini, Arcadian from 1718 and not any less tied to the Roman aristocracy than the others, and who was, furthermore, also the maestro di cappella of S. Giovanni in Laterano?

The mythicization of Corelli had already begun during his lifetime, but at first it was entirely generic. Georg Muffat, who visited Rome in 1682 and admired Corelli, speaks of him as the 'Orpheus of all Italy, on the violin'; but it was common to associate violinists with Orpheus, and in Rome before Corelli that praise fell to Lelio Colista. At the beginning of the new century, things changed. From 1702, the artists' Academy of Saint Luke sponsored competitions for its students. Its splendid prize-giving ceremonies included the celebration of the arts by Arcadian poets, which were framed by vocal and instrumental music in Corelli's charge. Giuseppe Ghezzi, painter and secretary of the artists' academy, described the awards ceremony of 1702, registering the delight generated by the 'harmonious ensemble' ruled (*'regolato',* literally 'ruled' or 'regulated') by Corelli, whom he called 'the Amphion of our time'.[8] Already in the previous year there had been published a volume of *Sinfonie a tre* by a young colleague and rival of Corelli, Giuseppe Valentini. According to the usual rhetoric of dedicatory letters, Valentini declared the weakness of his own music and admitted to not having 'that certain excellence that the ancients had acknowledged in such a celebrated Amphion';[9] and with that reference, the *captatio benevolentiae* of Valentini the debutant could only refer to the living Amphion, namely, Corelli.

What can we deduce from this symbolic shift from Orpheus to Amphion, the latter a legendary figure of little prominence in the culture of the time? Let us read what Arcadian Gian Vincenzo Gravina, a contemporary of Corelli, tells us, with respect to these two myths.

> It is well known what the ancients told about Amphion and Orpheus, of whom we read that the *one moved stones with the sound of his lyre and the other the beasts;* from which stories we gather that the supreme poets *could subdue the rough nature of men* with the sweetness of song and render them civilized.[10]

The civilizing function shared by the two legendary musicians recognizes *ab origine* a difference between influencing matter and affecting the psyches of living things. Unlike Orpheus, Amphion has the power to give life to inert substance, to raise stones, to build with order and rationality. He is the musician-*architect.* The rarity of the symbolic or artistic use of this mythical figure draws attention to the strategic aim of reviving it in reference to Corelli.

[8] See Franco Piperno, '"Anfione in Campidoglio". Presenza corelliana alle feste per i concorsi dell'Accademia del Disegno di San Luca', in Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds, *Nuovissimi studi corelliani* (Firenze: Olschki, 1982), 151-208: 168.

[9] 'Vorrei avere al certo l'eccellenza, che riconobbero gli Antichi nel cotanto celebre Anfione', in E. Careri, 'Giuseppe Valentini (1681-1753): documenti inediti', *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale,* n.s., 3 (1987), 69-125: 77.

[10] 'È ben noto quel che gli antichi favoleggiarono d'Anfione e d'Orfeo, dei quali si legge che *l'uno col suon della lira trasse le pietre e l'altro le bestie,* dalle quali favole si raccoglie che i sommi poeti con la dolcezza del canto *poteron piegare il rozzo genio degli uomini* e ridurli alla vita civile'; Gian Vincenzo Gravina, *Della ragion poetica*, I, 7, in *Scritti critici e teorici,* ed. Amedeo Quondam, Scrittori d'Italia, vol. 255 (Bari: Laterza, 1973), 195-327: 208. The passage cited belongs to a portion of *Della Ragion poetica* (1708), which had already appeared in Gravina's *De le antiche favole* (Rome: De' Rossi, 1696).

