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# Mapping the Roman trio sonata before Corelli

## History, geography and dissemination

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ANTONELLA D'OVIDIO

*Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings.*

Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993, p. 7.

### Towards a 'reticular' approach

In outlining the history of the Italian trio sonata, geography has always played a crucial role. In this sense, the seminal book *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata from its origins until Corelli*, by Peter Allsop, published more than twenty years ago, discusses the various issues (terminology, instrumentation, formal structure, performance practice) *more geographico*, or in other words, taking the moves from a geographical approach (Ch. 1: "Period, Place and Personalia"). The author then concentrates on "local traditions" and "regional variations" in the belief that "these independent regions developed their own distinctive characteristics which in some cases persisted throughout the century and beyond".<sup>1</sup> This is not a history, but rather many histories of the trio sonata, each of which originated and developed in a specific city or area (Venice and the Lombard-Venetian region, Bologna and the Via Emilia, Rome, etc.). The use of geography in this case serves to underline stylistic differentiation that is closely linked to the various production centres. What emerges is a polycentric picture of the Italian trio sonata, which perfectly correspond to the geographical and political fragmentation of the peninsula.

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1 Peter Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata from its Origins Until Corelli*, Oxford 1992, p. 3.



With this 'punctiform' and, in some ways, taxonomic geography, it is also possible to combine a 'reticular' type of geography that takes into account not only the relationship between musical style and its centre of production, but also other broader phenomena arising, in this specific case, from the dissemination and circulation of these sonatas throughout seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe. This type of examination simultaneously concentrates on the centres of production as well as those in which the works were played and received. In fact, dissemination was crucial for consolidating Italian instrumental music and promoting its assimilation outside of Italy. From this perspective, Rome assumes a unique position not only (and not so much) as fertile soil for the cultivation and development of the Corellian style, but mainly because, most part of triosonatas by composers active in Rome before Corelli, above all by Lelio Colista (1629–1680) and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1712), were widely appreciated abroad, and precisely for this reason, copied and circulated in diverse cultural circles.

Until the publication of *Opus I* by Corelli, the trio sonata in Rome was rarely present in printed catalogues of the time, although there was a clear increase in printed collections starting with the publication of Corelli's debut works. Today, it is difficult to reconstruct the reasons behind this lack of interest among Roman publishers in a genre that, in other Italian cities, especially in Bologna, was printed in significant numbers and circulated widely. Between 1600 and 1675, nearly 80 per cent of instrumental scores were printed in cities that had very active publishing markets: Venice – with the printers Vincenti and Magni – and Bologna, with the prominent publisher Monti.<sup>2</sup> The Roman printers were far outside this market. The interest in the sonata repertoire, characterizing the editorial policy of the main Italian printers between the second half of the seventeenth century and 1730, only began in Rome with Corelli's works.

2 Paolo Fabbri, "Politica editoriale e musica strumentale in Italia dal Cinque al Settecento", in: *Recercare* 3 (1991), pp. 203–214. Regarding this topic see also Giancarlo Rostirolla, "L'editoria musicale a Roma", in: *Le muse galanti. La musica a Roma nel Settecento*, ed. by Bruno Cagli, Rome 1985, pp. 121–176.



Table 1. Printed editions of Roman sonatas: 1652–1692.

Year	Composer / Title	Publisher	Sartori's Catalogue
1652	Giovanni Antonio Leoni, <i>Sonate di violino a voce sola</i> , Op. III	Mascardi	1652b
1669	Giovanni Antonio Pandolfo Mealli, <i>Sonate cioè Balletti, Sarabande, Correnti, Passacagli [...] con la terza parte della viola a beneplacito</i> (senza numero d'opera)	Belmonte	1669i
1678	Giovanni Buonaventura Viviani, <i>Sinfonie, Arie, Capricci, Allemande [...] per violino solo</i> , Op. IV	Vannacci	1678f
<b>1681</b>	<b>Arcangelo Corelli</b> , <i>Sonate a trè, doi Violini, e Violone, ò Arcileuto, col Basso per l'Organo</i> , Op. I	<b>Mutij</b>	<b>1681 a</b>
1682	Carlo Mannelli, <i>Sonate a tre, dui violini, leuto e Basso per l'Organo</i> , Op. II	Mutij	1682a
1685	Giovan Pietro Franchi, <i>La Cetra Sonora. Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone, ò Arciliuto, col Basso per l'Organo</i> , Op. I	Mutij	1685i
	Arcangelo Corelli, <i>Sonate da camera a tre, doi violini, e violone, ò cimbalo</i> , Op. II	Mutij	1685a
1689	Salvatore Mazzella, <i>Balli, Correnti, Gighe, Sarabande, Gavotte, Brande, e Gagliarde [...] a dui, violino, e viola, o cimbalo</i>	Mutij	1689a
	Arcangelo Corelli, <i>Sonate a tre cioè duoi violini, e violone, o arciliuto col basso per l'organo</i> , Op. III	Komarek	1689b
1691	Antonio Luigi Baldassini, <i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone, ò arcileuto col basso per l'organo</i> , Op. I	Komarek	1691b
1692	Carlo Mannelli, <i>Sonate a tre, doi violini, leuto o violone, con il basso per l'organo</i> , Op. III	Mascardi	1692j

In Table 1, we can observe the number of sonata collections (other works related to sonata genre are included) printed over a 40-year period, ranging from 1652 to 1692. Only from 1681, the year in which Corelli's Op. 1 was published, did Roman printers, especially Mutij, seem to be attracted to the trio sonata genre. Before then, interest in the sonata was sporadic. The policy of the Roman printers was one of great caution, dictated by the desire to invest in musical genres that were sure to make a profit (vocal works, in particular).

In addition to the scarcity of the sonata in the catalogues of Roman publishers in the mid-seventeenth century, it would seem that composers themselves were reluctant to hand over their work to the presses. In a polycentric city like Rome, whose patronage system was formed by the papal court and other closely-connected courts of cardinals, ambassadors and aristocrats, the consolidation of the figure of the musician



and virtuoso instrumentalist went hand in hand with a growing rivalry among musicians to secure the best engagements and jockey for position over other musicians. This, in turn, meant that the music being composed, and especially virtuoso works, was held as the jealous preserve of 'experts'. For an activity in which improvisation played an important role and where the figure of the composer and virtuoso-performer often coincided, the printed source was not always perceived as the natural outcome of a work, especially in such a competitive environment as the Roman one.<sup>3</sup> A long but enlightening passage warning the reader, included by Giovanni Antonio Leoni in his collection *Sonate di violino a voce sola*, Op. 1 (1652), may help to clarify this point:

TO READERS. Having for a long series of years exercised the profession of playing the violin, I necessarily agreed at various times to the request of many Princes and Knights, my Patrons, and likewise my Scholars, and friends to compose various Sonatas, and Symphonies, and *because they circulated badly transcribed by the hand of the Virtuosi without the name of the Composer*, some of them out of compassion, with good zeal for the sake of Clarity, amended them with errors, that were there due to negligent copyists, & adopted them as their own; Others in imitation of them, throwing away the best passages, composed other similar ones; Others then, with a less ambitious aim of being content to imitate only the style, more happily fabricated on top of the foundations of my inventions, very graceful compositions of this noble Instrument. So it is, that having everything very well known, & felt by many distinguished, eminent professors of Music, my very dear Friends, *I have been time and time again intimately required by them, to bring to the light those same Sonatas, which others have passed off as their own, or even eviscerated of the best motifs [...]*.<sup>4</sup>

Although the reasons that leading Leoni to resort to having music printed certainly follow a common and conventional line of argument for dedications of the time, they confirm the existence of an instrumental repertoire circulating in the small sphere of composers-virtuosos, who understood printed publication, in one sense, as a simple way of protecting the secrets of their profession.<sup>5</sup>

3 This partially happens also in the case of composers who were contemporaries of Corelli, such as Antonio Montanari, whose instrumental output was largely found in manuscript copies. As Michael Talbot has pointed out: "In an age where, for instrumentalists at least, the public appreciation of music was performer-led rather than composer-led, a virtuoso who was also a composer (and most were) always ran a risk in allowing his compositions to pass into general circulation". See Michael Talbot, "A Successor of Corelli: Antonio Montanari and His Sonatas", in: *Recercare* 17 (2005), pp. 211–251: 219.

