

Colista or Corelli? A «waiting room» for the trio sonata Anh. 16*

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§ Studi recenti sulle fonti, manoscritte e a stampa, dei lavori corelliani hanno riaperto la discussione attorno alle opere dubbie e a quelle 'senza numero d'opera' del compositore, portando così ad una parziale revisione dei criteri utilizzati da Marx nel suo catalogo corelliano.

Mentre la trasmissione manoscritta delle sonate per violino è stata profondamente riesaminata, molto ancora resta da fare nel caso delle sonate a tre non attribuibili con certezza a Corelli. A tale proposito, l'articolo si focalizza su un caso specifico, ovvero la sonata a tre Anh. 16. Essa è oggi attestata da un gruppo di testimoni di provenienza inglese, solo raramente esaminati dagli studiosi corelliani. La sonata presenta un'attribuzione conflittuale: in alcuni manoscritti è assegnata a Corelli, in altri a Colista, in altri rimane anonima. L'articolo riesamina in dettaglio l'intera trasmissione manoscritta di Anh. 16, offrendo una descrizione e una comparazione di tutte le fonti oggi note (alcune delle quali venute alla luce solo di recente). Questa analisi consente non solo di ridiscutere l'attribuzione della sonata, ma anche di avere un quadro più completo delle modalità di circolazione e diffusione della sonata a tre di ambito romano in Inghilterra.

§ Recent research on manuscript and printed sources of Corelli's output have re-opened discussion on doubtful works and have led to a new revision of Marx's classification of Corelli's catalogue.

While the solo sonatas of doubtful attribution have already been re-examined, there is still much to be done on doubtful trio sonatas. In this respect, this essay focuses on a specific case: the conflicting attribution of trio sonata Anh. 16 classified by Marx among Corelli's doubtful works and attested in a group of English sources, only rarely examined by Corelli scholars. In some sources Anh. 16 is attributed to Corelli, in others to the Roman lutenist and composer Lelio Colista, in others no ascription is reported.

The purpose of this article is to explore the question of authorship of this composition through a comparison of all the manuscript sources, offering an up-to-date survey (some sources have only recently come to light). This comparison and a more wide consideration of the sources not only re-opens the debate on the sonata's attribution, but also offers a more complete picture of the circulation and manuscript dissemination of Roman trio sonatas in England.

ONE of the most fruitful outcomes of the two conferences dedicated to Arcangelo Corelli to mark the tri-centenary of his death – held in 2013, in Fusignano and in Basel¹ – is undoubtedly the substantial revision that was made of the sources, both printed and manuscript, of his music. This revision led to sources thus far wrongly considered to be spurious or uncertain being reconsidered in a new light. While on the one hand this result has opened the gates to a revision and a partial ‘expansion’ of the catalogue of works by the Fusignano-born composer, as compiled nearly forty years ago by Hans Joachim Marx (MARX 1980),² on the other they have offered new stimuli destined to a more specific study of how Corelli’s sonatas – both those published under the direct supervision of the composer and those that remained manuscripts – were circulated and distributed.³ In the case of sonatas with uncertain attribution, the situation of sources is, understandably, extremely complex. In his catalogue, Marx assumed a criterion according to which Corelli’s authorship was effectively accepted when attested by a large number of verifiable concordances in sources which did not derive from each other. However, in the light of new research, this criterion did not always prove to be consistent and effective.⁴

Most of the uncertain sonatas are works for solo violin and bass, while a small number are trio sonatas. Not counting the twelve works printed by John Cox in around 1757 (catalogued by Marx as Anh. 20-31),⁵ there are overall

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¹ Arcomelo 2013 and *Corelli als Modell* 2013.

² According to the most recent studies, the Corelli catalogue now may include at least the sonatas Anhang 33, 34, and 35 for violin and bass, previously considered spurious or of uncertain attribution. PAVANELLO 2013, PAVANELLO 2015. Based on recent research, the so-called Assisi Sonatas (Anh. 38-49), included in a manuscript copy currently held at the Convent of St. Francis in Assisi, might also indeed ‘belong’ to the Corelli catalogue. Cfr. OLIVIERI 2013. The sonatas were published in: *Arcangelo Corelli (?), Le sonate da camera di Assisi dal Ms. 177*. Furthermore, Enrico Gatti and the Ensemble Aurora recorded the sonatas in question: *Arcangelo Corelli, Assisi’s sonatas*, Glossa, GCD 921209.

³ The catalogue of Corelli’s works drawn up by Marx takes into account: 1) authentic works by Corelli (namely the six printed collections with relative opus numbers) 2) works not included in the prints but nevertheless considered authentic, without opus numbers (indicated by the acronym WoO, meaning *Werke ohne Opuszahl*) 3) spurious or doubtful works (marked with the abbreviation Anh.).

⁴ Consider at least the case of trio sonata Anh. 19 which Marx considered doubtful because it survives in just one source: the Giordano 16 manuscript of the Foà-Giordano collection at the Turin University Library. Upon more extensive analysis, also taking into account the codicological features of the manuscript as well as those of the other sonatas in it (all composed in Rome, including works by Colista, Lonati, Pasquini and Corelli himself), sonata Anh. 19, as Agnese Pavanello has shown, can rightfully be considered to have been written by Corelli. For a detailed analysis of this case, and a broader consideration of Marx’s cataloguing criteria, see PAVANELLO 2013.

⁵ *XII Sonata’s / in three parts / for two violins and a Bass, / with a thorough bass for the organ / or harpsicord / being the first set / compos’d by / Arcangelo Corelli / London, printed for John Cox at Simpsons Musick Shop, in sweetings Alley Road Exchange [...]*. See MARX 1980, p. 247.

eight trio sonatas of uncertain attribution. Of these, three were printed by Antoine Pointel in Amsterdam in 1685;⁶ while five were attested only by manuscript copies (MARX 1980, pp. 237-241 and pp. 296-298, with the abbreviations Anh. 16-19 and Anh. 183).

While the sonatas for solo violin of doubtful attribution have already been thoroughly reexamined and in some cases have led to them being reconsidered as actually written by Corelli, there is still much work to be done on the trio sonatas of doubtful attribution. Of these, Anh. 16 is a special case because it is the only one to have a conflicting attribution: indeed, some sources attribute it to Corelli, another to Colista, and in others still it is anonymous. None of these sources is of Italian origin; in fact, they are a fairly uniform group (in terms of date and content) of miscellaneous sources copied in England between the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the very early 1700s, which contain mainly instrumental works by English (especially Purcell) and Italian composers who were active in Rome in the same years as Corelli. Notable among them is the name of the lute player Lelio Colista, who was the foremost composer of trio sonatas in Rome prior to Corelli.⁷ An «excellent virtuoso», «contrapuntist» and «composer of beautiful symphonies» (PITONI 1988, p. 322), Colista was in the service of some of Rome's most prominent families (Barberini, Chigi, Odescalchi); for more than twenty years he was *aiutante da camera* to Cardinal Flavio Chigi and achieved, in addition to his considerable economic status, remarkable fame as a virtuoso, composer and teacher. So much so, in fact, that as early as 1650 Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia Universalis* crowns him as the 'vere Romanae Urbis Orpheus', long before Corelli was, as we know, associated with the figure of the legendary shepherd.⁸ The absolute pre-eminence of Colista on the Roman music scene, especially as a virtuoso and composer for instrumental ensemble music, particularly for the trio sonata genre, had a vast stylistic influence on Corelli's development as a composer (D'OVIDIO 2007a). Indeed, the latter had the chance to learn at first hand about the style of his senior, Colista, with whom he was often called to play music at some of Rome's most important institutions (including the Oratorio di San Marcello al Corso or the church of San Luigi dei Francesi). Moreover, an analysis of Colista's trio sonata has clearly highlighted how his instrumental style, much more so than that of violinist-composers working in Rome in the same period, such as Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Carlo Mannelli, had a profound influence on the development of Corelli's style (D'OVIDIO 2004).

Taking into account these biographical and stylistic elements, it hardly seems a coincidence that the transmission of manuscript copies of Op. 1 by

⁶ *Sonate a due violini col suo basso continuo per l'organo. Del Signora Corely* [sic], Amsterdam, 1685. MARX 1980, pp. 296-297.

⁷ For a biography of Colista the foremost source remains the volume by WESSELY-KROPIK 1961 (2001).