The musician as architect

Corelli as musician-architect--what can we make of this characterization? Let us begin by saying that Corelli's contemporaries tended to place music on the same aesthetic and conceptual plane as architecture. This removed architecture from an uncomfortable sisterhood with painting and sculpture, a sorority theorized in 1594 by Federico Zuccari, founder of the Academy of St. Luke. The later, Clementine view brought music closer to the rationality and geometry of architecture. Already in 1672 the art critic Giovan Pietro Bellori had demonstrated the constitutional separation of architecture from the higher applications of expression, aesthetics, and technique that characterized painting and sculpture.[11] The painter and the sculptor (and with them, the poet) relate representations from nature to a perfect ideal, an 'eccellente esempio della mente, alla cui immaginata forma imitando, si rassomigliano le cose che cadono sotto la vista'.[12] For this reason, the arts of painting and sculpture (and poetry) are not realistic, but rather are mediations between reality and ideal model, mediations born of fantasy. The architect has a more modest and concrete task: in him, the 'idea' avails itself 'di legge e di ragione, consistendo le sue invenzioni nell'ordine, nella disposizione, e nella misura, ed euritmia del tutto e delle parti'.[13] Evident in Bellori's phrase is the conceptual and practical affinity between architect and musician. Bellori derives terms and concepts from music that inform the practices of the architect ('la misura ed euritmia del tutto e delle parti'), just as more than a century earlier Pietro Bembo had discerned the reasons for Petrarch's exemplary excellence in the musicality of his verse (in 'suono, numero, variazione').

The conceptual affinity between architecture and music is reflected in the professional activity of the architect. In the atmosphere of Roman culture in the early Settecento, architects acquired traits similar to those of musicians, in particular, similar to those used to describe Corelli. The architect, too, (thinking of the works and activities of Carlo Fontana) is a 'regolatore'. Workers at a lower technical and artistic level depend on him; he coordinates their actions, and only through him are they connected to the patron,[14] just as is the case with Corelli, in the relationship between himself, the orchestras assembled and directed by him, and the patrons for whom he prepares and conducts ('regola') the performance. The architect is the person who puts everything in order, submits fantasy and invention to reason and organization, tempers and harmonizes different styles and solutions. Jörg Garms recently called Carlo Fontana a 'maestro d'orchestra' because 'in his projects, he designs everything' like an orchestral score.[15] He orders and prepares for the realization of the architectonic project, from blueprint to execution, directing the jobs of the professionals under him. These responsibilities are completely analogous to those of Corelli as orchestra director and author of *concerti grossi,* who was praised by Alessandro Scarlatti (according to Francesco Geminiani) for his 'nice management of his band', its 'uncommon accuracy' in performance, and the ensemble precision of his strings ('their bows should all move exactly together'[16]). The secretary of the Arcadian Academy, Giovan Mario Crescimbeni,

[11] Giovan Pietro Bellori, 'L'idea del pittore, dello scultore, e dell'architetto', in his *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* (Rome: Successori Mascardi, 1672); modern ed. Elena Caciagli (Genoa: Istituto di Storia dell'arte dell'Università di Genova, s. d.).

[12] Ibid., ed. Caciagli, p. 20: an 'excellent example in the mind, with which, by imitating the imagined form, one creates resemblances of things that present themselves to our sight'.

[13] Ibid., ed. Caciagli, p. 29: '… of law and reason; and his inventions consist of order, disposition, scale, and eurhythmy among the whole and its parts'.

[14] On this matter, with reference to Carlo Fontana, see Giovanna Curcio, 'La città degli architetti', in Bruno Contardi and Giovanna Curcio, eds, *In Urbe Architectus. Modelli, Disegni, Misure. La professione dell'architetto, Roma 1680-1750,* (Rome: Àrgos, 1991), 143-153: 150.

[15] Jörg Garms, 'Le peripezie di un'armoniosa contesa', in Angela Cipriani, ed., *Aequa potestas. Le arti in gara a Roma nel Settecento,* exhibition catalogue (Rome: De Luca 2000), 1-7: 3. Although of minimal significance here, it is noteworthy that, according to an inventory, Fontana kept a harpsichord and other musical instruments in his study; see Giuseppe Bonaccorso, 'I luoghi dell'architettura: lo studio professionale di Carlo Fontana', in Elisa Debenedetti, ed., *Roma, le case, la città,* Studi sul Settecento romano, vol. 14 (Rome: Bonsignori, 1998), 95-125: 102-103.

[16] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music,* ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols (New York: Dover, 1957[2]), 2: 443.

Fig. 14-1 Pompeo Batoni, *Allegory of the Arts* (1740), Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut

appreciated Corelli's management of 'ensembles of so many and various instruments, that it was almost impossible to believe they could be controlled without fear of *sconcerto,* especially in the tuning and ensemble playing of the winds and strings'.[17] Production and organization, co-ordination and rationality, then, are what the jobs of architect and musician have in common.