4 Giovanni Antonio Leoni, *Sonate di violino a voce sola*, Rome, Mascardi, 1652. Italics are mine.

5 Francesco Maria Veracini also addresses the problem in his *Trionfo della pratica musicale*, where he rails against what he calls the "parafrasatori" and "rifriggitori"



However, the exclusive manuscript tradition that distinguishes the trio sonatas composed in Rome before Corelli from those produced in other centres (where the handwritten source, in most cases, came from printed copies)<sup>6</sup> did not create an obstacle to their widespread use in Europe between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in particular, as we shall see, in England.

The purpose of this paper is not to reconstruct the entire manuscript tradition of sonatas by Colista and Lonati – which I have dealt with elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> Nor is it to provide a complete survey of the extent to which these sonatas spread throughout Europe. Rather, I intend to focus on the transmission of this repertoire as well as the paths traversed by these manuscripts during their movements, thus creating a map that circumscribes not only physical spaces but also cultural spaces. My aim is to show that the ‘places’ – understood as simple containers of events, objects and people – can become ‘spaces’ where certain social and cultural phenomena take place. The perspective outlined here takes its reference from a series of Italian studies that, in recent years, have reformulated the concept of a cultural and geographical space.<sup>8</sup> Returning again to a long tradition of research, which from Carlo Dionisotti<sup>9</sup> arrives at Franco Moretti<sup>10</sup> and at the recent *Atlante della letteratura*

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of the music of others. He goes on at length about the composer Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, who, according to Veracini, “due to his stubbornness, never wanted his pieces printed [his sonatas for solo violin]”. In addition, Veracini says about Lonati: “It cannot be doubted that the works of this highly emblematic subject, generally used by more famous composers of sonatas for solo, three and four instruments, could be glimpsed in the compositions of others, borrowed wholesale or note by note, or brazenly paraphrased by some boastful types who call themselves Composers, who then circulated them and [...] signed them with their own name”. Francesco Maria Veracini, *Il trionfo della pratica musicale*, Ms. preserved at I-Fc, F-I\_28, p. 381. Regarding this treatise see Mario Fabbri, “Appunti didattici e riflessioni critiche di un musicista preromantico”, in: *Quaderni della rassegna musicale* 3 (1965), pp. 25–54.

6 Sandra Mangsen, “The Dissemination of Pre-Corellian Duo and Trio Sonatas in Manuscript and Printed Sources: A Preliminary Report”, in: *Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. by Hans Lenneberg, New York 1994 (= Musicology 14), pp. 71–105.

7 Antonella D’Ovidio, *Alle soglie dello strumentalismo corelliano: Colista, Lonati, Stradella, Mannelli. Studio storico-critico ed edizione critica*, PhD thesis, 2 vols., University of Pavia (Cremona) 2004.

8 *Il senso dello spazio. Lo spatial turn nei metodi e nelle teorie letterarie*, ed. by Flavia Sorrentino, Rome 2010; Giancarlo Alfano, *Paesaggi, mappe, tracciati: cinque studi su letteratura e geografia*, Naples 2010 (= Mediologie 22).

9 Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, Turin 1999 (1st edition: Turin 1967).

10 Franco Moretti, *Atlante del romanzo europeo 1800–1900*, Turin 1997.



*italiana*,<sup>11</sup> these studies, (despite their different approaches, methods and objectives) have placed at the centre of their survey the fruitful intertwining of the 'knowledge of the space' and the 'knowledge of the time', or the intersection between historical data and its distribution over time, "examining the style of works and authors and the history of literary genres, but also the conditions surrounding them; looking at the texts, but looking just as deeply at the contexts; looking at the production side, but looking just as deeply at their reception".<sup>12</sup> This reconsideration of a geography, so closely linked to the evolution of farther-reaching cultural phenomena, finds its own particular field of interest precisely in the case of the pre-Corellian Roman trio sonata.

## A map of manuscript sources

The trio sonata manuscripts by Lelio Colista and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati which are known today are preserved in various libraries:

Table 2. List of manuscript sources of trio sonatas by Colista and Lonati.

<b>I-Tn</b>	Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. Giordano 15
<b>I-Tn</b>	Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. Giordano 16
<b>D-MÜs</b>	Münster, Diözesanbibliothek, Santini-Sammlung Hs. 1152
<b>GB-Ob</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. d. 256
<b>GB-Ob</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. e. 400–403
<b>GB-Och</b>	Oxford, Library of Christ Church, Ms. 1126
<b>GB-Lbl</b>	London, British Library, Add. 33236
<b>GB-Lbl</b>	London, British Library, Add. 31431
<b>GB-Lbl</b>	London, British Library, Add. 31436
<b>J-Tn</b>	Tokyo, Nanki Music Library, N 2/15
<b>I-Bav</b>	Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4197
<b>US-Cu</b>	Chicago, Regenstein Library, Department of Special Collections, MS 959
<b>D-Hs</b>	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MB 2463
<b>F-Pn</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm <sup>7</sup> 673
<b>B-Bc</b>	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, MS. Litt. XY 24910

11 Sergio Luzzatto and Gabriele Pedullà, "Introduzione", in: *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Sergio Luzzatto and Gabriele Pedullà, 3 vols., Turin 2010, vol. I, *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. by Amedeo de Vincentiis, pp. XV–XXV.

12 *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.



With the exception of a trio sonata by Colista,<sup>13</sup> there are no other known printed sources of these compositions.

The survival of the sonatas is patchy: some are documented in a single manuscript, others in multiple sources. In all cases, these manuscripts contain a miscellany of instrumental pieces, mostly trio sonatas by Italian composers (Colista, Lonati, and especially Corelli), but also music by Purcell, Blow, Lawes, Locke, and Gibbons in sources of English origin. The majority of manuscripts in Table 2 consist of folios of separate parts, while the two manuscripts preserved in Turin (Giordano 15 and Giordano 16) are in score form. The manuscript in the Vatican Library (Barb. Lat. 4197) contains only the basso continuo part; the source in the Nanki Music Library in Tokyo (N 2/15) contains only the second violin and bass parts.

The 15 manuscripts listed above can be grouped into different families based on their sharing the same copyist, or the presence of the same composers, or the same sonatas themselves (often published in the same order).

The manuscripts Giordano 15 and Giordano 16, of Roman origin, contain sonatas by Colista, Lonati, Stradella, Corelli and other Roman composers (Pietro Ugolini, Francesco Gasparini, Bernardo Pasquini).<sup>14</sup>

13 This is the sonata attributed to “NN Romano”, precisely, No. 9 of the collection entitled *Scelta delle Suonate A due Violini, con il Basso Continuo per l’Organo, raccolte da diversi Eccelenti Autori* printed in Bologna in 1680. Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, 2 vols., Florence 1952–1958, vol. I, p. 495

14 On the history of this manuscript see *Raccolta Mauro Foà, raccolta Renzo Giordano*, ed. by Isabella Fragalà Data and Annarita Colturato, Rome 1987. The type of watermark used also confirms its Roman origin, as specified in Agnese Pavanello, “Corelli ‘inedito’: composizioni dubbie e senza numero d’opera. Percorsi tra fonti, attribuzioni e fortuna della trasmissione”, in: *Arcomelo 2013. Studi nel terzo centenario della morte di Arcangelo Corelli*, ed. by Guido Olivieri and Marc Vanscheeuwijck, Lucca 2015, pp. 393–422: 397.



Table 3. Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, Giordano 15: contents.

<b>Folios</b>	<b>Ascription</b>	<b>Composer / Work</b>
fol. 1r–6v	<i>Sinfonia del S. or Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 13 <sup>15</sup>
fol. 7r–11r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 37
fol. 11v–16r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 30
fol. 16v–21r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 22
fol. 21v–24v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 28
fol. 25r–28v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 27
fol. 29r–32v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 10
fol. 33–36v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 32
fol. 37r–39v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 14
fol. 39v–43v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 21
fol. 44r–47v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 31
fol. 47v–52v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista WK 26
fol. 52v–58r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 25
fol. 58r–62v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A1
fol. 63r–68r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A2
fol. 68r–73v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A3
fol. 74r–79v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A4
fol. 79v–87v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A5
fol. 88r–93v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A6
fol. 94r–97v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A7
fol. 97v–102v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A8
fol. 103r–108v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, A9
fol. 109r–117r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Alessandro Stradella a 3</i>	Stradella, n. 17 MC <sup>16</sup>
fol. 117r–122r	<i>Sinfonia del S.re Arcangelo Corelli, Bolognese a 3</i>	Marx, Wo05 <sup>17</sup>
fol. 122r–124v	<i>Ballo del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 41
fol. 125r–130v	<i>Sinfonia del S.re Arcangelo Corelli, Bolognese a 3</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 1

15 The initials WK refer to the numbering of the sonatas in the catalogue by Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista, ein römischer Meister vor Corelli: Leben und Umwelt*, Vienna 1961 and Helene Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista: un maestro romano prima di Corelli (con il catalogo tematico delle Sonate a tre a cura di Antonella D'Ovidio)*, Rome 2002 (= Studi, cataloghi e sussidi dell'Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale 9).