⁸ «New Orpheus of our time» is how Corelli would be defined by BERARDI 1689, p. 85 and GASPARINI 1708, p. 69.

Corelli and some of his early, unnumbered sonatas, probably dating from the very first years he spent in Rome, took place through a substantial group of English manuscripts which, among others, also include copies of Colista's trio sonatas; nor that precisely this joint transmission may have caused the various copyists uncertainties or errors in attributing said sonatas to one or the other composer.

In his catalogue, Marx listed the manuscript sources of Anh. 16 that were known to him, and no other scholar has since attempted to revisit the thorny question of the authorship of this sonata. Over the years, that question has revealed itself to be even more intricate due to the fact that the entire manuscript tradition of Colista's trio sonata presents complex, to some extent irresolvable, problems of attribution (ALLSOP 1989 and D'OIDIO 2004). To this, we must add another more general consideration. Corelli scholars have been discouraged from making a more detailed analysis of these sources of English origin due to their miscellaneous nature, the difficulty in identifying the selection criteria used to compile them, the presence of many anonymous compositions, conflictual attributions and different copyists, as well as the mistaken belief that they were essentially secondary sources compared to the information gleaned from Italian or printed sources. Indeed, until recently this group of manuscripts was mainly studied by British musicologists and from what might be defined an exquisitely English perspective, namely one aimed principally at analysing the textual tradition of Henry Purcell's works and, more generally, to explore how English ensemble music of the Restoration period had been transmitted, produced and circulated.⁹ All of this, however, shed no light on a broader consideration of the Italian musical works attested in the same manuscripts, of which in-depth studies have only begun to be made more recently, as previously noted.

A closer analysis reveals that a study of these manuscripts will be crucial to 1) further reexamining the manuscript tradition of Corelli's music, which has been the object of much less research than the printed editions; 2) revising, also in the light of recently discovered sources, some of the key points of how Colista's trio sonatas were transmitted; 3) tackles those cases of doubtful or uncertain attribution which, as in the case of Anh. 16, sometimes involve both composers.

In light of recent research on manuscript sources of Corelli's works, and making use of the studies conducted by British musicologists, particularly with regard to the codicological and contextual study of individual sources (SHAY-THOMPSON 2000), this article therefore has a dual aim: on the one hand

⁹ Crucial research on this was made by Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, who examined and analysed much of the textual tradition of Henry Purcell's music, focusing in detail on a substantial group of English manuscripts which include, among others, sonatas by Corelli, Colista and Lonati. SHAY - THOMPSON 2000. The analysis of musical manuscripts and printed sources of English music during Restoration is the focus of the study by HERISSONE 2013. See also: HOLMAN 2010; KANG 2008; BOWRING 2014.

it sets out to re-examine in detail all of the manuscript sources of Anh. 16, offering an up-to-date analysis and survey (some sources have only come to light in recent years), also aimed at proposing various theories as to its attribution; on the other, it sets out to highlight the wealth of information provided by said sources, especially concerning the fervent cultural exchanges in tastes, styles and practices that aided the circulation of Italian ensemble music beyond national borders, in Britain particularly.

From a strictly methodological point of view, the criteria used will refer to two methods which at present, based on a considerable amount of research focused on studying of conflicting attributions, are considered crucial to tackling in context cases such as that of the sonata Anh. 16.¹⁰ So, given that we are unable to count upon what Maria Caraci Vela defined as «proof outside the text» (i.e. external or documental evidence, such as letters, payment records and so on), we will tackle the question by considering textual criticism arguments – «aimed at evaluating the nature and historical position of sources of a work, and their possible relationship with the composer»¹¹ – and internal criticism arguments, «based on which we can assess the relative stylistic consistency of the work with the presumed composer» (CARACI VELA 2005, pp. 123-124).¹² It is almost superfluous to point out here that caution must always be applied in such cases, also given the fact that «there is no 'scientific' or 'objective' method that can be trusted blindly in the illusion of placing limits on one's own subjectivity, but there is the opportunity to render said subjectivity rational and responsible, and to allow it access to [...] methodological indications useful for adopting different viewpoints that may offer confirmation or disapproval» (CARACI VELA 2005, pp. 206).¹³

Trio Sonata Anh. 16: the sources

While never printed, Colista's trio sonatas were widely circulated across the whole of Europe in manuscript form from the 1660s on. They were particularly popular in England, where they were performed, copied and imitated on a large scale. At present it is not entirely clear how exactly these compositions reached the island nation, but as one might suppose, a determining role was played by the many visitors, diplomats and British aristocrats who visited the

¹⁰ It is impossible to list here all of the studies published, even in recent years, on this topic. However, on methodological questions I can at least mention ATLAS 1981 and CARACI VELA, 2005 and 2009. Referring specifically to conflicting attribution problems in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, see at least ROBBINS 1959, WEBSTER 1981, TALBOT 1992, DEGRADA 1994, SARDELLI 2008, BACCIAGALUPPI 2015, VIVERIT 2015.

¹¹ «atti a valutare la natura e la collocazione storica dei testimoni di un'opera e la possibile relazione con l'autore». This, and all the translations which follow from Caraci Vela's book, are mine.

¹² «in base ai quali si valuta la relativa coerenza stilistica dell'opera con il presunto autore».

¹³ «non esiste il metodo, 'scientifico' e 'oggettivo' cui affidarsi ciecamente, nell'illusione di porre dei limiti alla propria soggettività, ma esiste la possibilità di rendere tale soggettività razionante e responsabile, e di mettere a sua disposizione, [...] le indicazioni metodologiche utili ad adottare più punti di osservazione per trovare conferme o smentite».

Papal city every year and would then return home with the music they had heard on various occasions, often in the form of manuscript copies or copies derived from printed collections.¹⁴ We must also consider the political and cultural relations that linked several prominent Roman patrons of the arts with the British royal family. One such case was the relationship between Queen Christina of Sweden – at whose court were employed Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, Alessandro Stradella, Arcangelo Corelli and perhaps Colista too – and James II Stuart (PAVANELLO 2013, pp. 412-414). Furthermore in the specific case of Colista, there are accounts that testify how his music was particularly appreciated by English personages staying in the papal city. In 1661 the English diplomat Robert Southwell – who spent time in Rome, where he frequented the cultural circles connected with Athanasius Kircher – reported having heard «the Theorbo man Lelio Colista play some volunteers» (TILMOUTH 1961). The phenomenal success of Colista's sonatas in England was not entirely obscured later, even by the «new Orpheus» - Corelli. On the contrary, the fame Colista achieved in England was particularly enduring when one considers that even in 1708 (some 28 years after his death), there was still news of a performance by the violinist Thomas Dean at the Stationer's Hall in London, of «a full piece of the famous Signior Colista» (WESSELY-KROPIK 1961, p. 81).

The twenty-one trio sonatas that can today be ascribed with certainty to Lelio Colista are extant in miscellaneous sources of various provenance. An analysis of its entire manuscript transmission has highlighted the presence of numerous attribution problems, especially with regard to a large group of sonatas which, while ascribed to Colista in the sources, should nevertheless be attributed to the violinist and composer Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (ALLSOP 1989). More recently, the discovery of new manuscripts that include several sonatas by anonymous composers or which present a conflicting attribution – as in the case of Anh. 16 – has required a broader examination and evaluation of the sources (D'OVIDIO in press). Overall, the sources we know of so far related to the diffusion of Colista's sonatas can be divided into two main groups: the first consists of the three Roman sources, held at Turin University Library (ms. Giordano 15 and Giordano 16) and at the Santini collection in the Diözesanbibliothek in Münster (Ms. Hs. 1152); the second, much larger group consists, as previously mentioned, of miscellaneous manuscripts now preserved in London, Oxford, Chicago, Tokyo and Brussels.¹⁵

The trio sonata Anh. 16 is transmitted in a group of seven sources of English provenance:

- GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 (n. 39, cc. 80-81)
- GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254 (n. 4, cc. 23v-24r)
- GB-Lbl, Add. 33236 (c. 56v)

¹⁴ On the relationship between printed and manuscript instrumental music in the second half of the seventeenth century see MANGSEN 1995.

¹⁵ For a complete list of all the manuscripts providing attestations of Colista's trio sonatas see D'OVIDIO 2004.

- GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 (c. 171v)
- J- Tn, N 2/15 (n. 30, no folio indication)
- US-Cu MS 959 (n. XX, no folio indication)
- B-Bc, Ms. Litt. XY 24910 (cc. 2v-3r)

Overall, they contain sonatas by English (Purcell, Blow, Finger, etc) and Italian, especially Roman, composers (Corelli, Colista, Lonati, Mannelli, etc). The manuscripts held in Tokyo and Brussels and one of those held at the Bodleian library (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249) are not included in Marx's catalogue, and so far have never been examined for the purposes of attributing Anh. 16 together with the sources which on the other hand are already well-known.¹⁶

As is shown in Table 1, three of these sources ascribe the sonata to Corelli, one to Colista, others report no ascription at all. Only in the manuscript GB Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 the sonata (anonymous) bears the title «La rospa a 3».

Table 1 – Ascription of trio sonata Anh. 16 in manuscript sources.

Ascription to Corelli	Ascription to Colista	No ascription
GB-Lbl, Add. 33236	US-Cu Ms 959	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254
GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403		J-Tn, N2/15
B-Bc Ms XY 24910		GB- Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 (<i>La rospa a 3</i>)

In order to better understand how this conflicting ascription came about, we must of course proceed by analysing the codicological features of the individual sources, and comparing said sources so as to highlight any links or relations between them. This is far from a simple task given that often, these miscellaneous sources seem to have been compiled by different copyists, and the individual pieces have sometimes been copied over a very long space of time. This detail makes it even harder to determine the context and timescale in which the source was copied and/or assembled, as well as the copyist's reasons for selecting that particular group of pieces or composers. Lastly, we should not underestimate the fact that in some cases, the ascription might be motivated by the very nature of the miscellaneous source, especially when the latter has been produced for the purposes of collecting. As Michael Talbot clearly explains, «to a private collector the lack of an attribution was a regrettable void. As we know, this void was often filled by wishful thinking or fanciful speculation. The basis for a rational method of making (or not making) attributions was weakened [...] by the binding together for convenience of works not originally associated with one another. Both earlier collectors and modern librarians [...] have often been guilty of lightly attributing works with-

¹⁶ The existence of the Brussels manuscript has, however, already been mentioned in KANG 2008.

out a composer's name to the author of an adjacent work, the author of a work written in the same hand or, quite simply, the author whose music appears most often in the volume» (TALBOT 1992, p. 16).

As illustrated by Table 2, most of the sources containing Anh. 16 share several features regarding content, copyists and copying date.

Table 2 – Trio sonata Anh. 16: overview of the sources.¹⁷

MANUSCRIPT	COMPOSERS INCLUDED	COPYST	COPYING DATE	FORMAT
GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403	Colista: 33, 22, 16 W-K Corelli: Op. 1, Op. 2, WoO5, Anh. 16, Anh. 17, Anh. 18 Lonati: A6, A4, A2, A8, A3, A1 Bassani, Bononcini, Ruggiero, Blow, Purcell.	Sherard's collaborator	From c. 1686	Four part books
GB-Lbl Add. 33236	Colista: 22, 15, 10, 33, 16 W-K Corelli: Op. 1, WoO5, Anh. 16 Lonati: A6, A3, A4, A8, A2, A1 Draghi, Ruggiero, Blow, Locke, Purcell. Bononcini, Ruggiero, Blow	Unknown; one main scribe	c. 1683 but possibly later additions	Score
J-Tn 2/15	Colista: 33, 22, 16 W-K Corelli: Op. 1, WoO5, Anh. 16 Lonati: A4, A3, A6, A2, A8, A1 Vitali, Draghi, Matteis, Purcell, Ruggiero, Blow and other anonymous.	Two copyists: hand 1 from n. 1-18; Sherard's collaborator (hand 2), n. 19-40.	Late seventeenth-century	Only violin II and bass parts
GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254	Corelli: WoO5, Anh. 16, Anh. 17, Anh. 18 Lonati: Blow, Ruggiero, Purcell	James Sherard	From c. 1686	Four parts books
US-Cu Ms 959	Corelli: Op. 1, Op. 3, WoO5, Anh. 16, Anh. 17, Anh. 18 Lonati: A4 Bassani, Boccaletti, Finger, Kruger, Legrenzi, Mannelli, Poole, Purcell, Vitali.	7 different copyists	Late 1680s. probably 1685-1690.	Four part books
B-Br XY 24910	Colista: 27, 38 WK Corelli: Anh. 16 Lonati: A5 and two other sonatas with no concordances in other English sources Bassani, Banister, Butler, Cailò, Finger, La Volée, Loosemore, Poole, Simpson, Zamponi	One main scribe e autograph by Christopher Simpsons	c. 1670 but possibly later additions	Four part books
GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249	Corelli: Anh. 16 Cazzati, Legrenzi, Tenaglia	James Sherard	Late seventeenth-century	Four part books

The first significant element is the fact that the first five manuscripts listed in the table (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403, GB-Lbl, Add. 33236, J- Tn, N 2/15, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254, US-Cu MS 959) include a fairly homogenous

¹⁷ In the table, the sonatas of Colista, Lonati and Corelli are highlighted in grey. Information on the date of compilation and on the copyists derived from Shay- Thompson, *Purcell's Manuscripts and Rebecca Herissone, Musical Creativity in Restoration England, Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts* (<<http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=16614>> (last access: October 2017>).

group of Italian trio sonatas, with particular reference to works written in Rome (Corelli, Colista, Lonati). For Corelli, all sources list the sonata WoO5 which features among those works that remained unprinted but are considered authentic. US-Cu Ms 959, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254, in addition to Anh. 16, also include the trio sonatas Anh. 17 and Anh. 18. This might lead one to speculate, at least in the case of WoO5, that Corelli's music soon became widespread in England, probably in the wake of sonatas by Colista and Lonati, which, as discussed, were widely circulated on the island from the late 1600s.¹⁸

With the exception of US-Cu MS 959, the other four manuscripts of this group also seem to be closely interrelated, especially given that they all contain the same group of sonatas.¹⁹ What's more, in three of them (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and J- Tn, N 2/15), we can identify the hand of James Sherard, the English botanist, amateur violinist and composer, or of scribes who worked with him. According to research conducted by Shay-Thompson on the manuscript transmission of Purcell's works, we can definitely attribute the copy of the manuscript GB- Ob Ms. Sch. d. 254 (SHAY-THOMPSON 2001, p. 114) to Sherard; while the copy of manuscripts GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and, at least partially, J-T N2/15, can be ascribed to copyists who worked for him.²⁰ The provenance of the manuscripts copied by Sherard or other copyists of his entourage is not known with certainty. It is very likely that James Sherard came into contact with music purchased in Italy (Venice, Bologna, Rome) by Lord Tavistock during his Grand Tour, whose entourage included James's brother, William Sherard.²¹

In both GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254, Anh. 16 sonata is labelled as «sonata quarta» Both manuscripts also present, in addition to Anh. 16 and WoO5, a series of sonatas in common, such as those ascribed to Blow and Ruggiero respectively (Table 2).

In details, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 contains 49 trio sonatas in separate parts by Colista, Lonati, Corelli (Op. 1 and Op. 2), Nicola Matteis, Giovanni Battista Bassani (op. 5) as well as some by English composers, particularly

¹⁸ Among the first of Corelli's pieces to arrive in England we can also mention, in addition to WoO5 and Anh. 16, the sonatas for violin WoO 2 and WoO 4. PAVANELLO 2015.

¹⁹ Regarding particularly the trio sonatas by Colista and by Lonati, Gb Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and Gb Lbl, Add. 33236 are also closely related to the manuscript GB Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256, copied by Sherard. The latter only contains trio sonatas by Colista and Lonati. Cfr. D'OVIDIO 2017.

²⁰ Sherard also wrote two collections of trio sonatas published in Amsterdam in 1701 and in 1716 and was deeply influenced by the Italian instrumental style. Sherard is the copyist of various manuscripts of Italian instrumental music now preserved in the Bodleian Library. On James Sherard see TILMOUTH 1966.

²¹ James Sherard himself states in the preface to his Op. I that he became familiar with Italian instrumental music after his brother William had returned from his trip to Rome in 1698: «[...] by my Brother's attendance on your grace abroad, I was furnish'd with books and other Materials, which gave me the first taste and acquaintance with *Italian musick*». HOLMAN 2010, p. 79; KANG 2008, pp. 57-59.

Purcell.²² The manuscript opens with a section dedicated entirely to Italian music. Pages 3-19 contain nine sonatas by Colista, at the end of which the copyist writes: «hier endeth Lelli Colista his sonates» (Figure 1).