More analogies: Just as, according to Giovanna Curcio, Carlo Fontana 'based his own personal prestige on the affirmation of his autonomy and individuality as a professional architect',[18] so did Corelli dedicate himself without second thoughts exclusively to instrumental music. From the mid 1660s, Fontana systematically published his most prominent projects with the aim of self-promotion and, above all, to 'delineate the fundamental elements of the discipline'.[19] Analogously, from 1681, Corelli published a volume of his sonatas every four years, becoming, until the opening of the new century, the most-published and re-printed composer of Roman instrumental music, and thus the most authoritative. In addition to permanent structures, the Baroque architect also exercised his inventiveness in ephemeral projects, such as festival decorations, catafalques, scenography, and stage machines. Those by Filippo Juvarra for the little Ottoboni theatre, for example, are to all intents and purposes the architectonic equivalents of the no less inventive and ephemeral 'sinfonie di concerto grosso' that were composed, put in order, and set off like fireworks by Corelli on numerous festive occasions during his career. Did not the manuscript score of his *sinfonia* for Bernardo Pasquini's oratorio *Santa Beatrice d'Este* function like an exact musical *analogon* to one of the *pensieri* or preparatory drawings by Juvarra for these above-mentioned scene designs, both of which have fortunately survived as pale and partial evidence of the ephemeral event itself?[20] This substantial analogy between architecture and music was represented and idealized in a well-known painting of 1740 by Pompeo Batoni, *Allegory of the Arts* (see Fig. 14-1), which synthesizes the cultural and aesthetic situation of Roman 'Arcadian classicism' of the previous decades.

In the painting, writes Garms, 'the dialogue between Painting and Poetry is direct, and associated with Sculpture, while Architecture and Music are relegated to a second plane'.[21] On a second plane, yes, but ideally, as associates with similar means to realize the same cultural project.

Instrumental music as architecture

Calling attention to these analogies between what architects and musicians do has two consequences. On one hand, it is necessary to take into account that in the minds of Corelli's contemporaries,

[17] Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, *Notizie istoriche degli Arcadi morti* (Rome: De' Rossi, 1720), 251: 'Sinfonie di tal copioso numero, e varietà di strumenti, che si rende quasi impossibile a credere, come si potessero regolare senza timor di sconcerto, massimamente nell'accordo di quei da fiato con quei da arco'.

[18] Curcio, 'La città degli architetti', 145.

[19] Ibidem.

[20] On Juvarra and Ottoboni, in addition to the well-known studies by Mercedes Viale Ferrero, see Lidya Salviucci Insolera, 'La committenza del cardinale Pietro Ottoboni e gli artisti siciliani a Roma', in Elisa Debenedetti, ed., *Artisti e mecenati. Dipinti, disegni, sculture e carteggi nella Roma curiale,* Studi sul Settecento romano, vol. 12 (Roma: Bonsignori 1996), 37-57.

[21] Garms, 'Le peripezie di un'armoniosa contesa', p. 2; Batoni's painting is reproduced in Anthony M. Clark, *Pompeo Batoni: A complete catalogue of his works with an introductory text* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1985), p. 220, no. 41.

music—more precisely, instrumental music like Corelli's--was comparable to the fine arts, but only at the level of architecture. On the other hand, it is necessary to recognize that both music and Corelli's professional services in his quality as 'musical architect' (the 'Amphion of our time') actively participated in the glorification of Rome and the restoration of its cultural primacy. Let us consider the first of these consequences. Roman Arcadian culture accorded to instrumental music an aesthetic and technical constitution and its own intellectual dignity, if not exactly on the grounds of theory, then by empirical perception of its constructive and communicative similarities with the more technical, geometric, and rational of the three visual arts. To liken instrumental music to architecture is an attempt to explain the nature of music and its effects, to make it rational, to rescue it from its original state of a bizarre, mechanical and sensual exercise. Empirically, Roman culture attributed to instrumental music that logical and rational condition that would be theoretically defined only much later and outside of Italy. We are here at the dawn of the concept of 'Architektur als gefrorene Musik', which would have a not small part in the idealist aesthetics of Schlegel, Schelling and Goethe himself. But it was not until the 1770s that Adam Smith even anticipated them, when he defined the rational capacity of instrumental music and explained its constructive logic from a temporal perspective and as a rhythmically organized, rational process.[22] The early eighteenth-century Arcadian culture of Rome and the music of Corelli had already sensed this logic and had applied its procedures instinctively, elevating them to form an exemplary model of perfection.