16 Alessandro Stradella, *Instrumental Music*, ed. by Eleanor McCrickard, Köln 1980 (= Conventus Musicus 5).

17 Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis. Catalogue raisonné*, Köln 1980.



Table 4. Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, Giordano 16: contents.

<b>Folios</b>	<b>Ascription</b>	<b>Composer / Work</b>
fol. 1r–2v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Lelio Colista a 3</i>	Colista, WK 41
fol. 3r–7v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Pietro Ugolini a 3</i>	
fol. 8r–13v	<i>Sinfonia a 3 del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 2
fol. 13v–21r	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 3
fol. 21r–25v	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 4
fol. 26r–31v	<i>Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 5
fol. 31v–37r	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 6
fol. 37v–42r	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 7
fol. 42v–46r	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 8
fol. 47r–53v	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 9
fol. 53v–59r	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 10
fol. 59r–63v	<i>Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 11
fol. 63v–69v	<i>Del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Op. I, 12
fol. 70r–74r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Giacomo Simonelli a 3</i>	
fol. 74v–85v	<i>Concerto del Sig. re Francesco Gasparini a 6</i>	
fol. 86r–90r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Francesco Gasparini a 3</i>	
fol. 90v–93v	<i>Sinfonia a 3 del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Marx, Wo06
fol. 93v–104v	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Francesco Gasparini a 3</i>	
fol. 105r–110r	<i>Sinfonia a 3 del Sig. re Pietro Ugolini</i>	
fol. 110v–114r	<i>Sinfonia del Sig. re Carlo Ambrogio Lonati a 3</i>	Lonati, D1 <sup>18</sup>
fol. 114v–116v	<i>Sinfonia a 3 del Sig. re Arcangelo Corelli</i>	Corelli, Marx, Ahn. 19
fol. 116v–117v	<i>Del Sig. re Bernardo Pasquino [sic] a 3 [incomplete]</i>	

The two manuscripts were conceived as one unit, one as a result of the other, as demonstrated by the fact that Giordano 15 ends with the first Sonata of Op. 1 by Corelli and Giordano 16 continues with the second sonata of the 1681 collection. The two sources also contain two sonatas by Corelli and classified by Hans Joachim Marx as WoO 5 and WoO6.<sup>19</sup> The writing in both sources is very accurate; the “S” of Sinfonia is deco-

18 This work is not listed by Peter Allsop in “Problems of Ascription in the Roman ‘simfonia’ of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati”, in: *The Music Review* 50 (1989), pp. 34–44.

19 For a discussion on the attribution to Corelli, see Pavanello, “Corelli ‘inedito’” (see n. 14).



rated in each sonata, which further emphasises the calligraphic nature of the source, probably assembled for the purposes of creating a collection (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Lelio Colista, *Sonata 10 WK*, ms. I-Tn Giordano 15 (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino).

Other manuscripts were copied for performance purposes, as is the case with the manuscript Hs. 1152 preserved in Münster (Diözesanbibliothek), as part of the well-known music collection of the abbot Fortunato Santini.<sup>20</sup>

20 Fortunato Santini was a Roman priest and a musician. In 1796, under the patronage of Cardinal Odescalchi, he started to collect Roman sacred music. This collection is now preserved in the Diözesanbibliothek in Münster. On the history of the Santini collection, see R. Ewerhart, "Die Bischöfliche Santini-Bibliothek", in: *Das schöne Münster*, Münster 1962; Hans Joachim Marx, "The Santini collection", in: *Handel collections and their History*, ed. by Terence Best, Oxford 1993, pp. 184–197; K. Kindler, "Die Musiksammlung Fortunato Santinis in der Diözesanbibliothek zu Münster", *Mitteilungsblatt der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Katholisch-Theologischer Bibliotheken* 45 (1998).



Table 5. Münster, Diözesanbibliothek, Santini-Sammlung Hs. 1152: contents.<sup>21</sup>

Folios	Ascription	Composer / Work
fol. 2v		[L. Colista. Sonata a due, violino, viola e basso continuo] <sup>22</sup>
fol. 3r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 1.</i>	Colista, WK 15
fol. 3v	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 2.</i>	Colista, WK 10
fol. 4r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 3</i>	Colista, WK 38
fol. 4v–5r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 4</i>	Colista, WK 22
fol. 5v–6r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 5</i>	Colista, WK 21
fol. 6v–7r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 6</i>	Colista, WK 39
fol. 7r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Balletto</i>	Colista, WK 40
fol. 7v	<i>Di Fran.[esco] Ant. Soprano [?] a 3</i>	
fol. 8r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Balletto</i>	Colista, WK 41
fol. 8v–9r	<i>Di Errigo Butler. Sonata 7</i>	[Orlando Gibbons, Fantasie n. 5 e n.8]
fol. 9v–10r	<i>Don Gio. Ant. La Rocca a 3 [sonata 8]</i>	
fol. 10v–11r	<i>Di Lelio Colista a 3. Sonata 9</i>	Colista, WK 24 [Incomplete. Only I e II movement]
fol. 11v–12r	<i>Del Colista. Sonata 10</i>	Colista, WK 17
fol. 12v–13r	<i>Del Colista</i>	Colista, WK 37

The manuscript consists of four partbooks (violin I, violin II, lute and organ) of fifteen sonatas with the title “Sonate a 3 / Violin P° / Di Lelio Colista”. As we can see by the index, most of the sonatas are by Colista, but there are also sonatas by other composers. Sonata No. 8 was initially attributed to Colista, but the name appears to have been scratched out by the copyist with a pen stroke at the top of the corresponding page in each of the separate parts. At the bottom of the first violin part, and in the header of the lute part, is an attribution to “Don Giovanni La Rocca”, added by a different copyist than the one who penned the musical text and wrote the name “Colista”. It is not possible to trace any composer of that name and, judging by the formal structure (three movements respectively in 3/4, 3/2 and 3/4) and from the style of the instrumental writing, we can exclude the attribution to Colista. The name Don Giovanni La Rocca could be traced back to that of the noble d’Alcontres, prince of Messina, to whom the collection of Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Mealli was dedicated, a collection entitled “Sonate, cioè balletti, sara-

21 The index is taken from the first violin part.

22 Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* (see n. 15), p. 99.



bande..." printed in Rome in 1669 by Amedeo Belmonte. But the sonata attested by D-MÜs Hs. 1152 is not part of this collection and, therefore, we can only guess at its true attribution.

The other two sonatas not composed by Colista raise other questions. First, D-MÜs Hs. 1152 contains an error concerning the attribution of the Sonata No. 7, which is indicated as being by "Errigo Butler", which clearly refers to the name (translated into Spanish) of the English composer Henry Butler (c. 1590–1652), who lived in Madrid from 1623 until his death and worked as a violinist at the court of Philip IV.<sup>23</sup> In reality, however, the sonata attested by D-MÜs Hs. 1152 can be attributed to another English composer, Orlando Gibbons. This piece in fact, correspond to the Fantasies No. 5 and No. 8 (both in D minor) by Gibbons copied in the manuscript one after the other. The presence of both Italian and English composers is a feature, as we shall see more broadly later, commonly found in many of the manuscripts containing sonatas by Colista and Lonati. With respect to the other sources of English origin, Hs. 1152, however, contains some *unica*: in addition to sonatas by Colista (WK 17, WK 24 and WK 39), there are in fact the two sonatas attributed respectively to Butler and La Rocca.

The other sonata (divided into two dance movements: Balletto – Corrente) of problematic attribution is found at c. 7<sup>v</sup>, where the barely legible name "Fran[cesco] Ant.[onio] Soprano [??]" appears.

It is difficult fully to understand the origin of this manuscript and the place in which it was copied, although the fact that it belongs to the Santini collection suggests it came from Rome. The analysis of some external features, however, does not reveal more precise details: the music is copied on thick paper with no watermark, but it does contain a countermark, a monogram with the letters "GBD". However, this does not resolve the question of definitively identifying the place in which it was copied.<sup>24</sup> What seems clear in any case is that D-MÜs Hs. 1152 is a collection compiled for the purpose of performance, as demonstrated in the type of writing, the many erasures and corrections, the abundant numbering of the continuo and, not least, the presence in the basso continuo part of optional passages for which there is a proposed harmonic scheme in the bass part, a sort of cadential formulae on which the

23 The music of Butler, one of the earliest English composers, along with William Young, who devoted himself to the sonata genre in England, has come down to us only through handwritten copies. On Butler see Elizabeth V. Phillips, *The Divisions and Sonatas of Henry Butler*, PhD thesis, Washington University 1982.