Figure 1 – Gb-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403, Sonata 16 WK by Lelio Colista, first violin part.

These are followed by Corelli's twelve Op. 1 sonatas and by one sonata and a series of variations by Nicola Matteis. The same copyist then inserts the note «hier begineth Corelli his last sonates in 1685» (p. 51), followed by a copy of Corelli's twelve Op. 2 sonatas. Sonata Anh. 16, attributed here to Corelli,²³ is found in the subsequent part of the manuscript, which consists of an anthology of twelve sonatas with no indication as to the composer (from n° XXXVI to n° XLVII). Among these, in addition to Anh.16, are sonatas WoO5 and Anh. 17, as well as three Purcell sonatas (from *Ten sonatas in four parts*, 1697), one sonata by Giovanni Maria Bononcini, and another by Legrenzi (Op. I, n° 10). The different position of Anh. 16 within this manuscript, both compared with the *corpus* of Colista sonatas copied one after the other, and compared to Corelli's Op. 2 sonatas, would suggest that the sonata in question was copied at a later date or from a different antigraph to that which grouped together the sonatas by Corelli and Colista.

The manuscript preserved at the Nanki Library in Tokyo is a miscellaneous source containing only violin II and basso continuo parts of sonatas by Italian (Colista, Lonati, Corelli, Vitali, Matteis, Draghi) and English composers (Purcell, Blow). Most of the pieces contained in it are the same that are found in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403. Furthermore, taking into account the features of the paper onto which they were copied and the type of watermarks that are visible, three sources (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403, J- Tn N 2/15 and GB-Ob

²² For a detailed description of contents see SHAY-THOMPSON 2000, p. 111.

²³ The basso continuo part bears the indication «viol di gambo» (sic).

Mus. Sch. d. 254) can all be dated to a similar period, from the late seventeenth century (SHAY-THOMPSON 2000, p. 111-115).

More problematic, however, is identifying the copyist of GB- Lbl Add. 33236, the only manuscript in score among those taken into consideration; it can be dated to the end of the seventeenth century and was probably copied by a single hand. GB-Lbl Add. 33236 is a collection of trio sonatas which shares most of its content with GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403. In both manuscripts, moreover, Anh. 16 is ascribed to Corelli. At least, as far as the Italian sonatas are concerned, Gb-Lbl Add. 33236 contains many deletions and corrections and in four of Colista's sonatas, the two violin parts have been exchanged. This last feature implies that this source could be derived from other sources in part-books. GB-Lbl Add. 33236 might, at least partially, be derived precisely from GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403. In both manuscripts, for example, we find the presence of several significant errors, such as the mistaken attribution of Lonati's sonatas to Colista, the omission of the final two movements of Lonati's Sonata A6²⁴ and the transposition to the octave below of a passage of the Sonata A2, also by Lonati, which would otherwise require a change of position in the first violin part.²⁵ If this hypothesis is correct, the same ascription of GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and of Gb Lbl Add. 33236 to Corelli must be considered only with great caution.

Although the four sources in this group are all strictly related by date, type of paper and watermarks, and contain the same group of Italian works, the different ascription of Anh. 16 – to Corelli in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and GB-Lbl Add. 33236, and anonymous in J-Tn N2/15 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254 – does not offer any clear hints as to its authorship.

The other source bearing an ascription to Corelli is the manuscript in three part-books preserved in Bruxelles (MS Litt. XY 24910) with the title *Trii di vari autori*. Just as with the other previously analysed manuscripts, this one contains, in addition to various anonymous compositions, instrumental music by composers both Italian (including Colista, Corelli, Lonati, Bassani) and English (Anthony Poole, Christopher Simpson, Henry Butler, [John] Banister).²⁶

²⁴ Lonati's trio sonatas are referred to with the acronym previously used by ALLSOP 1989.

²⁵ For a more detailed study of the links between GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and Gb-Lbl Add. 33236 see D'OVIDIO in press.

²⁶ In the index the manuscript bears a crossing-out near the 12 Corelli sonatas, which indeed do not appear in it. The word «Bavaria» which appears next to the composer's name leads us to believe that this might be a copy of a collection of twelve sonatas that were falsely ascribed to Corelli. The publication is announced in the *London Gazette* of 23 September 1695 with this advertisement: «Twelve sonata's, (newly come over from Rome) in 3 parts [...] by A. Corelli and dedicated to His Highness the Elector of Bavaria». DEL AMO 2011, p. 16. I refer to this paper for a reconstruction of the history of the manuscript, and a detailed analysis of its codicological features.

Sonata. Loiselet	1.
Sonata, Zamponi.	2.
Sonata Corelli	3.
2 Sonat ^a s. Incert	4.
Sonata Carlo Chajlo	5.
9 Sonat ^a s. Godetr. Finger.	6.
9, Sonata ⁱⁿ in ^{ped.} ped. ^{2.} 2.	15.
12 Sonat ^a s. Corelli. Bavaria	17.
12 Sonat ^a s Baffani	27.
The 4 Seasons. Chr. Symphon.	42.
7 Division Ayr. F. Poole	54.
Sonata Butler.	57.
Ayr. 2.3. Geo. Loofemore	58.
Preludes & Ayr. La Volez.	62.
Sonata's & ayrs. Carlo. Ambrogia.	71.

Figure 2 –B-Br MS Litt. XY 24910, part-book II, index page.

A study of the content, binding, paper, ruling and handings has shown that the manuscript is of English origin and written by a single English hand, with the exception of the sonatas included in sections two and six, where we can identify what is probably the handwriting of the English composer Christopher Simpson (DEL AMO 2011).²⁷ Pinpointing a precise date is more difficult: the presence of Simpson's autograph works would point to a date prior to 1669 (the year of the composer's death); but at the same time, the copy of the Finger Op. 5 sonatas – which were printed in 1702 – would suggest that the manuscript was compiled over a fairly long timespan, and that the various sections could not have been assembled together before the very early eighteenth century.

The initial section of the manuscript – in which the sonatas by Italian composers are concentrated – is that which is of particular interest for the purposes of this research (Table 3).

²⁷ The manuscript includes the handwritten copy of *The four seasons* in section 2 and an autograph set of variations on a D minor ground in the sixth and final section.

Table 3 –B-Bc, Ms. Litt. XY 24910 – Index of the first section

COMPOSER AS INDICATED IN THE SOURCE	ASCRPTION
<i>Sonata Loiselet</i>	Jean Loisel (fl. 1644-1649)
<i>Sonata Zamponi</i>	Giuseppe Zamponi (d. 1662)
<i>Sonata Corelli</i>	Corelli, Anh. 16
<i>2 sonatas Incert [anonymous]</i>	Colista, 38 WK Colista, 27 WK
<i>Sonata Carlo Chailò</i>	Giovanni Carlo Cailò
<i>Sonatas Godfrey Finger</i>	9 sonatas from Op. 5 [Roger, 1702]
<i>2 Sonata Mr. Poole a 3</i>	Anthony Poole
<i>12 sonatas Corelli [crossed out]</i>	Op. 1?
<i>12 sonatas Bassani</i>	12 sonatas, Op. 5 (1685)

Sonata Anh. 16, which is ascribed to Corelli both in the index and within the manuscript, is followed by two anonymous sonatas (indicated by the word «Incert» in the index); Patxi Del Amo does not suggest any attribution for these (DEL AMO 2011), but closer comparison with other sources of Italian instrumental music shows that the two compositions are works by Lelio Colista: specifically, they are trio sonatas 38 WK and 27 WK.²⁸ Trio sonata 38 WK is a manuscript copy derived from the printed collection *Scielta delle Suonate a due violini, con il Basso continuo per l'organo, raccolte da diversi eccellenti autori* published in Bologna by Giacomo Monti in 1680.²⁹ In addition to B-Br Ms. Litt. XY 24910, a manuscript copy of sonata 38 WK also survives in the British Library's manuscript GB-Lbl. Add. 31436, a large collection of Italian and English chamber music. It lists the *Fantasia a tre* by Locke, *The Seasons* by Christopher Simpson (as in B-Br Ms. Litt. XY 29410) and, in the last part, a copy of the aforementioned Bolognese print published by Monti in 1680 under the title *A collection of trios / for / 2 violin & basso / by Stradella, Bononcini / and various [...] composers*. As for sonata 38 WK in particular, GB Lbl. Add. 31436 contains only the parts for the first violin (c. 151r) and basso continuo (c. 190r). The second violin part is absent, however. This omission suggests that the copyist of the Brussels manuscript was able to copy directly from Monti's Bologna print or from another complete manuscript copy, and far less likely from the GB-Lbl Add. 31436 manuscript in which the second violin part is missing,

The other anonymous sonata included in the Brussels manuscript corresponds, as previously noted, to Colista's sonata 27 WK. Unlike many other trio sonatas by the Roman lutenist which were widely circulated in England, sona-

²⁸ The initials WK refer to the catalogue drawn up by WESSELY KROPIK 1961.

