

**DOMENICO SCARLATTI: A CONTRIBUTION TO OUR
UNDERSTANDING OF HIS SONATAS THROUGH
PERFORMANCE AND RESEARCH**

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

30 June 2006

Declaration

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

(Signed):

*Dedicated to John,
who has heard it all before,
and to Arianna,
who at the age of four has wondered aloud
why everyone needs a doctorate.*

Preface

This dissertation started from the point of view of a harpsichordist wondering whether the piano played any part in Scarlatti's music. I was also interested in looking at the organ as, strangely, scholars had seemed uninterested in it despite the twenty-eight years spanning Scarlatti's employment as a church musician.

The discovery of the octave displacements in the 1742 Venice manuscript was an unexpected find that led to a new investigation. And the study of temperament, which commenced with an investigation into what sonatas could be played on instruments tuned to various forms of meantone temperament, blossomed in unexpected ways as I experienced parallels to the rhetorical intent of the music.

Over the last six years changes of emphasis and direction occurred not only within my work but also in the outside world. Perhaps this was due to a shared deadline of the forthcoming 2007 Scarlatti anniversary. Research and recording activity has increased in response to the work of historical piano builders Kerstin Schwarz, David Sutherland and Denzil Wraight. Without any knowledge of the abilities of the early piano, research in this area was all but stranded. Their work has shown us that the Cristofori piano can do justice to the music of Scarlatti in a way that was previously unimaginable, particularly in the light of Kirkpatrick's assessment of the abilities of Cristofori's instruments.

I have been most fortunate in having as a supervisor Dr Rosalind Halton, who has always been prompt, generous and imaginative in responding to my enquiries. Her own exceptional work on Alessandro Scarlatti's cantatas, especially her inspired recordings with her ensemble Chacona, has been a revelation.

The multi-dimensional nature of my study, which has included recording, editing and written work, has been made possible by the unique PhD program

at the University of Newcastle. My special thanks to Prof. Michael Ewans for his guidance and support throughout this course of study, and to the University of Newcastle for their support through their internal grant scheme and Australian Postgraduate Research Award.

My own Baroque ensemble Accademia Arcadia was formed in 2001 with a view to investigating the vocal music of Domenico Scarlatti and the activities of the original Arcadian Academy. It has complemented my research, showing me that Italy and Scarlatti's world were at the forefront of certain artistic developments. I should like to thank the patrons of Arcadia for their support in this endeavour: Dr Rodney Hall, the late Sir Rupert Hamer, Prof. John Hopkins, Dr Barry Jones, Dame Elisabeth Murdoch and Sir Gustav Nossal. Thanks also to members of the committee Meryl Axtens, Peter Henley, John O'Donnell, Jamie Pearce, Natasha Sinclair and Marion Webster. Special thanks must go to Arcadia's main financial patron Dame Elisabeth Murdoch, and I am indebted to Barry Jones not only for the support of Accademia Arcadia from its inception, but for his reading of and commentary on sections of my manuscript in the final days before its submission.

It is my pleasure to thank an enormous number of people for their good will, generosity and time. Many scholars and overseas contacts spontaneously answered emails from this unknown Australian student, doing what they could to provide the necessary information. My thanks to Prof. Patrizio Barbieri, Andrés Cea Galán, Jane Clark, Dr João Pedro d'Alvarenga, Prof. Agmon Eytan, Gerhard Grenzig, Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, Michael Latcham, Christopher Nobbs, Christopher Stembridge, Dr David Sutherland and Dr Denzil Wraight. A special thank you to Prof. Gerhard Doderer who met with me in Lisbon at short notice and generously and spontaneously gave me copies of his work.

I am indebted to those who guided me through highly prized instrument collections, at times assisting me in queue jumping during the peak of the tourist season. My gratitude to Rodolfo Alessandrini (Accademia Bartolomeo Cristofori), Dr Andreas Beurmann, Dr Kathryn Bosi (Music Librarian, Morrill Music Library, Villa I Tati, The Harvard University for Italian Renaissance Studies), Dr Antonio Latanza (Direttore del Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti

Musicali), Dr Gabriele Rossi Rognoni (Direttore della Galleria dell'Accademia), Maria Helena Trindade (Director of the Museu da Música, Lisbon) and João Vaz.