Let us not forget, furthermore, that the few vague words spent on music by intellectuals contemporary with Corelli were exclusively the result of reactions to the sound and to the sight of Corelli's performances, because music was for most people an art of listening and seeing, not of reading or analysis. It is necessary to understand and share the modes of musical perception and reception of Corelli's contemporaries, as well as the music's actual significance for them and the use they made of it, before proceeding with a detailed analysis of a page from one of his scores in search of his trade secrets or for grammatical explanations for the perfection that his contemporaries grasped, instead, in outline and from features that were, above all, performative. The analogy between architecture and music helps to overcome this impasse and to explain the reasons for Corelli's excellence and his success. Let us compare a few of his pages and a few architectural masterpieces of Clementine Rome.

Let us look with a fresh eye at the architectural and decorative view of the central nave of the basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano, which Garms calls 'the most important artistic undertaking of the pontificate of Clement XI',[23] as represented in a well-known painting by Pannini (see Fig. 14-2).

The visitor is mesmerized by the solidity of the pilasters and the solemn rhythmic scansion of the space, both reminiscent of a classical and archaic monumentality. It nonetheless also welcomes the rich decorative effect made by the colossal statues of the apostles; the rectangular stuccoes with scenes from the Old and New Testaments; the ovals depicting the prophets; and the ornamental foliage. Here structural elements cohabit with the decorative, 'in concert' with each other. Solids and voids, lights and darks scan the visual space with scenographic effect. In planning the statues of the apostles, Carlo Fontana aimed, in his words, for something 'dignified in relation to the decorative elements that splendidly dress these noble walls'. He decided that the statues should not be too big, because large figures 'would be too dissonant *(molto sconsonanti)* in proportion' to the surrounding architecture, and also '*sconsonanti* with the bas-reliefs that now lie above, and which also contribute a proportional norm that affects the statues to be made'.[24] A few words from Crescimbeni seem to me entirely suitable to these

[22] See Wilhelm Seidel,'La musica va annoverata tra le arti mimetiche? L'estetica dell'imitazione riveduta da Adam Smith', *Il Saggiatore Musicale,* 3 (1996): 259-272.

[23] Garms, 'Le peripezie di un'armoniosa contesa', 3.

[24] 'Sconsonanti con i bassi rilievi, che presentemente risiedono sopra, quali contribuiscono anche loro norma di proporzione alle statue da farsi': from a letter by Carlo Fontana to Card. Lorenzo Corsini, Rome, 16 March 1703 and, with the same text, to Card. Benedetto Pamphilj, head of the Congregazione apostolica per i lavori in San Giovanni, published in Michael Conforti, 'Planning the Lateran Apostles', in Henry A. Millon, ed., *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture, 15th through 18th Centuries,* Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 35 (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, [1980]), 243-260: 251.

Fig. 14-2 Giovanni Paolo Pannini, Interior of S. Giovanni in Laterno, Rome, ca. 1750. Moscow, Pushkin Museum.

Fig. 14-3 Alessandro Galilei, Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano, façade (1735)

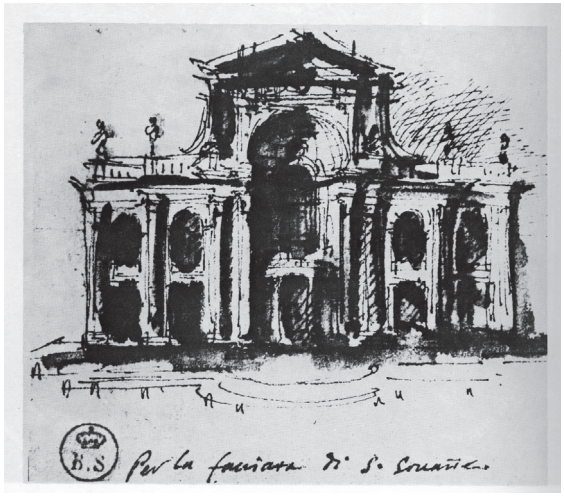

Fig.14-4 Filippo Juvarra, Drawing for the façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano (Rome, before 1732), Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale.