²⁹ This is an anthology of trio sonatas which contains, among others, sonatas by Giovan Battista Bassani, Petronio Franceschini, Pietro degli Antonii, Alessandro Stradella, Giovanni Maria Bononcini (SARTORI 1952-1958, p. 495). Two sonatas in this anthology, «Sonata nona» and «Sonata decima» respectively, are attributed to «N.N. Romano». Of these two, one corresponds indeed to Lelio Colista's sonata 38 WK; this is confirmed by the manuscript held at the Santini collection in Münster (Hs. 1152) in which this same work is attributed to «Sig. Lelio Colista».

ta 27 WK, judging from what the sources show, had a much more limited circulation. We find only some excerpts of this sonata in another English manuscript preserved at Oxford (GB-Oc, Mus. 1126).³⁰ The only complete source for this sonata is in fact of Roman origin, namely the Giordano 15 manuscript held in Turin, which contains mainly sonatas by Colista and Lonati, but also a copy of Corelli's Op. 1 and of the sonata WoO5.³¹ These observations would suggest that clearly, the scribe of B-Br Ms. Litt. XY 24910 was able to draw from different sources, (probably from Giordano 15 itself) than those available to the English copyists of the other miscellaneous manuscripts examined thus far.

The two Colista sonatas are followed in the same manuscript by a composition attributed to «Carlo Chailò». Giovanni Carlo Cailò (1659?-1722) was a Roman violinist, teacher and composer, probably a pupil of Carlo Mannelli. Only three of Cailò's compositions are known as of today: a sonata for three violins and organ, a sonata per solo violin and a sonata for two violins and harpsichord (OLIVIERI 2001). The sonata attributed to him in the manuscript in question is not only a unique case among the English sources taken into account here, but it is also not among Cailò's known compositions.³² It should be pointed out, however, that the same sonata had already been catalogued by H. J. Marx among those attributed to Corelli with no opus number (WoO9), although the German scholar listed among the sources only the print published by Etienne Roger in 1714. Therefore, the manuscript B-Br Ms. Litt. XY 24910 is a hitherto unknown source of this sonata whose attribution is to be further verified.³³

For the purposes of this research, section five of the manuscript is also important; it lists 41 short dance movements of *La Volée*, followed by «sonatas & aysrs» attributed to «Carlo Ambrogia [sic] Lonati». Violinist, singer and composer active in Rome in the same years as Colista and Corelli, in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden by 1673, Lonati was one of the most renowned instrumentalists of his time.³⁴ His name is doubly bound up with that of Colista, not just because both musicians were active in Rome in the same period, but above all because the manuscript transmission of one's trio sona-

³⁰ It contains eight of Colista's trio sonatas and other anonymous sonatas. The manuscript does not contain complete sonatas, but only excerpts and short portions of movements, often transcribed one after the other, without author and without identification of the piece. D'OVIDIO 2018.

³¹ D'OVIDIO 2004 and ID. 2017. On the history of this manuscript see *Raccolta Mauro Foà, raccolta Renzo Giordano* 1987. The type of watermark used confirms its Roman origin, as specified in PAVANELLO 2013, pp. 393-422: 397.

³² My thanks go to Guido Olivieri for having provided me with detailed information on Cailò's known works.

³³ Compared to Roger's print, the sonata WoO9 present some modifications, including the final movement in $\frac{3}{8}$ instead of $\frac{3}{4}$. I would like to express my gratitude to Enrico Gatti for bringing this sonata to my attention and for providing me with valuable information about it.

³⁴ On Lonati's solo and trio sonatas see ALLSOP 1993 and ALLSOP 2002. On problems of attribution of the composer's trio sonatas, see ALLSOP 1989. Thorny issues of attribution have also been found in the case of Lonati's solo violin sonatas. See WILK 2004.

tas is interwoven with that of the other, thus causing multiple attribution issues. Of the trio sonatas ascribed to Lonati in the Brussels manuscript, only one (that present at cc. 72v-73r) corresponds to sonata A5 (D'OVIDIO, 2004), while for the two sonatas at cc. 71r-71v and 73v-74r there are no other correspondences. Particularly problematic is the attribution to Lonati of the sonata found at cc. 71v-72r because it actually corresponds to the trio sonata 33 WK, which is now ascribed to Colista, based on the numerous correlations with other English manuscripts (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403, GB-Lbl, Add. 332236).³⁵

All of these elements lead us to believe that B-Br Ms Litt. XY 29410 might belong to a branch of the tradition quite separate from that of the two previously analysed English manuscripts (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and GB-Lbl Add.332236) which bear attribution to Corelli. While on the one hand this allows us to confirm the attribution to the latter, on the other, however, it does not seem enough to banish doubts regarding the reliability of this manuscript, which contains erroneous attributions, such as Lonati's case, and in which sonatas that can be confidently ascribed to Colista appear as anonymous.

The manuscript US-Cu Ms 959 is the only one to ascribe the sonata Anh. 16 to «L. Calista». As for its content, this source has much in common with GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e 400-403: the two manuscripts share many sonatas such as those by Bassani (op. 5), Poole, Finger, Corelli Op. 1, Anh. 16. What's more, as many studies have pointed out, both manuscripts are most likely connected with the music performed at the Catholic Royal Chapel of James II, first at Whitehall and then at Saint Germaine en Laye. Indeed, many of the English composers found in this manuscript (John Blow, Anthony Poole, Henry Purcell and Gotfried Finger) had links with the Jacobean court (SHAY-THOMPSON 2000, pp. 118-120; CORP 1995; CORP 1998, LIONNET 1992 and FIELD 2013).

The Chicago manuscript is notable for being a calligraphic copy which presents the music with great care to detail. Note, for example, the detailed «Tabula» found in each part-book (Figure 3), where the sonatas are listed consecutively with the title and the relative key, and the presence in each of the four volumes of an ornate frontispiece for Opus I of Corelli. All these elements suggest that it is a copy assembled for collection.³⁶

³⁵ The case of this sonata, which we cannot dwell upon here, is particularly problematic as it is the only work in the entire catalogue of Colista's trio sonatas to be extant only in English sources. Moreover, the sonata 33WK shows stylistic traits very different to Colista's other sonatas. For this reason Peter Allsop considered it a doubtful work by the Roman composer. ALLSOP 1989.

³⁶ For a description of the manuscript and for the detailed index SHAY-THOMPSON 2000, p. 111 (Table 3.10).

SON.	Clav.	Pag.	SON.	Clav.	Pag.
1	F.	33	VI ^{na}	F.	75
2	E.	33	VII ^{na}	A#	77
3	A#	33	VIII ^{na}	G#	78
4	A.	34	IX ^{na}	C.	81
5	B#	34	X ^{na}	C#	83
6	Bb	35	XI ^{na}	D#	85
7	C.	35	XII ^{na}	A#	87
8	C#	35	Angelo Corelli I ^{na}	G#	89
9	G#	37	II ^{na}	G#	91
10	G#	37	III ^{na}	A#	93
11	D#	37	IV ^{na}	A#	95
12	D#	37	V ^{na}	B#	97
13	C.	37	VI ^{na}	B#	99
14	A#	37	VII ^{na}	C.	101
15	D#	37	VIII ^{na}	D#	103
16	D#	37	IX ^{na}	D#	105
17	D#	37	X ^{na}	E.	107
18	D#	37	XI ^{na}	F#	109
19	A#	37	XII ^{na}	F#	111
20	A#	37	G Finger I ^{na}	B.	113
21	C.	37	II ^{na}	B.	115
22	F.	37	III ^{na}	F.	117
23	B.	37	IV ^{na}	F.	119
24	G#	37	V ^{na}	A#	121
25	D#	37	VI ^{na}	A#	123
26	B.	37	J.P. Koyes	D#	125
27	D#	37	II ^{na}	E.	127
28	B.	37	III ^{na}	F.	129
29	G#	37	IV ^{na}	G#	131
30	C.	37	V ^{na}	A#	133
31	B.	61	VI ^{na}	B.	135
32	F.	61	VII ^{na}	B#	137
33	A#	65	VIII ^{na}	C.	139
34	D#	69	IX ^{na}	G#	141
35	G#	69	X ^{na}	D#	143
36	D#	71	XI ^{na}	A#	145
37	A#	73	XII ^{na}	C#	147

Figure 3 – US-Cu MS 959, part-book I, «Tabula».