24 I would like to thank Gertrud Gaukesbrink at the Diözesanbibliothek in Münster for confirming these codicological details related to this manuscript.



performer is asked to improvise. Four of the sonatas by Colista (10 WK, 15 WK, 17 WK, 22 WK), marked on the staff, contain a series of whole notes in the bass clef in which the two violins and the lute would take turns in solo improvisation. These sections are clearly optional (they are marked with the words “*Se piace* (If it pleases)” or “*Solo se piace* (Only if it pleases)” and appear, in most cases, with an asterisk referring to the bottom of the page, to the proposed bass line over which the other instruments may improvise.<sup>25</sup> In some cases (Figure 2), there are also instructions for the order in which the parts may enter.

In addition to D-MÜs Hs. 1152, these passages appear in two sonatas also in the Turin manuscript<sup>26</sup> and, more rarely, as we shall see, in one source preserved in England.<sup>27</sup>

The larger group of sources listed in Table 1 are of English origin. This group includes manuscripts now preserved in London, Oxford, Hamburg, Chicago, Tokyo, and Brussels. Reconstructing the relationship between these sources has proved to be complicated primarily because of the criteria that guided the selection of the sonatas in each manuscript. However, the examination of these sources is of central importance, not only in terms of the attributions and re-attributions to Corelli,<sup>28</sup> but also in enabling us better to understand how the Italian sonata repertoire was transmitted to England.

25 It is a performance practice similar to that reported by André Maugars, viol player and virtuoso. In his account about music in Rome, he describes listening to some music at the Church of San Marcello, one of the church institutions where Colista worked both as an instrumentalist and as a composer of oratorios: “The instrumental music is made up of an organ, a large harpsichord, a lyre, two or three violins and two or three archilutes. Once a violin plays alone with the organ, then another answers; once again all three play different parts. Every once in a while, an archilute plays a thousand variations above ten or twelve notes, each note of five or six bars; then the other plays the same thing, each in a different way”. Jean Lionnet, “André Maugars: risposta data a un curioso sul sentimento della musica d’Italia”, in: *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 19/4 (1985), pp. 681–707: 689.

26 Sonatas 31 WK and 37 WK.

27 The practice of inserting solo passages in the Italian sonata of late Seicento was quite widespread, both in printed and manuscript sources. As regard printed triosonatas see for example the sonata “La Spinola” and “La Balbi” from *Sonate di violino a 1. 2. 3. 4. per chiesa e anco aggiunta per camera*, Op. 1 of Agostino Guerrieri (Venice, 1673). In manuscript sources see the *Sinfonia a 6. Primo Tono* di Vincenzo Albrici (1654), *Sinfonia a 4* di Gustav Duben, the unattributed *Sinfonia a 5*, all preserved at Uppsala Bibliothek and the anonymous *Sinfonia a 7* at Bodleian Library at Oxford (Mus. Sch. D. 260). Eleonor McCrickard, “The Roman repertory for violin before the time of Corelli”, in: *Early Music* 18 (1990), pp. 563–574.

28 Agnese Pavanello, “The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources”, in: *Ad Parnassum. A Journal on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* 26 (2015), pp. 15–44 and Pavanello, “Corelli ‘inedito’” (see n. 14)



Handwritten musical score for the basso continuo part of Sonata 15 WK by Lelio Colista. The manuscript is on aged paper with multiple staves of music. It includes tempo markings like "Allegro", "Largo", and "Canzona Affetto", and performance instructions such as "Solo", "Violino 2o", and "Violino 1o". The notation is in a historical style with various note values and clefs.

Figure 2. Lelio Colista, *Sonata 15 WK*, ms. D-MÜs Hs. 1152, basso continuo part (© Diözesanbibliothek Münster, Santini-Sammlung, Überwasserkirchplatz 2, 48143 Münster).



Within this group of manuscripts, we can identify two related families: the first consists of GB-Lbl Add. 31431, Add. 31436, and Add. 33236, which partially come from the collection of manuscripts probably copied by Francis North, Roger's older brother.<sup>29</sup>

The North family was particularly devoted to the Italian instrumental style as we know, it was Francis North who made the greatest contribution to spreading Italian music throughout London, a move which thereby also challenged the position of French music as the favoured music of English aristocrats.<sup>30</sup> Also important in terms of taste, it should be noted that the manuscripts in question include, for most part, English and Italian sonatas, and particularly Roman, probably copied (judging by the paper and the watermark used) in the decade from 1670 to 1680.<sup>31</sup> Of the three manuscripts mentioned above, the most relevant for the purposes of our discussion is GB-Lbl Add. 33236, which contains five sonatas by Colista and six sonatas by Lonati, as well as instrumental works (mostly sonatas) by Purcell, Lock, Blow, and other Italian composers such as Matteis, Draghi and Corelli. Of works by Corelli, all the sonatas of Op. 1 and Sonata Wo05 are present. The manuscript may have been compiled in the early years of the decade 1680–1690, at least according to the paper and type of watermark which were in widespread use in England between 1679 and 1683.<sup>32</sup>

29 On Roger North see *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written during the Years c.1695–1728*, ed. by John Wilson, London 1959.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 25 and Min-Jung Kang, *The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)*, PhD thesis, University of Leeds 2008, pp. 44–45. Also John Jenkins plays a very important role in the diffusion of Italian music in England. On Jenkins see Peter Holman, "Suites by Jenkins rediscovered", in: *Early Music* 6 (1978), pp. 25–35.

31 GB-Lbl Add. 31435 which contains sonatas by Colista and William Young appears to be closely related to these three manuscripts as regards the paper and the copyist's hand. The manuscript contains only the violin and melodic bass parts, suggesting that, in the case of Colista, these could be duo sonatas (Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* [see n. 15], p. 95). Recently it has been suggested (Kang, *The Trio Sonata* [see n. 30] and *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, compiled by Andrew Ashbee, Robert P. Thompson, Jonathan P. Wainwright, 2 vols., Aldershot 2001, vol. II, pp. 112–116) that it is actually of trio sonatas, missing the basso continuo part. The annotation at c. 35 "Bass/Exam: by Mr. Purcells score books", suggests that these pieces were collected to be performed in Purcell's circle. On this manuscript see Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*, Woodbridge 2010, pp. 59–60.

32 "The watermark, a Strasbourg bend with the initials of 'Abraham Janssen' beneath the Etienne Touzeau indicates that the paper was obtained between 1679–1683". See Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts. The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge 2000, p. 109, which may be also be consulted for a detailed description of the manuscript.



In the other manuscripts (GB-Lbl Add. 31431 and Gb-Lbl Add. 31436), the sonatas by Colista are gathered together in manuscript copies of Italian sonatas that had already appeared in print (above all Legrenzi and Vitali). This is particularly the case with GB-Lbl Add. 31431, a miscellaneous collection of seventeenth-century English repertoire and a group of 22 *Italian sonatas* that includes two sonatas by Colista as well as printed sonatas taken from Op. 2 by Legrenzi and Op. 2 and 5 by Vitali.<sup>33</sup>

The second family of manuscripts of English origin includes sources preserved in Oxford, in which we see the hand of the copyist James Sherard, amateur violinist and composer.<sup>34</sup> Sherard was the copyist of various manuscripts now preserved in the Bodleian Library, including those of greatest interest here: GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 254, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 255 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256. These manuscripts contain Roman sonatas such as those in GB Mus. Sch. d. 256 which lists sonatas only by Colista and Lonati (Table 6). It is very likely that James Sherard came into contact with music purchased in Italy (Venice, Bologna, Rome) via Lord Tavistock during his Grand Tour, in addition to which there was also James's brother, William Sherard.<sup>35</sup>

Another important source now preserved in Oxford, is the GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 which contains 49 trio sonatas in separate parts, copied at different times in the decade 1676–1686. In this source, there are sonatas by Colista, Lonati and Corelli, as well as some by English composers, particularly Purcell.<sup>36</sup> GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 is closely related to both GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256 (Table 6) and GB-Lbl Add. 33236. Depending on the type of paper and the watermark used, these manuscripts can be approximately dated to the decade of 1680–1690 and were all copied by Sherard.<sup>37</sup> Also, and this is something quite significant, they contain a compact series of sonatas, often set out in the same order as well.