Then there were the negotiations involved with access to particular instruments, both for practice and for recording sessions during the night hours. Enormous thanks to those who helped arrange access into otherwise inaccessible venues: João Vaz and Cón. António Marim for the organ at São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon. For the organ at Treviso my thanks to Sergio de Pieri, Don Adriano Toffoli, Adriano Bordignon, Giafranco Ferrara, Bruno Termite, Graziano Bandini and Filippo Perroco. For the organ at San Filippo de Neri in Cortona, Parroco Don Ottorino Capannini. For other organs in the study tour Prof. Armando Carideo, Aaron Carpeno, Fabio Ciofini, Mario Duella and Prof. Agostino Ziino.

For generous access to their own instruments my thanks to Bernard Brauchli, Dr Grant O'Brien, Kerstin Schwarz and Prof. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini. A very special thank you to Harold Lester for the great privilege of using his instrument and for his being available to attend to it throughout the recording sessions.

There are also many people involved in the recording process, which requires infinite patience and excellent planning. My gratitude to Thomas Grubb, Rachael Beesley, Rosanne Hunt and John O'Donnell for the chamber sonatas recording and to Sacred Heart College, Kyneton for the use of their theatre. Thank you Phil Rowlands and the St Paul's Anglican Boys School in London for the recording of the Lester piano, and Paulo Jorge Ferreira and João Vaz for recording me in Lisbon.

Scholarship is reflective of the period in which it is undertaken. I hope that this study will be seen both as a serious attempt to recreate certain musical aspects of the era in which Scarlatti operated and also as one that has endeavoured to maintain independence from current fashions, showing Scarlatti from another perspective and helping to give him the credit he deserves alongside the other greats born in 1685.

Finally my heart-felt gratitude to my husband John O'Donnell, for supporting and encouraging me throughout the project, for being a constant sounding-board, for assisting with translations, and for typesetting the musical examples.

Jacqueline Ogeil

Woodend, June 2006

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Compact Discs	inside back pocket

Abstract

What should a Domenico Scarlatti sonata sound like? For what instrument or instruments was it written? Despite the availability of two complete editions of the sonatas since 1970, why do we not yet have one that can truly be called “critical”? And given the absence of original manuscripts and the scarcity of biographical material why has there not been more thorough study of what we do have—the sonatas themselves—for clues of their origin and intended instrument?

This study is a partial response to these and other questions. It includes recordings of sonatas on historic keyboard instruments, editions of sonatas from the 1742 Venice manuscript and a written component dealing in turn with problems of notation, organology and temperament. It also includes details of instruments examined on a European field trip in 2001, a survey of recent recordings made on historical instruments (both originals and reproductions), and background information to my own recordings.

Some questions do not yet have answers. Despite consideration from a number of angles we do not know what temperaments Scarlatti preferred, nor have we yet identified a contemporaneous instrument to handle the *ff* to *g* compass of Sonata K485, unique in Scarlatti’s output. Other questions have stronger answers than I imagined possible at the beginning of my research. My arguments in favour of the Cristofori piano as the major impetus for Scarlatti’s output were not envisaged at the outset; and while my work in this area has been inspired by that of other scholars and makers of replica instruments, it has remained independent and complementary.

The accompanying recordings are the focal point of the presentation, serving both to illustrate the argument in living music and to suggest the diversity of colours that we may imagine as part of Domenico’s sound world.

Introduction

The Greek historian Polybius (?203–120 bce) wrote of his predecessor Timaeus (356–260 bce):

“Timaeus confesses he spent fifty years in Athens and in all that time had no experience of military service and made no first-hand acquaintance with the topography of the scenes he was recording. Small wonder that in his narrative he displays gross ignorance and gets a number of things wrong. Moreover, when he does occasionally approach the truth, he fails to catch the verisimilitude of historical events because nothing other than personal experience can enable a historian to achieve that. The historians of the classical school attached so much importance to achieving verisimilitude that, when they had to deal with politics, they would note, as a matter of course, that the writer had been a married man and had brought up a family; and similarly for other matters. Obviously, this qualification for writing history will be found only in those historians who have mastered it by actually taking part themselves in historical events...the moral is that a preoccupation with documentary materials is only one-third part of a historian’s task and the third in order of importance.”¹

I have chosen to quote this passage for three reasons: firstly, to emphasise my conviction that the historical study of music or musicology cannot be effectively pursued if it is purely theoretical—musicologists who write about something they cannot perform often make fundamental errors in their assessment of the music; secondly, to put into perspective the issue of the missing autographs of Scarlatti’s sonatas; and thirdly, to highlight the importance of trying to recreate and preserve through recording the sounds that Scarlatti might have heard. This dissertation is thus multi-faceted, consisting of recordings, editions, analysis and discussion.