The content of US-Cu MS 959 lists three sonatas attributed to Colista: one (n° 25) should in fact be ascribed to Lonati (A4) and one (n° 17) is the seventh Sonata of Op. V by Giovanni Battista Vitali. The third (n° 20) corresponds to Anh. 16 and here is ascribed to ‘L. Calista’. The composer’s name - written only in the first violin part – is noted alongside all three sonatas, using a much paler ink and in a different hand to that which wrote the names of the other composers.³⁷ Also different is the form used; while in most instances the composer’s name and surname is written out in full, in Colista’s case there is the first-name initial only, and surname.³⁸ Together, these elements suggest that these three sonatas were ascribed to the Roman lutenist by a different scribe to the one who copied out the music; and the use of different ink hints that

³⁷ It should be pointed out that these details were noticed upon my examination of the manuscript on microfilm. I was not able to consult the original manuscript US-Cu Ms 959 in person.

³⁸ The use of the same paler ink, the same handwriting and the use of the same form to indicate the composer (initial of first name, plus surname) is also seen in the case of sonata n° 18, ascribed to «A. Corelli», which corresponds to Anh. 17.

this addition might have been made at a later date to when the source was originally written.

As for the Italian repertoire specifically, the Chicago manuscript includes some pieces that have never been found in other English sources. Among them the sonata ascribed to the Roman composer Ippolito Boccaletti, which is not part of the collection of trio sonatas printed in Venice in 1692 (*Sonate a tre*, Op. I). Boccaletti, a pupil of Corelli, is listed in the records of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia archive as 'professor of violin' in 1687. His name recurs in the same documents often together with that of Carlo Mannelli, violinist and Roman composer of trio sonatas (Op. II, 1682 and Op. III, 1692), who was active in Rome in the same years as Colista, Lonati and Corelli (D'OVIDIO 2007b and D'OVIDIO 2007c). Unlike Colista and Lonati's trio sonatas, Mannelli's trio sonatas were not at all as widely distributed in Britain. It is therefore even more interesting to note that the Chicago manuscript itself, the sole case among the British-origin sources, lists a manuscript copy of a trio sonata titled *La Fede*, deriving from Mannelli's Op. 2, which was printed in Rome in 1682 and dedicated to the cardinal Benedetto Pamphili. The title of the sonata clearly refers to one of the Fede family members with whom Mannelli was acquainted; not only was his family originally from Pistoia (near Florence), which was also the hometown of the Fede family, but the two brothers Giuseppe and Francesco Maria Fede, and their nephew Innocenzo Fede, all worked in Rome; the former two as singers, the latter as maestro di cappella. It is very likely, as I have already discussed elsewhere (D'OVIDIO in press), that the title of Mannelli's trio sonata is intended to pay homage to Innocenzo Fede, maestro di cappella at the Roman church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli during the same years in which Mannelli worked there as a violinist. Having left Rome, Innocenzo Fede would go on to become maestro di cappella at the court of James II from late 1686 (probably December) and 1688, first at Whitehall, then in later years at Saint Germain-en Laye.

The Chicago manuscript, then, is remarkable for the presence of a small group of trio sonatas by composers who were contemporaries in Rome (Corelli, Colista, Lonati, Boccaletti, Mannelli) and often worked in the same musical institutions. Bearing in mind the figure of Innocenzo Fede, it is important to point out that not only Mannelli, but Lonati and Corelli himself also had links with the church of San Giacomo. Mannelli played at San Giacomo from 1674 and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Corelli are listed in several performances at this church in the same years too. Furthermore, in September 1686, Mannelli took part in a performance of a *Te Deum* to celebrate the capture of Buda, conducted by Innocenzo Fede.³⁹ Taking into account these details, we cannot rule out the idea that Innocenzo Fede himself could have had a role in selecting these sonatas for the Catholic Chapel of James II, drawing upon the works of those composers with whom he had worked at San Giacomo. In this regard,

³⁹ On the circumstances which led Innocenzo Fede to the court of James II see LEECH 2011.

if this relationship between Roman trio sonatas in the Chicago manuscript and the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Rome is likely, it is worth underlining the fact that, unlike Corelli, Lonati and Mannelli, there are no reports of Colista being on the pay roll of the San Giacomo church in the years considered here. This detail, added to the much more significant fact that the other two sonatas in the sources are erroneous ascriptions to Colista, makes the attribution of sonata Anh. 16 to Colista highly problematic.

Of this large group of sources, the manuscript GB-Ob Ms Sch. d. 249 stands apart. It is, in fact, the only manuscript bearing not just the composer's name, but a title (*La Rospa*) which does not appear in any other English source.

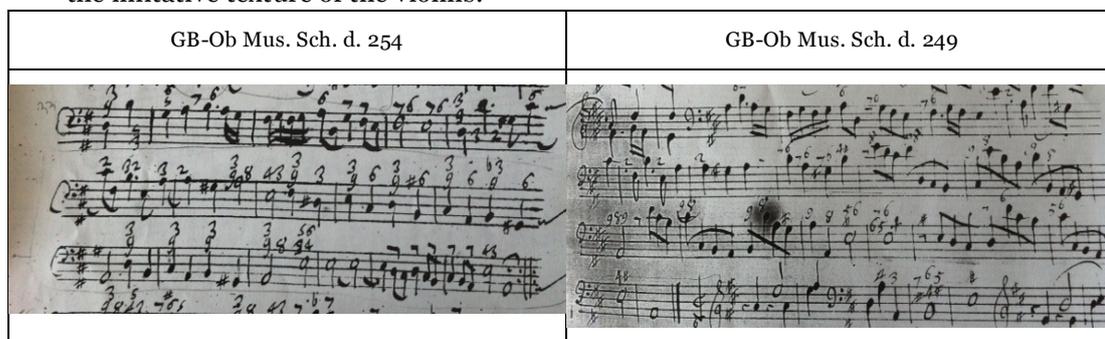
Copied by Sherard, this manuscript contains fourteen sonatas taken from Op. 2 (8 sonatas) and Op. 4 (4 sonatas) by Giovanni Legrenzi and from Op. 3 by Cazzati (2 sonatas). This section is followed by a blank page (170r) and, after that, the final three compositions: a «Sinfonia a tre» and an «Allemanda e Corrente» attributed by the copyist to «Ant.o Fran.co Tanaglia» - presumably Antonio Francesco Tenaglia – and the sonata *La rosipa a 3* (namely Anh. 16). Tenaglia's name is particularly relevant here, because no instrumental works were known of by this composer, known today mainly for his vocal works (CALUORI-LIONNET 2001, p. 685), and active in Rome during the same period as Colista. Therefore, if this attribution to Tenaglia is accurate, these would be the composer's only known instrumental pieces.⁴⁰



Figure 4 – Gb-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249, c. 186v: ascription to «Ant.o Fran.co Tanaglia».

⁴⁰ There is still little known about Tenaglia's life, but it seems likely that he frequented the same circles as Colista in Rome. Both lutenists (Tenaglia was also a harpsichordist), began their musical career under the auspices of the Barberini family, and worked with Antonio Maria Abbatini, of whose academy Colista was a regular participant. It was Abbatini who appointed Tenaglia as organist for the celebrations of the blessing of the Virgin at Santa Maria Maggiore on 8 September 1654. Tenaglia died in Rome between 1672 and 1673. On Tenaglia see: KOLB 2010 and NARDACCI 2011.

Compared with the contents of other sources, Anh. 16, as transmitted by GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249, shows a substantial simplification of the bass part which in several passages, for example in the first movement, does not follow the imitative texture of the violins.



Example 1 – Anh. 16, I movement, bass part

This detail might also be due to a conscious intervention by the copyist who, while transcribing, might have simplified various bars of the bass part. However, together with the fact that GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 is the only source to provide a title for this sonata and the only one to include instrumental parts by Tenaglia, it could confirm the theory that this source derives from a different path of transmission to the other sources examined here.