33 Another section of the manuscript also lists the sonatas of Op. 18 by Maurizio Cazzati.

34 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. On James Sherard see Michael Tilmouth, "James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer", *Music & Letters* 47 (1966), pp. 313–322 and Holman, *Life after Death* (see. n. 32).

35 Kang, *The Trio Sonata* (see. n. 31), pp. 57–59.

36 For a detailed description of contents see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (see n. 32), p. 111.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 111 and p. 117.



Table 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Sch. d. 256: contents.<sup>38</sup>

Folios	Composer / Work
fol. 3v–4r	Lonati, A6
fol. 4v–5r	Colista, 22 WK
fol. 5v–6r	Lonati, A3
fol. 6v–7r	Lonati, A4
fol. 7v–8r	Lonati, A8
fol. 8v–9r	Lonati, A2
fol. 9v	Colista, 10 WK
fol. 10r	Colista, 15 WK
fol. 10v–11r	Lonati, A1
fol. 11v–12r	Colista, 33 WK

Table 7. Order<sup>39</sup> of the sonatas by Colista and Lonati in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256, Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 and GB-lbl Add. 332236.

Composer	Ms. Sch. d. 256	Mus. Sch. e. 400–403	Add. 33236
LONATI	A6	A6	A6
COLISTA	22 WK	33 WK	22 WK
LONATI	A3	A4	A3
LONATI	A4	22 WK	A4
LONATI	A8	A2	A8
LONATI	A2	A8	A2
COLISTA	10 WK	A3	15 WK
COLISTA	15 WK	A1	10 WK
LONATI	A1	16 WK	A1
COLISTA	33 WK		33 WK
			16 WK

The three manuscripts also share some significant errors: the erroneous attribution to Colista of sonatas by Lonati, the omission of the last two movements of the Sonata A6 by Lonati and, with respect to what is attested by I-Tn Giordano 15, a passage of the Sonata A2 by Lonati which is transposed one octave down, in order to avoid a high-position in the first violin part.<sup>40</sup>

38 The index is taken from the first violin part. In Sonata 15 WK by Colista and Sonata A4 by Lonati, the melodic bass part is lacking.

39 The index is taken from the first violin part.

40 For other details related to the presence of relationships between the three manuscripts, in particular, as regards the relationship of GB-Lbl Add. 332236 with GB-Ob Mus. Sch. D. 256 refer to D'Ovidio, *Alle soglie dello strumentalismo corelliano* (see n. 7).



Example 1. Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, Sonata A2, II mov., meas. 22–25, vl. I e vl. II.

a)

b)

Also related to the manuscript GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 is the manuscript J-T N 2/15 preserved at the Nanki Library in Tokyo. It is a miscellaneous source consisting of two folios of separate parts (second violin and bass) containing sonatas by Italian (Colista, Lonati, Corelli, Vitali, Matteis, Draghi) and English composers (Purcell, Blow). Inside the manuscript are the recognisable hands of two copyists, one of which is the compiler part of GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 and can therefore be attributed to a copyist in James Sherard's circle.<sup>41</sup>

It is clear that the manuscript GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 circulated widely in England. In addition to the three sources mentioned above (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 256, GB-Lbl Add. 33236, J-Tn N 2/15), it is closely related to two other manuscripts, again preserved in Oxford (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d. 249 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. d 254) and with a manuscript currently preserved in Chicago (US-Cu Ms 959). This latter manuscript is particularly relevant to our discussion. It consists of four folios (violin I, violin II, lute and organ) and includes a total of 74 trio sonatas by some English composers (Purcell, Poole, Finger) but primarily by Italian, especially Roman composers (Colista, Lonati, Mannelli, Boccaletti). The calligraphy – the care taken in writing out the Tabula in the first violin part, where the sonatas are listed consecutively with the title and the relative key, the presence in each of the four volumes of an ornate frontispiece for Op. 1 of Corelli – suggests that it is a copy created for collection purposes.<sup>42</sup>

41 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (see n. 32), pp. 114–115 and *Directory of Music Research Library*, IV, ed. by R. Benton, Kassel 1979, pp. 138–140.

42 For a description of the manuscript and for the detailed see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (see n. 32), p. 111 (Table 3.10).



US-Cu MS 959 contains the Op. 1 and Op. 3 of Corelli, as well as three of his sonatas not found in printed collections<sup>43</sup> and three sonatas attributed to Colista ("L. Calista"). Of these, one (No. 25) is in fact by Lonati (A4), and one (No. 17) is the seventh Sonata of Op. 5 by Giovanni Battista Vitali. The third (No. 20) presents further problems of attribution. Although attributed to Colista in Ms 959 (with the indication "L. Calista"), it is also found in GB-Ob Mus. Sch.d. 249 (c. 171<sup>v</sup>) with the title *La Rospa a 3* and by GB-Ob Mus. Sch.d 254 (cc. 23<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>) with no indication of the author. The same sonata – added by H.J. Marx between the doubtful works of the composer of Fusignano (Ahn. 16)<sup>44</sup> – is attributed to Corelli in GB-Lbl Add. 33236, GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 and in the manuscript recently found and reported by Patxi Del Amo preserved in Brussels (B-Bc Ms. Litt. XY 24910).<sup>45</sup> However, if the attribution to Corelli appears dubious, the attribution to Colista is also problematic, and could be debated on the basis of style alone. Compared to the other sonatas by Colista, the distinctive features of this sonata would exclude the Roman lute player as its author. The formal structure (Vivace; Adagio-Allegro; Adagio-Allegro) does not conform to the structure used in most of his other sonatas. No sonata by Colista, for example, opens with a fugal movement, which instead typically occupies the penultimate position;<sup>46</sup> nor do we ever find a tempo indication of "Vivace", nor is the idiomatic style of writing for violin offered by the sonata in question similar to the composer's.<sup>47</sup>

43 For a discussion on the attribution of these sonatas to Corelli, see Pavanello, "Corelli 'inedito'" (see n. 14).

44 Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis* (see n. 17), pp. 237–238.

45 In this manuscript there are also "sonatas & Ayrs" by "Carlo Ambrogia [sic]", probably attributable to Lonati. Patxi Del Amo, "A Fresh Look at B-Bc, MS Litt. XY 24910", *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 5 (2011), pp. 14–23: 20.

46 The only sonata where this happens is 33 WK, which, not coincidentally, was also considered doubtful by Allsop, "Problems of Ascription" (see n. 18).

47 The case of the conflicting attribution of the triosonata Ahn. 16 will be deeply examined in a my forthcoming article.



## Dissemination as a cultural space

Based on what has been attested above, the dissemination of manuscript sources of these sonatas, combined with the analysis of their most important features,<sup>48</sup> make it possible, first of all, to emphasize once again the persistent presence of Roman trio sonatas in England, especially those by Lelio Colista.<sup>49</sup> The fame that Colista achieved in Rome, to the point that he was celebrated by the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher as “truly the Orpheus of the city of Rome”<sup>50</sup> evidently far transcended Italian boundaries and paved the way for the diffusion of sonatas by the young Corelli. As has been noted, in fact, the surviving English sources of Colista’s trio sonatas particularly attest also Op. 1 and other sonatas by Corelli, not included in printed collections and that were presumably compiled in the early years of his career in Rome.<sup>51</sup> In England Colista’s fame was particularly persistent when one considers that, even in 1708 (Colista had already been dead for 28 years), 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”.<sup>52</sup> The name of the Roman composer and lutenist should therefore be joined willingly to that of Nicola Matteis, who usually, on the basis of what has been previously

48 For a detailed description and analysis, refer to D'Ovidio, *Alle soglie dello strumentalismo corelliano* (see n. 7), Pavanello, “Corelli ‘inedito’” (see n. 14).

49 See for example Owain Edwards, “The Response to Corelli’s Music in Eighteenth Century England”, in: *Studia musicologica norvegica* 2 (1976), pp. 51–96; Denis Arnold, “The Corellian Cult in England”, in: *Nuovi studi corelliani. Atti del secondo congresso internazionale, Fusignano, 5–8 settembre 1974*, ed. by Giulia Giachin, Florence 1978 (= Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 4), pp. 81–89; Margaret Mabbet, “Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–1690)”, in: *Music & Letters* 67 (1986), pp. 237–247; Graham Dixon, “Purcell’s Italianate Circle”, in: *The Purcell Companion*, ed. by Michael Burden, London 1995, pp. 38–51; Lynette Bowring, “‘The Coming Over of the Works of the Great Corelli’: The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London 1675–1705”, in: *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. by Andrew Cheetham, Joseph Knowles, and Jonathan Wainwright, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, pp. 181–212.