Fig. 14-5 Nicola Salvi and Giovanni Battista Maini, Rome, Fontana di Trevi (1743), in an engraving by Giuseppe Vasi (1756)

projects, 'in which', wrote the Arcadian, 'the Happy never offends the Serious; and all turn out equally delightful and majestic'.[25] But his words actually referred not to the statues of the apostles, but rather--to the 'bellissime sinfonie' of Corelli!

The exterior of the same basilica, however, allows us to illustrate an architectural taste that is in opposition to that of Corelli's Rome. 'Composed of grand and noble parts without too many reliefs, which corresponds to the magnificence and grandeur of the Church',[26] this façade (see Fig. 14-3) was proposed and realized between 1732 and 1735, well after the deaths of Corelli and Clement XI, by the Florentine Alessandro Galilei, winner of a competition that saw the defeat of Cardinal Ottoboni (Corelli's former patron and supporter) and the architects he sponsored (among them Juvarra and

[25] 'Nelle quali l'allegro non mai offese il grave; e tutte egualmente riuscivano dilettevoli e maestose'; Crescimbeni, *Notizie istoriche,* p. 251.

[26] 'Composta di parti grandiose e nobili e senza tanti risalti, le quali corrispondano alla magnificenza, e grandiosità della Chiesa'. This regards one of the aesthetic directives to be followed by all architects who intended to submit proposals for the façade of the basilica; see Elisabeth Kieven, 'Il ruolo del disegno: il concorso per la facciata di S. Giovanni in Laterano', in Contardi and Curcio, eds, *In Urbe Architectus,* 78-84: 82.

Fig. 14-6 Carlo Fontana, project for a triumphal arch for the entrance into Rome of Pope Clement XI, pen-and-ink drawing, 1701. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

Vanvitelli). The losers in this competition were followers of Borromini's style, characterized by alternating concave and convex forms, bodies in movement, rich ornamentation, deep openings and high elevations able to articulate the space with a regular and solemn rhythm and animate it with scenographic, forward projections and 'capricci' with plastic, curvilinear shapes.[27] Even in these losing examples, fully in the taste of Corelli's era, architecture went for scenographic charm, playing with solids and voids and contrast between line and ornament (see, as an exemple, Juvarra's project for the same façade in Fig. 14-4). (In a late reconquest, this style achieved its supreme example of integration between architecture and statuary, between structural geometric solids and scenographic, asymmetrical plastic decoration in the Trevi Fountain, see Fig. 14-5.)[28] Carlo Fontana's aesthetic is already apparent in a projected triumphal arch (one never realized) for the entrance into Rome of Pope Clement XI at the opening of his reign Fig. 14-6). Observe the solidity of the bases (the powerful socles that support the columns), the scenographic sequence of columns and statues that refine the pilasters that support the large coping loaded with capricious decorations.[29] The whole--delightful and majestic--looks exactly like the petrification of a Corelli concerto, of the sound made by the kind of orchestra he assembled and led, characterized by a large body of low instruments (*violoni* and *contrabassi* with the solidity of a sonorous base) and by a good number of violins (the brilliant decoration), with respect to the few 'violette' whose job was to fill the intermediate timbral regions. (The orchestra that Corelli led in 1702 for the ceremony at the Campidoglio, after which Ghezzi named him 'Amphion of our time', consisted of seventeen violins, ten *violoni* and basses, two trumpets and only four *violette*).

Contrasts in lines and volume as well as scenographic solutions also characterized two other works by Fontana: the slightly concave façade of the church of S. Marcello al Corso and the façade of the hospice of S. Michele a Ripa which overlooks the Tiber and forms, with the clean linearity of its 'interminable, homogenous series of windows', a spectacular contrast to the 'picturesque disorder' of the port of Ripa Grande.[30] Here architecture chooses solutions to 'concertare' with the surrounding reality, so that the ensemble produces the desired scenographic effects (Fig. 14-7). Analogously, in

[27] Kieven, 'Il ruolo del disegno', 83. According to Lione Pascoli, the model proposed by Vanvitelli was 'sul gusto antico, e regolato buon metodo' and was admired to the extent that it was 'di fatto signorile, vago, venerando e maestoso'; see Lione Pascoli, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti viventi* (from MSS 1383 e 1743 in the Biblioteca Comunale Augusta of Perugia), ed. Valentino Martinelli *et al.* (Treviso: Canova, 1981), 14.