Overall, while an analysis of the surviving sources of Anh. 16 has clarified various details regarding specifically the Italian sonatas contained in these manuscripts and has shed light on various plausible scenarios as to how these compositions were circulated and disseminated in Britain, it does however leave little scope for any certain attribution to Corelli or Colista. The only manuscript to ascribe the sonata to the latter (US-Cu Ms 959), while it contains numerous trio sonatas by three Roman composers who Colista definitely knew personally does, however, as discussed, contain erroneous attributions, specifically in the case of the other two Colista sonatas; as such, it is a very unreliable source for establishing the authorship of Anh. 16. Equally problematic, based solely on the analysis of these sources, is the attribution to Corelli. The GB-Lbl Add. 33236 manuscript seems closely linked, at least as regards the three Italian sonatas, to GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403, and therefore it might have drawn the Corelli ascription from it.

Less easily-interpreted information is found in the Brussels manuscript, in which the Corelli ascription, while it is derived from another branch of the tradition than GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400-403 and GB-Lbl Add. 33236, does however appear to be discredited by the presence of numerous erroneous attributions; especially, as we have seen, for those sonatas by composers based in Rome (Colista and Lonati). A third branch of the tradition again seems to be behind manuscript GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 which, compared to all of the others, as previously noted, presents some very different features, both con-

cerning the sonatas contained within it, and the presence of various significant textual variants. If, then, our analysis of the manuscripts does not allow us to establish the authorship of Anh. 16 with any certainty, we must look closer at the sonata in question, so as to supplement the theories hitherto proposed on philological and textual matters with those that may result from an analysis of several significant stylistic parameters.

The trio sonata Anh. 16: stylistic considerations

In cases of conflicting attribution there is more than one issue, methodologically speaking, with using stylistic analysis for the purposes of attribution, and it is very risky ground if one is seeking to definitively establish the authorship of a composition.⁴¹

This also applies to the case of a composer such as Arcangelo Corelli, whose instrumental style has been extensively studied and examined over recent decades, both through an analytical-comparative approach and taking into account other factors that certainly influenced the development of this style, starting, for example, with the classical aesthetic ideals of the Academy of Arcadia.⁴² However, the recent attribution to Corelli of music previously removed from his catalogue, partly on the basis of stylistic considerations, is an invitation to prudence in establishing or ruling out Corelli's authorship of certain compositions. Taking this into account, therefore, the analytical considerations that are offered here, far from wanting to re-discuss the parameters of Corellian style or to enter into a comparative analysis between the latter and the style of Colista, must be understood as a complementary tool to the investigation of sources; and, therefore, as a means to prove or deny certain hypotheses derived first of all from philological analysis and from a wider consideration on the circulation of these manuscripts.

The trio sonata in A major Anh. 16 displays four movements without a very strong contrast between slow and fast tempi. The first movement is a Vivace in $C/2$, followed by an Adagio-Allegro in ordinary metre; then an Alle-

⁴¹ At least two of the main methodological problems connected with the use of stylistic analysis in order to assess an attribution have been clearly described by TALBOT 1992, pp. 18-20: «There are, however, two major problems connected with this operation: one practical, one logical. The practical problem is that it does not suffice to identify similarities between the work examined and the works of putative composer: it is necessary, too, to establish dissimilarities between the work and the music of other possible composers or, to put this in other words, to find in the disputed work features that are known to be unique to the putative composer. [...] The logical problem with making stylistic analysis a decisive criterion of authenticity is that the process of argument is circular. What constitutes the composer's personal style is determined by examining the works that have *already* been accepted into the canon. If, for whatever reason, genuine works are excluded from the canon at an early stage, their later admission is made difficult by the fact that they have not contributed to the overall picture of the composer's style, which may be more diverse than previously imagined. One might liken this situation to that of an exclusive golf club whose existing members always admit as new members people exactly in their own image».

⁴² On this topic see: LA VIA 2007. On Corelli's style see at least: ALLSOP 2007, PIPERNO 1996, TALBOT 1996, *Studi corelliani V* 1998 and *Arcangelo Corelli tra mito e realtà storica* 2007.

gro in compound metre ($\frac{6}{8}$) follows and finally another Adagio-Allegro in ordinary metre concludes the piece. In harmonic terms, the entire sonata revolves around the tonic key, namely A major; only the second movement opens in the key of the fifth degree. The imitative writing permeates all four movements. Indeed, each movement is structured as a fugato, prevalently involving the basso continuo part. Another evident feature is the presence of thematic relationships between all movements: indeed, the subject of the opening movement is found, intact or broken into several segments, in the remaining movements. The final movement is conceived as a sort of *da capo* in which we find a juxtaposition of thematic elements of the third and, above all, of the first movement. The violin part does not seem particularly idiomatic; in general, the same structure of the subject as in the first movement, the strongly contrapuntal structure of the entire sonata, the persistent motivic development based on very homogeneous material, would seem to place this piece more in the category of the keyboard style (see *Appendix*).

Compared to Colista or Corelli's trio sonatas, the distinctive features of Anh. 16 would seem to exclude the Roman lute player and the Bolognese as well as its author. The formal plan of Anh. 16 does not correspond to that found in the majority of Colista's trio sonatas. The initial movements of Colista's trio sonatas include a wide variety of style, but usually they are characterized for most part by a slow tempo, with a prevalent homophonic texture and a compact movement of the voices. In many cases, such as trio sonata 10 WK (Example 2), the first movement performs the primary function of underlining the tonal ranges, usually first and fifth degree. The construction criterion used is mainly that of juxtaposing the two tonal ranges through repetition – whether exact or with some minimal melodic variation – of the same initial idea; this procedure would become very common in Corelli's sonatas.

Example 2 – Lelio Colista, *Sonata 10 WK*, I movement.

The musical score for Example 2 is presented in two systems, each containing four staves. The first system shows the initial four measures of the first movement. The second system shows the next four measures. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a common time signature, and various note values and rests.

In other sonatas the first movements feature a strong pathetic effect, which is evident from the use of the minor key, the presence of suspensions, and the rhythmic-melodic relationship between the upper parts and the bass. One such example is sonata 31 WK in E minor.

Example 3 –Lelio Colista, *Sonata 31 WK*, I movement.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the first movement of Sonata 31 WK by Lelio Colista. Each system consists of four staves: two for the upper parts (treble clef) and two for the lower parts (bass clef). The music is written in a 3/2 time signature and the key of E minor. The first system shows the initial bars, with a descending tetrachord in the bass and a melodic line in the upper parts that descends and then ascends. The second system continues this development, featuring a Phrygian cadence in bar 6 and a sequence of inverted triads (I - V⁶ - IV⁶ - V) that builds tension. The bass part is particularly active, with a descending scale fragment that is emphasized by the melodic line's subsequent ascent.

Here, the development of the parts features a descending scale fragment which is further emphasised by the fact that twice in the first eight bars, the melodic line is taken up to the high notes with an ascending sixth (in bar 3 and bars 7-8 respectively), before returning towards the lower notes. The accent on pathetic or *affetti* is also achieved thanks to the involvement of the bass part, and also displays an insistence from the very first bars on the descending tetrachord, heightened by the presence of a Phrygian cadence in bar 6. Here, the tetrachord is presented with a harmonisation that consists of a sequence of two inverted triads (I – V⁶ – IV⁶ – V) which helps create a mounting of tension, which is only resolved with the cadence in bar 9. As one might expect, coinciding with the last note of the tetrachord we find the lowest point, melodically speaking (the D sharp in bar 7), reached by the first violin; its melody, after an inevitable descent, can only rise again through the aforementioned ascending sixth interval.

Although the first movements in Colista's sonatas are very varied in style, however none of Colista's sonatas, with only one exception, opens with a fugal movement, which instead regularly occupies the penultimate position.⁴³ Nor

⁴³ The only sonata where this happens is 33 WK, which, not coincidentally, was also considered doubtful by ALLSOP 1989.