50 “vere Romanae Urbis Orpheus”. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rome, Ex Typographia Haeredum Francisci Corbelleti, 1650, p. 480.

51 Pavanello, “Corelli ‘inedito’” (see n. 14).

52 Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* (see n. 15), p. 81 but also Michael Tilmouth, “Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)”, in: *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 1 (1961), pp. 1–107.



attested by Roger North, allows one to trace the arrival of Italian music in London.<sup>53</sup>

As well as being an appreciated lutenist and composer, Lelio Colista also enjoyed the respect of the aristocracy in Rome. His family had always maintained good relations with some of the most illustrious Roman families,<sup>54</sup> contacts that Lelio, who trained at a Jesuit college,<sup>55</sup> maintained. They probably played a significant contributing role in his rise in the competitive Roman music environment. In 1656, his name appeared among the twenty-two *scudieri* in the family of Pope Alexander VII, with the pay of 4 and a half scudi per month. Three years later he was given the post of *stilus curiae romanae* and in 1660 he also took the position of “custodian of the paintings of the papal chapel”. In 1664, the Roman composer was called to be part (along with the younger Bernardo Pasquini and Pietro Paolo Cappellini) of the retinue of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, who was sent by Alexander VII to the court of the Sun King to resolve the delicate diplomatic issue of the “corsican guard affair”.<sup>56</sup> The

53 According to the English historian it was basically two circumstances “which concurred to convert the English Musik entirely over from the French to the Italianate taste. One was the coming over of old Nicholai Matteis [...]. The other circumstance I hinted, was the numerous traine of young travellers of the best quality and estates, that about this time went over into Italy and resided at Rome and Venice where they heard the best musick and learnt of the best Masters; and as they went out with a favour derived from old Nichola, they came home confirmed in the love of the Italian manner, and some contracted no little skill and proved exquisite performers”. *Roger North on Music* (see n. 29), pp. 307–308. On this topic, see also Peter Walls, “The Influence of the Italian Violin School in Seventeenth-century England”, in: *Early Music* 18 (1990), pp. 575–587. Specifically on Nicola Matteis see Simon Jones, “The Legacy of the ‘Stupendious’ Nicola Matteis”, in: *Early Music* 29 (2001), pp. 553–568.

54 The father of Lelio Colista had excellent contacts with the Barberini family and had held important positions: not only, in fact, had he been part of the Pope’s family, but he was also appointed scriptor of the Vatican Library and “riformatore” of the Sapienza.

55 Significant in this regard is the presence of the young Lelio in 1638 (just nine years old), with his brother Carlo Urbano at the Teatro Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, on the occasion of the performance of *La pazzia di Orlando*, organized by Cardinal Francesco Barberini on a text by Giulio Rospigliosi. The news is reported in Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*, New Haven 1994.

56 On the musical aspects of the trip to France, see Jean Lionnet, “Les événements musicaux de la légation du Cardinal Flavio Chigi en France, été 1664”, in: *Studi musicali* 25 (1996), pp. 127–153 and D’Ovidio, “Una delle più alte e artificiose coglionature che siano uscite dall’accortezza di questa corte’: il primato culturale della Roma alessandrina nel viaggio diplomatico di Flavio Chigi in Francia (1664)”, unpublished paper presented at the conference *Early Modern Rome 3*, Rome, University of California, 11th October 2013.



trip helped to spread Colista's fame in France as well, where his music was appreciated, confirmation of which is suggested by the presence of his compositions in contemporary manuscripts related to the trip in question.<sup>57</sup> It is plausible to think that Colista, during his service at the court of Flavio Chigi (being responsible for managing all the court's musical activities) also had regular relationships with foreign aristocracy or prelates, often in the role of lute master,<sup>58</sup> as well as a performer at concerts and musical academies.<sup>59</sup> In this context, it is worth pointing out, for example, the testimonial of the British diplomat Sir Robert Southwell, close friend of Athanasius Kircher, who in January 17, 1661, heard playing in Rome "theorbo man Lelio Colista rare volenteryes".<sup>60</sup>

The fact that Colista's music was transcribed, performed, as well as studied as a model of Italian taste is confirmed by another English manuscript preserved in Oxford which has received little consideration in

57 The presence of some compositions by Colista in two French manuscripts should probably be connected to the trip to France. In one case, there are six guitar pieces attributed to "Lelio" in a manuscript in French tablature (B-Bc, Ms. 5615) that is a collection of "pièces [...] des meilleurs maîtres du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" and compositions containing, among others, Nicolas Derosiers, Jacques de Saint-Luc, Robert de Visée, Gaspar Sanz, Giovanni Battista Granata and Francesco Corbetta. In the other, it is a manuscript of cantatas entitled *Airs italiens a 3 voix* (F-Bn, Vm7.18) that collects three cantatas by Colista, one by Carissimi and two by Charpentier. On this manuscript see Catherine Cessac, "Airs italiens à 3 voix: A Recently Identified Autograph Manuscript of Charpentier", in: *Early Music* 45 (2017), pp. 1–15.

58 Again on the trip to France, for example, we can trace back the friendship of Colista with Claude Nicaise, canon of the cathedral of Dijon, who was in Rome in 1665. This trace of this bond is in a handwritten letter dated September 14, 1666, in which Colista writes from Rome to answer Nicaise, who had asked the composer to intercede for him with Flavio Chigi. From the letter we learn that Colista was Nicaise's lute teacher. The letter is published in Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* (see n. 15), pp. 50–51. See also Albert Cohen, "The Ouvrard-Nicaise Correspondance (1663–1693)", in: *Music & Letters* 56 (1975), pp. 356–363.

59 On this, see the important testimony of the Spanish guitar virtuoso Gaspar Sanz (*Instrucción de musica sobre la guitarra espanola*, 1674), indicating Colista as an ideal model of improvisation "[...] y si alguno desea adelantarse, y saber puntear bien la guitarra, le darè las reglas mas principales que vson los mejores maestros de Roma, que por averlos praticado, y concurrido con ellos, en muchas academias, las aprendi de todos, y en particular de Lelio Colista, Orfeo de estos tiempos, de cuyos insonoro cristal que pudo mi corta capacidad", cited in Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* (see n. 15), p. 9. Another testimonial comes thanks to the pen of Athanasius Kircher who reported in his *Itinerarium exstaticum* having witnessed the performance in Rome of a "symphonia" performed by Michelangelo Rossi, Lelio Colista and Salvatore Mazzella. Athanasius Kircher, *Itinerarium exstaticum*, Rome 1653, cited in Wessely-Kropik, *Lelio Colista* (see n. 15), pp. 26–27. The three composers are cited in a footnote to the text by the same Kircher.

60 Jonathan Keates, *Purcell: A biography*, Boston 1995, p. 92.



studies on the trio sonata probably because of its fragmentary state. It is a handwritten source (GB-Och, Mus. 1126) consisting of scattered sheets of various sizes, bound individually into a single volume. The volume contains eight of Colista's trio sonatas and other anonymous sonatas. The codex is compiled according to criteria that would now be very difficult to reconstruct: it 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. The index at the beginning of the manuscript assigns some of these fragments to "Calista" [sic] while others are anonymous.

Table 8. Oxford, Library of Christ Church, Ms. 1126: contents.

Folios <sup>61</sup>	Ascription	Sonata WK	Fragments
1	<i>Lelio Calista / Sonata 11th. N° 1</i>	37	Only I mov. (score)
2r	<i>Lelio Colista. N° 2</i>	27	IV and V mov. (score)
2*r	<i>Continues from p. 2</i>	27	end of the V mov.
3r	<i>N. 3</i>	25	III mov. (score)
	<i>Sonata Quarta</i>	28	I mov. (score)
3v	—	25	I mov. (score)
	—	25	Fragments of the II and III mov. (score)
3*	<i>Lelio Calista. p. 5. Sonata prima</i>	16	IV mov. (score) Fragments of the I, III e V mov. (score)
3*v	<i>Sonata quinta</i>	22	Beginning of the I and last part of V mov.
4*r	<i>Sonata Quinta. Lelio Calista</i>	22	Only basso continuo part
	<i>Sonata Sesta. Lelio Calista</i>	27	Only basso continuo part up to meas. 47
4*v (K = 4av)	<i>Sonata Quarta</i>	25 + 28	End of the Basso continuo part of Sonata 25 WK and complete basso continuo part of Sonata 28 WK
5r	<i>Lelio Colista. Sonata Prima.</i>	16	Basso continuo part
	<i>Sonata seconda</i>	12	Basso continuo part
5v	—	12	Basso continuo part (only final measures of the sonata)
	<i>Sonata Terza</i>	25	Beginning of basso continuo part (the end in 4*v)