[28] The architectural setting is by Nicola Salvi; the statues of Ocean and the Tritons by Giovanni Battista Maini.

[29] Elisabeth Kieven comments on this matter: 'Dementsprechend verändert sich der Charakter dieser Blätter von der strengen Orthogonaldarstellung hin zum erzählerischen Bild', in Kieven, ed., *Von Bernini bis Piranesi* (Stuttgart: Stuttgarter Galerieverein e.V., 1933), 182.

[30] Paolo Portoghesi, *Roma barocca* (Bari: Laterza, 1982), 333.

Fig. 14-7 Carlo Fontana, Façade of the Hospice of S. Michele a Ripa Grande (Rome, 1704), looking across the Tiber, from an engraving by Giuseppe Vasi (1754)

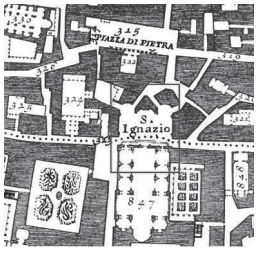

Fig. 14-8a Filippo Raguzzini, Plan of the Piazza S. Ignazio. Detail from a map of Rome by G. B. Nolli, 1748.

Fig. 14-8b Raguzzini, Central building in Piazza S. Ignazio (1728)

Fig. 14-8c Contrast and connection between Raguzzini's central building and the church of S. Ignazio (façade to a design by A. Algardi, ca. 1650)

1727-28 the architect Filippo Raguzzini reinvented the piazza in front of the seventeenth-century façade of the church of Sant' Ignazio, using the latter, earlier building, in the words of Paolo Portoghesi, as 'an element of contrast and surprise, like a closure necessary to justify the polemical opening of the surrounding space' (Figs. 14-8a-b).[31] This space is delimited by three buildings conceived as wings on a stage, by their concave façades, highly unusual forms, and bold lines that nevertheless establish in connection with S. Ignazio, 'a relationship that is both one of detachment and of visual recollection' (Fig. 14-8c).[32] They stand in a kind of dialectic relationship not dissimilar to that between a strict fugue in a concerto grosso by Corelli and a brilliant concertato movement.

Can we make analogies between these monuments and Corelli's music? I have already just suggested one: between the timbres of his concertos—a solid body of basses, brilliant and articulated trebles—and the design of contemporary buildings, with their mighty bases and ornate and multiform capitals and crowns. But even from the formal point of view, by using an equally straightforward description of his music, it is possible to gather obvious analogies with architecture, despite differences in the two expressive languages. For example, in the course of the opening movements of the second concerto of Corelli's Opus 6, the listener of his time or of today experiences a series of acoustic events that can be related to the solids and voids, the lights and darks, the structural and decorative aspects of the architecture we have looked at.[33] From the heraldic opening *Vivace* (bars-1-9) follows a dynamic *Allegro* characterized first by the concerto grosso solidly affirming the tonal pillars and contrasted by the ornamental, connecting episodes of the soloists (bars 10-28), and then by a *tutti*, imitative, modulatory section (bars 29-39). The dynamism is interrupted by a modulating *Adagio* (bars 40-51), which is followed by the

[31] Portoghesi, *Roma barocca,* 394.
[32] Ibidem.
[33] See Arcangelo Corelli, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke,* 5 vols (Köln: A. Volk-H.Gerig, 1976-2006): *Concerti grossi, opus VI,* ed. Rudolf Bossard (1978), 4: 47-54.