However, Anh. 16 has at least two features which might make it similar to Colista's known sonatas. The first is the melodic bass part, which plays a leading role in the counterpoint progression, particularly in the fugato movement. The second is the persistent use of motivic relationships between different movements of the sonata. As for the former point, while it is true that in many of Colista's sonatas, the melodic bass part – which was probably performed by the composer himself – plays an important role in the fugato movements, nevertheless in the absence of other elements, this alone does not seem enough to identify an obvious, incontrovertible signature style found only in Colista's work.⁴⁴ As for the latter element, it is indeed true that Colista quite frequently correlates the different movements of the same sonata through the use of the same motivic material. In a few cases, in fact, the subject of the fugal movement is reused and modified in the following movements of the sonata, according to the old practice of canzona-variations. Sometimes, as in the Sonata 31 WK, this practice involves the fugato movement and the following movements with a simple metric transformation of the subject, in a similar way to what happens at the beginning of the third and fourth movements of Anh. 16.

Example 5 – Lelio Colista, *Sonata 31 WK*, III movement.



Example 6 – Lelio Colista, *Sonata 13 WK*.

III mov.

IV mov.

V mov.

Yet this aspect, also found in other composers as we shall see, does not seem enough, given the lack of other more specific elements, to ascribe Anh. 16 to Colista.

All the more so given that the use of the same thematic material in different movements of the same sonata can also be found in other composers' sonatas, especially those of Corelli.

A procedure similar to that described in the case of Colista's Sonata 13 WK can be found, for example, in Corelli's Op. 3, n° 2 where the thematic material of the first and fourth movements are related to the two subjects of the fugato in the second movement.

Example 7 – Arcangelo Corelli, *Sonata Op. III, n. 2*.

I mov: *Grave*

II mov: *Allegro*

IV mov: *Allegro*

Furthermore, the metric variation of the same subject, as in the aforementioned case of sonata 31 WK, is also found in sonata Anh. 19 in G minor, specifically between the two Allegros (second and third movements), of which the first is in C time, the other in $\frac{3}{4}$.

capo is used extensively in, for example, *Canzoni a 4* by Tarquinio Merula – in which this feature is established as the most prevalent structural principle – and frequently in Cazzati's *Canzoni* (1642) and Legrenzi's sonatas Op. 2 (1655).⁴⁶

Example 9 – Giovanni Legrenzi, Op. II, *Sonata «La cornara»*, I and IV movement.

From this point of view, we should not underestimate the fact that in the manuscript GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249, Anh. 16 is copied together precisely with other trio sonatas from Legrenzi's op. 2 and op. 4 and Cazzati's op. 2. It is certainly possible that Anh. 16 already bore this title in the source from which it was copied, but is likely as well that it was indeed the strong formal resemblance of Anh. 16 to the other sonatas in this source that may have inspired the copyist to give it a title, following the example of the sonatas by Legrenzi and Cazzati included in the manuscript.

Faced with a conflicting attribution in which neither an examination of the manuscript tradition, nor a stylistic analysis, are decisive for the purposes of establishing the authorship of the composition, at least with a reasonable degree of probability, it is acceptable to leave the range of theories open, as we have done for these final considerations. What we have observed so far, both from a philological and stylistic perspective, leads us to assume, however, that the sonata in question can hardly be attributed with certainty to Corelli or Colista and that, indeed, the list of potential authors must necessarily be ex-

⁴⁶ A kind of da capo very similar to that used in Anh. 16 is found in the following sonatas in Legrenzi Op. 2: *La cornara* (n° 1), *La frangipana* (n° 3), *La col'alta* (n. 5), *La Mont'Albana* (n° 11), *La Porcia*, (n° 12), *La Torriana* (n° 15), *La Giustiniana* (n° 18, included in the collection but in fact written by the composer's father, Giovanni Maria Legrenzi). Sonatas n° 11, 12 and 13 are found, along with Anh. 16, in the manuscript Gb-Ob Mus. Sch. D. 249. On Legrenzi's Op. 2 see *The instrumental music of Giovanni Legrenzi*, 1984.

panded in the direction indicated above. Yet at this point we should take pause, in the belief that when the methods used do not allow us to arrive at a definitive attribution, rather than going deeper into the murky waters of unverified theories, «it is desirable to assign works of uncertain paternity to a kind of waiting room pending further clarification (which, one knows, may never arrive)» (TALBOT 1992, p. 20).

Appendix

Trio sonata Anh. 16⁴⁷

Vivace

The image displays the first 11 measures of the Trio sonata, Op. 29, No. 16 by Anna Magdalena Bach. The score is written for three staves: Treble, Bass, and a lower Bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Vivace'. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and articulation marks. Fingering numbers (6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 5 in the second system and 7, 3, 4, 3, 6, 6, 7, 6 in the third system) are provided for the right hand in the lower systems. The first system covers measures 1-5, the second system covers measures 6-10, and the third system covers measures 11.

⁴⁷ La trascrizione è stata condotta sulla base del testimone Us-Cu Ms 959.

A. D'Ovidio – Colista or Corelli?

31

Musical score for measures 31-35. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 31 starts with a treble clef staff containing a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a quarter note C5. The bass clef staff contains a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measures 32-35 show various rhythmic patterns and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 2, 7, 6, 6, and 7, 6.

36

Musical score for measures 36-40. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 36 starts with a treble clef staff containing a quarter rest, a quarter note D5, and a quarter note E5. The bass clef staff contains a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measures 37-40 show various rhythmic patterns and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, and 7, 6.

41

Musical score for measures 41-45. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs (top two) and two bass clefs (bottom two). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). Measure 41 starts with a treble clef staff containing a quarter note D5, a quarter note E5, a quarter note F#5, and a quarter note G5. The bass clef staff contains a quarter note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measures 42-45 show various rhythmic patterns and accidentals. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 9, 8, 9, 9, and 9.

45

50 Adagio

56 Allegro

A. D'Ovidio – Colista or Corelli?

Musical score for measures 60-64. The score is written for a grand piano with three staves: two treble clefs and one bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The music features a complex texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the right hand and more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. Fingering numbers (7, 6, 5) are indicated below the notes in the bass clef staff.

Musical score for measures 65-68. The score continues with the same instrumentation and key signature. The right hand has a melodic line with some rests, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment. A fingering number (7, 6) is shown below the first measure of the bass clef staff.

Musical score for measures 69-73. The score concludes with a final cadence. The right hand has a melodic line with a final flourish, and the left hand provides a sustained accompaniment. Fingering numbers (6, 7, 7, 6, #4) are indicated below the notes in the bass clef staff.

Allegro

74

79

84

5 6 7 7 6

7 6 9 8 6

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a piece in 6/8 time, marked 'Allegro'. The score is presented in three systems, each with four staves. The first two systems are for a grand piano (G-clef and F-clef), and the third system is for a double bass (F-clef). The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The first system (measures 74-78) shows a melodic line in the upper right staff and a bass line in the lower right staff. The second system (measures 79-83) continues the melodic and bass lines with more complex rhythmic patterns. The third system (measures 84-88) features a highly rhythmic and technical passage in the upper right staff, while the other staves have rests. Fingering numbers (5, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6 and 7, 6, 9, 8, 6) are indicated below the notes in the first two systems.

A. D'Ovidio – Colista or Corelli?

89

Musical score for measures 89-93. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The music features a complex texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the upper staves and more melodic lines in the lower staves.

94

Musical score for measures 94-98. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The music continues with intricate sixteenth-note patterns. Fingering numbers 7 and 6 are visible in the lower bass staves.

99

Musical score for measures 99-103. The system consists of four staves: two treble clefs and two bass clefs. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The music features a mix of melodic and rhythmic elements. Fingering numbers 6, 9, 8, and 5 are visible in the lower bass staves.

104

109

114 Adagio Allegro

7 7 7 6

5 7 6 4 #

6 7 5

Detailed description: This page contains a musical score for piano, spanning measures 104 to 114. The score is written for four staves: two treble clefs (upper and lower) and two bass clefs (upper and lower). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 104-108) features a complex texture with sixteenth-note patterns in the bass and eighth-note patterns in the treble. The second system (measures 109-113) continues this texture, with some measures featuring longer note values. The third system (measures 114) is marked 'Adagio' and 'Allegro' and features a change in tempo and dynamics, with a more sparse texture. Fingering numbers (7, 6, 5, 4, #) are indicated below the bass staves.

A. D'Ovidio – Colista or Corelli?

The image displays a musical score for a piece by A. D'Ovidio, titled "Colista or Corelli?". The score is presented in two systems, each with four staves. The first system begins at measure 118. The top two staves are grouped by a brace, as are the bottom two. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system contains four measures. The second system begins at measure 122 and also contains four measures. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like f and p . There are also some fingerings indicated by numbers 5 and 6.

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