61 The asterisk indicates parts of folios inserted between right-end and left hand of the page.



In all, we can distinguish eight sonatas that are in the Wessely-Kropik catalogue at numbers 12, 16, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29 and 37. Of all the English sources, GB-Och, Mus. 1126 clearly belongs to a branch of the tradition other than that formed by GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403, GB-Lbl Add. 33236 and US-Cu Ms 959. Apart from the presence of two sonatas by Colista, the 22 WK and 16 WK, the remaining six compositions attested by GB-Och, Mus. 1126 are found in no other English sources. Of these six, moreover, the presence of two *unica* (Sonata 12 WK and Sonata 29 WK, both incomplete) suggests that the antigraph from which GB-Och, Mus. 1126 was created was different from that of GB-Ob Mus. Sch. 256 and GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403. This is also confirmed by the fact that Sonata WK 16, in the form attested by GB-Och, Mus. 1126, is different in a significant way. Before the *Canzona*, we find six bars in C marked by the word *Riposte* (sic) which can be considered a cadential formula, with each bar consisting of a whole note. This passage very closely recalls some passages found in other sonatas attested by the manuscripts D-MÜs Sant. Hs. 1152 and I-Tn, Giordano 15 of Roman origin. It is difficult to formulate a valid interpretation that allows one to clarify unequivocally the meaning of this indication. The word *Riposta* in the *Dictionnaire de musique* by Sebastien de Brossard interprets this term as a synonym for “fugue”, “c’est ce que nous avons expliqué aux mots Reditta, Fugua”.<sup>62</sup> In fact, analogously to what was in the manuscript D-MÜs Sant. Hs. 1152 and I-Tn Giordano 15, here the term seems to refer instead to the fact that the three instruments are to improvise on the same bass pattern in turns, so that each instrument ‘answers’ the other, thus creating an ‘echo effect’. In this manuscript, the different fragments, often as brief as just four bars, are written on a score of three staves, while other sheets contain only a basso continuo part. The copyist may have been misled by the fact that, in the early sonatas, the melodic bass and basso continuo parts are in fact identical. Consequently, they could be copied onto a single line. As the copyist proceeded, however, it must have emerged that in many cases the part of the melodic bass differed from that of the basso continuo, especially in the fugue movements where they intersect with the imitation game between Violin I and Violin II. To remedy this error, he must have then copied the melodic bass part separately on the side with the annotation: “viol. The parts in another paper”. This explains the presence in the manuscript of some fragments in the score and a part for the melodic bass.<sup>63</sup> The features now shown, and the logic used to

62 Sebastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Amsterdam 1964 (repr. from orig., Paris 1703).

63 Allsop, “Problems of Ascription” (see n. 18).



compile the codex, seem to indicate that the copyist wanted to prepare a kind of repertoire or thematic catalogue of some sonatas by Colista, or to write down the most important passages, those most worth studying imitation. This type of manuscript provides a glimpse into how the wide dissemination of handwritten Roman trio sonatas in England encouraged the assimilation of the Italian sonata style.<sup>64</sup>

Faithful to a musical tradition that glorified the sixteenth-century polyphonic tradition and the central role of counterpoint, English composers of the time found in Colista's sonatas an excellent model for combining their own musical taste with the Italian sonata style. Colista's trio sonatas are characterized by a less idiomatic and less virtuosic writing style compared to that of other violinists-composers, such as Lonati.<sup>65</sup> At the same time, his works made the elaboration of counterpoint a fundamental element of the instrumental language.<sup>66</sup>

In any case, beyond the fame of Colista, which certainly must have contributed significantly to the spread of his sonatas, there may have been many other channels of distribution through which the Roman trio sonata reached London. There have also been many hypotheses put forward, also taking into account factors related to *patronage* by major political figures and the cultural and political tie between the papal

64 In this regard, many other sources can be cited. One important source is a composition by Robert King (1660?–1736) *Sonetta after the Italian way* (c.1680) attested by the manuscript GB-Ob. Ms. Sch. E. 442–446 where there is clear evidence of the construction of a fugue movement on the model of sonatas by Colista and Lonati. Another example is the sonata by John Blow attested by GB-Lbl Add. 33236, along with sonatas of the two Roman composers, in which the subject of the fugue movement very closely recalls those used by Lonati. See Bowring “The Coming Over of the Works of the Great Corelli” (see n. 49), pp. 184–185.

65 It is known that Purcell in his revision of John Playford, *Introduction to the skill of music*, 12th edition, London 1694, p. 194, cited a passage of a sonata by Lonati, however attributing it to Colista. In any case, it is confirmed that Purcell was interested mainly on concentrating on the contrapuntal process rather than on the violin writing.

66 More precisely, Colista's position in the Roman musical scene assumes the features of a balance between ‘old’ and ‘modern’ in which an assimilation of instrumental models of the early seventeenth century is essential (particularly the *canzona da sonar*). These models are reinterpreted according to the needs of the ‘modern’ trio sonata writing. On these topics, see Antonella D'Ovidio, “Colista, Lonati, Stradella: modelli compositivi della sonata a tre a Roma prima di Corelli”, in: *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica. Nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi, Fuisignano, 11–14 settembre 2003*, ed. by Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, Stefano La Via, 2 vols., Florence 2007 (= *Historiae Musicae Cultores* 111), pp. 271–303: 297–298.



city and English court: in this regard, there are, respectively, Mary of Modena, wife of James II and Christina of Sweden, who from Rome had formed some very strong ties with the English court. And we must not forget the likelihood that many of these manuscripts reached the English coast in the luggage of diplomats, travellers, musicians, collectors, and enthusiasts who, during the Grand Tour, collected music to bring from their own country to perform, collect, sell, and study.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, today it is difficult to reconstruct with any certainty the main routes travelled by these handwritten volumes, although a careful analysis of the ways in which they were circulated can provide significant traces.

The manuscript GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403, as we have seen one of the most important of the traditional English branch, bears the ex-libris of Richard Rawlinson, collector and music lover who, after having resided in France from 1719, travelled extensively throughout Europe, collecting and copying music manuscripts. Some volumes from his collection are directly connected to the musical repertoire that was performed at the court of Mary of Modena, wife of James II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in France, where from 1689, the British royal family of Stuart lived in exile. The court in exile in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, became an important centre for the dissemination of Italian music in France.<sup>68</sup> A significant contribution, in this sense, was made by Mary of Modena, who surrounded herself with many important musicians led by the Italian *maestro di cappella*, Innocenzo Fede. The research by Edward Corp, a scholar who has dedicated many works to the musical taste of the Stuart court, has effectively demonstrated that GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 400–403 was most probably compiled for the musical repertoire of the English Catholic court of James II at Whitehall and later brought to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where it was then bought by Rawlinson.

Closely related to this manuscript from Oxford is the manuscript US-Cu Ms 959, presently preserved at the University of Chicago (John Regenstein Library), where one can see the hand of at least six copyists.<sup>69</sup> Indicative in this source, as it has already been said, is the predominant presence of trio sonatas by Roman composers. The manuscript lists a

67 Bryan White, "A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends': The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s", in: *Music in the British Provinces 1690–1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, Aldershot 2007, pp. 1–44: 18.

68 Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, Cambridge 2004.

69 Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (see n. 32), pp. 119–120. The analysis conducted on the watermark by Shay and Thompson can trace the codex's English origin. The same watermark is also present in GB-Lbl Add. 33236 and Mus. Sch. e. 400–403.



sonata by Ippolito Boccaletti not in the collection of trio sonatas printed in Venice in 1692 (*Sonate a tre*, Op. 1) and dedicated to his Roman patron Don Livio Odescalchi, at the court where Lelio Colista was employed in the last years of his life. There is very little information currently available on the biography of Boccaletti. The name of the composer who calls himself “Roman” in the title of his printed collection recurs frequently in the documents relating to the Academy of Santa Cecilia, at least from 1684.<sup>70</sup> In the records of the brotherhood, Boccaletti is listed as “professor of violin”, but only in the year 1687. It has been suggested that he was a pupil of Corelli. In fact, both the sonata in this manuscript, as well as the sonatas of his Op. 1 – whose first five sonatas are in exactly the same sequence of keys as that of Op. 3 by the composer of Fusignano – lead us to suppose extreme fidelity to the Corellian model. It might just be the perfect alignment with Corelli’s style of composition that justifies the choice of a sonata in this manuscript collection.