repetition of the first two movements (*Vivace* and *Allegro*) and a lyrical conclusion (*Largo andante,* bars 99-107), with its own contrasts between soli and *tutti*. From the point of view of the sequences of tempos, we have two sections of the A-B-A type *(lento - veloce - lento)*. In terms of the musical material, however, the order offers the scheme A-B-C + A-B'-D. The phrasing is regular and metric; the formal process made up of tonal pillars and ornamental connecting passages, of thick-sounding panels (the sections for the concerto grosso) or thin ones (sections for the *concertino*), of sequences of squared-off, motivic plugs (almost like bricks or inlays for an intarsia) and the repetition of certain sections that fill the temporal space with occurrences of consciously architectonic function. This tour is not guided by thematic or harmonic logic, but by a 'constructive' logic. Against this complex and articulated movement, the subsequent four-voice fugue stands in complete contrast. Its strict style and continuous sonority oppose the preceding stylistic variety with its chiaroscuro effects; and with its *concertino* and *ripieno* groups, the fugue shifts from the qualitative context of the previous movement—brilliant soloists versus only harmonic support from the *ripieno*—to a quantitative one—equal material timbrally alloted to few or to many performers. One can say the same thing *mutatis mutandis* at both the micro- and macro-structural levels about the other movements of the same concerto or, indeed, of any of the other concertos.

Music in Clementine Arcadia

The second part of our analogy—Corelli as a 'musical architect' in the construction of Rome's cultural primacy—implies that he was an important pawn in the Clementine project of *renovatio Urbis,* an active element in the process of reinstating the centrality of the capital of the Papal States. It is from this that his mythicization as Amphion stems. Corelli could be seen as a musical architect in terms of the solidity and eurhythmy of his music, his ability to 'regulate' and balance form and sound, and in the act itself of performing them. Rather than emphasizing sensory appeal, these traits aimed to satisfy the needs of Arcadian classical rationality. The architectural solidity perceived in his services, furthermore, rendered his professional bearing completely in conformity with the rank and objectives of a papal commission. Fine arts and poetry had ancient models with which to reinvent themselves and from which they derived their legitimacy. Instrumental music had none. Corelli was elevated to the role of model and myth as the 'Amphion of our time' in order to legitimate him in a classicizing key. He and his music could become a cultural model precisely because of his participation in the Clementine program of renovation and his designation as a musical emblem of the taste and style championed by Arcadian classicism. The exemplary status of his music—clearly recognized by the next generation of musicians as well as critics—rather than being the principal reason for his becoming a model, followed only as a consequence. He fully deserves to stand with Carlo Maratti and Carlo Fontana as a musical emblem of Arcadian Rome, and it is as such that Corelli's contribution to the culture of his own time should first be interpreted.

The death of Corelli on 8 January 1713, registered in Arcadia as a 'giorno mesto',[34] inspired poetic commiserations from the usual versifiers;[35] and also, as fresh proof of the refined cultural climate that permeated Rome at the time, I offer the following elegy by his colleague and fellow Arcadian Alessandro Scarlatti, which should be added to the few poetic lines by our Sicilian, '*also a professore* of poetry'.[36]

[34] See Fabrizio Della Seta, 'La musica in Arcadia al tempo di Corelli', in Petrobelli & Durante, eds, *Nuovissimi studi corelliani*, 123-150: 128.

[35] For a case in point, see Della Seta, 'La musica in Arcadia', 146-47.

[36] Ibid., 127; 143-145.

In Morte del Sig.r Arcangelo Corelli, a giusta lode del suo singolar talento nel suono del Violino, e Compositioni di Sinfonie.

Sonetto

D'angue il morso crudel, pien di veleno,
Alla sposa d'Orfeo tronca la vita.
Oh d'Aristeo furia d'amore ardita!
Oh d'Euridice cuor fedele appieno!

Quindi il Tracio cantor, per l'infinita
Voglia del ben perduto, il plettro ameno
Adatta in su la lira, e fa gradita
Armonia di sospir d'Averno in seno.

La bella ottien; ma dal Rettor del pianto
«Pria d'uscir non mirarla», li dir si sente;
la mira, e perde lei, virtude e vanto.

Muore Corelli; ma ben lui sovente
Fan rieder vivo, con più forte incanto
L'armoniose idee della sua mente.

Terpandro[37]

Ingenuously, Scarlatti hits the target: the sonorous monument left by Corelli, the perpetual model of architectonic perfection has its origin in 'the harmonious ideas of his mind', in his rationality and not in the mechanical craft of an instrumentalist *alla moda*.

37 Rome, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, busta Ottoboni 172, unnumbered folio.