In the archives of the Academy of Santa Cecilia, the name Boccaletti frequently occurs together with that of Carlo Mannelli, a composer who maintained a very close relationship with the Cecilian brotherhood, to the point of making the brotherhood heir to all his property.<sup>71</sup> In the manuscript US-Cu Ms 959 the presence of the sonata by Carlo Mannelli entitled *La Fede* is particularly significant. This is a manuscript copy taken from his collection of Op. 2 printed in Rome in 1682 and dedicated to Benedetto Pamphili. The title of the sonata clearly refers to one of the Fede family members with whom Mannelli shared, among other things, the city of origin, as both families were originally from Pistoia, a small town near Florence. The title possibly alludes to one of the two famous castratos, Giuseppe or Francesco Maria Fede. However, it more likely refers to Innocenzo,<sup>72</sup> who was known to have been at the court of James II as *maestro di cappella*, between the end of 1686 (probably December) and 1688, first at Whitehall, then in later years at Saint Germain-en Laye.<sup>73</sup> According to current sources and scholarship, it is difficult to determine

70 His name appears for the first time July 5, 1685.

71 Antonella D’Ovidio, “‘Sonate a tre d’altri stili’. Carlo Mannelli violinista nella Roma di fine Seicento”, in: *Recercare* 19 (2007), pp. 147–203.

72 Corp believes it more likely that the title of the sonata alludes to Giuseppe Fede, uncle of Innocenzo. See Edward Corp, “The Musical Manuscripts of ‘Copiste Z’: David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye”, in: *Revue de Musicologie* 84 (1998), pp. 37–61: 58. By Corp see also “The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712”, in: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995), pp. 216–231.

73 Jean Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique à la cour des Jacobites à Saint-Germain-en-Laye”, in: *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 46 (1992), (special number devoted to ‘Les Jacobites’), pp. 14–18.



not only the exact date on which the composer was engaged, but also the channels through which Innocenzo established contact with the English court. As Edward Corp claims, it is possible that John Caryl, an English ambassador in Rome, played a major role in this. Or an equally important role was played by the British Ambassador in Rome, Roger Palmer, Earl of Castelmaine, who was dispatched to the papal city by James II to strengthen relations with the Holy See and announce the return of the English monarchy to Catholicism. Castelmaine reached Rome on April 13, 1686, and chose to make his residence at Palazzo Pamphili in Piazza Navona, the same square that overlooked the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.<sup>74</sup> Before arriving in London, Fede was chapel master in this same church from July 1684, although his name appears on the lists of musicians active in this church since 1679. When the musical chapel of San Giacomo was dismissed in June 1686, Castelmaine had only two months prior taken up residence in Piazza Navona. This fact, which certainly cannot be ignored, led Peter Leech to conclude that "Fede's appearance in London, just six months after his retrenchment from a church sitting directly opposite the Castelmaine Embassy, must surely have been more than just a coincidence".<sup>75</sup> In fact, the presence of Carlo Mannelli among those composers included in US-Cu MS 959 again refers to the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. Here, the presence of the composer is registered in the list of violinists since 1674, along with that of Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Giacomo Branca. Furthermore, in September 1686, just before Innocenzo Fede left Rome for London, Mannelli took part in a performance of the *Te Deum* to celebrate the capture of Buda, under the direction of Innocenzo Fede.<sup>76</sup> These details,

74 Peter Leech, "Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686-1688", in: *Early Music* 39 (2011), pp. 379-400: 389-390. To celebrate the arrival of the English ambassador Castelmaine in Rome, Queen Christina of Sweden in February 1687 sponsored an 'accademia per musica' conducted by Arcangelo Corelli with music by Bernardo Pasquini and text by Alessandro Guidi. See Adriano Cavicchi, "Corelli e il violinismo Bolognese", in: *Studi Corelliani. Atti del primo congresso internazionale, Fusignano, 5-8 settembre 1968*, ed. by Adriano Cavicchi, Oscar Mischiati, Pierluigi Petrobelli, Florence 1972 (= Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 3), pp. 33-47.

75 Leech, "Music and Musicians" (see n. 74), p. 390.

76 Jean Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle et les archives de la Congrégation des Espagnols de Rome", in: *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 giugno 1992*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, Vera Vita Spagnuolo, Lucca 1994, pp. 491-493. See also Antonella D'Ovidio, "Mannelli, Carlo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 69, Rome 2007. On the figure of Innocenzo Fede, see Nicholas Ezra Field, *Outlandish Authors: Innocenzo Fede and Musical Patronage at the Stuart Court in London and in Exile*, PhD thesis, University of Michigan 2013.



aside from the fact that the trio sonatas of Boccaletti and Mannelli have never been found in other English sources, allow us to see the role that Innocenzo Fede could have played in selecting the sonatas contained in US-Cu Ms 959. Although this manuscript contains virtually no sonata attributed with certainty to Colista, as has been previously been stated, the recurrence of names strongly linked to the musical environment of the papal city confirm the existence within the court of James II and Mary of Modena of an exquisitely Roman musical taste. Importing typically 'Roman' musical models, after all, fits perfectly with an operation of cultural assimilation of the Catholic court of James II at the papal court, something that is also evident in the polychoral Roman repertoire that was imported and performed in Whitehall.<sup>77</sup> Also, it is not to be ruled out that those who selected the sonatas to be included in US-Cu Ms 959 intended to pay homage to the same Mary of Modena, bringing together sonatas by composers from Bologna-Modena (Bassani and Vitali) with those of some of the most famous musicians from Rome (Corelli, Colista, Marinelli, Boccaletti): cities that, in the eyes of the English court, stood as political and aesthetic models. The compilation of this manuscript, as Edward Corp has pointed out, occurred at two different times and places: first in Whitehall and then, as suggested by the presence of Op. 3 by Corelli, published in 1689 and copied by the hand of a different copyist in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>78</sup> With the sonatas by the leading representatives of the Roman instrumental style, the trio sonatas of Gottfried Finger and Johann Philipp Krieger are also included in the final part of the manuscript. A Moravian composer, Gottfried Finger, was in the service of the Stuart court probably starting in December of 1686. It was precisely to James II that Finger dedicated in 1688 the collection entitled *Sonatae XII pro Diversis instrumentis*, from which the US-Cu MS 959 lists four sonatas.<sup>79</sup> In the same year that Finger's Op. 1 was published, we can trace the dates of the trio sonatas of Op. 1 by the German composer Johann Philipp Krieger, whose presence in this manuscript can also be explained by the contacts the composer maintained with Roman musical circles during

77 Leech, "Music and Musicians" (see n. 74).

78 Corp, "The Musical Manuscripts of 'Copiste Z'" (see n. 72), pp. 57–58. Corp identifies in the manuscript the hands of six different copyists. Shay and Thompson instead found seven copyists. Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts* (see n. 32), p. 110 (Table 3.12).

79 On the figure of Finger, see Robert G. Rawson, *From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655–1730)*, PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London 2002. Besides the four sonatas of Op. 1, US-Cu Ms 959 also contains three sonatas from Finger's Op. 5 (1710).



his trip to Italy in the years 1673–1674.<sup>80</sup> The manuscript examined here exemplifies what could very well be, for late seventeenth-century Europe, some of the criteria that governed the selection of authors and compositions, the ways in which Roman trio sonatas circulated, the process of assimilation between the Roman instrumental style and the English instrumental taste.

The observations proposed to this point emphasize the extent to which the Roman trio sonata circulated, and how its circulation should be viewed as an integral part of its history. If the exclusive manuscript tradition has somewhat obscured this repertoire in comparison to that handed down by the established and well-documented tradition of printing, the Roman trio sonata of the mid-seventeenth century nevertheless played a central role in spreading the Italian instrumental style abroad. Furthermore, the circulation of these manuscripts makes it possible to emphasize the network of relationships created by their reception and diffusion between Italy, England and France. In their spatial distribution, in their dissemination, in the way in which they were transmitted, and in the connections established between them, these manuscripts create a space which is both geographical and imaginative, in which factors related to taste, to the exchange of diverse musical experiences, and to the requirements of the patrons, intersected one other.

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80 In Rome, Krieger was a pupil of Antonio Maria Abbatini, who organized music academies at his home, and in which Lelio Colista also regularly took part. During his years in Rome Krieger also had Bernardo Pasquini as a harpsichord teacher, another musician connected to both Lelio Colista and Carlo Mannelli. In the Holy Year 1675, for example, Pasquini, with Colista and Mannelli was part of the 'concertino' formed for the performance of fourteen oratorios at the Compagnia della Pietà in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.