The recordings were born out of a desire to try to recreate the sounds of the past in the hope they may illuminate the music in a variety of ways and possibly help to identify the types of keyboard instrument Scarlatti had in mind. For all the theoretical and analytical work, some secrets will be unlocked only by playing the sonatas on the appropriate instruments.

The editions arose out of house-keeping matters. Perusing the 1742 Venice manuscript for keyboard compasses and possible temperament implications, I was repeatedly struck by peculiarities that lacked musical conviction no matter

how much I was prepared to acknowledge them as the experiments of a fledgling composer. Thus was born Chapter 1.

Chapters 2 to 4 consider, in turn, the early piano and the organ as impetus and/or vehicles for Scarlatti's music, and possible temperament practices. Whilst I have suggested that the truth of the latter lies somewhere between equal temperament, which Kirkpatrick took for granted, and meantone temperament, promulgated by Sloane, it has to be acknowledged that, despite a keen interest in the subject by Italian intellectuals of Scarlatti's time and an enormous amount of research by Barbieri in our time, we lack concrete information about Scarlatti's practices or preferences. Nevertheless I have persisted in examining the subject as it affects the sonatas of Scarlatti, since I am convinced that it does have implications for the sound of the music, and I am unconvinced by those who have suggested to me that the Italians are far too casual to be concerned with such details.

Chapter 5 documents my 2001 field trip, tracking down a variety of instruments, details of which I provide, and ascertaining which of them were appropriate and available for recording. Chapter 6 includes notes on other recordings released with similar intent to my own as well as commentary on my recordings.

Throughout my course of study I have been involved in a variety of activities for the development of my work. There have been many performances that preceded my recordings. In 2000, at the beginning of my studies, I gave a one-and-a-half-hour recital of Scarlatti sonatas on harpsichord, a performance that was assessed by the Dean and Deputy Dean of Music at the University of Newcastle. As part of my European study tour there were also recordings made purely for my own study. In and around Melbourne I have produced a number of concerts that have included solo sonatas, chamber sonatas and cantatas of Scarlatti. In 2004 I commissioned a script on the Arcadian Academy, which was presented along with cantatas by Handel, Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti as part of the Melbourne International Arts Festival in that year. In 2005 I gave two performances of Domenico Scarlatti sonatas on organ, harpsichord and fortepiano, including the Australian première of the sonata found by Doderer.

I have presented several papers both in postgraduate seminars at the University of Newcastle and at conferences. My first paper was on the *Essercizi*, and was illustrated by my own organ recordings: it sought to explore Scarlatti's possible use of compasses involving short octave and broken octave. The second paper was on the findings of my study tour, accompanied by photographs and recordings of my experimentations on the instruments. The last of my seminar presentations was on Scarlatti the organist, focussing on an analysis of his fugal sonatas. I presented "Questions of Temperament in the Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti" at the Australian Musicological Society Conference in 2002, the proceedings of which were then published by the Cambridge Scholars Press in 2004. And in 2003 I presented a paper on "Domenico Scarlatti: piano pedagogue?" at the Sixth Australian Piano Pedagogue Conference.

Reflecting on my activities I realise that I have been on quite a journey and that the beliefs, interests and queries I had at the beginning of the course have changed dramatically within a few years. I have enjoyed enormous freedom during my course of study, where I could follow clues as they presented themselves.

Research can stall when scholars cannot disentangle themselves from the paths others have taken. I hope that this dissertation will be seen as an earnest and original contribution on some unconsidered aspects in Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard works.

* * *

Ralph Kirkpatrick's *Domenico Scarlatti*, published in 1953, was the first major effort in Scarlatti research and, by his own admission, is not pure scholarship—indeed parts of the work read more like a novel than the fruits of research. Nowadays Kirkpatrick's work is often the subject of severe criticism, and my own writing is not free of disparaging words levelled at this pioneer. But it is easy to be critical at a distance of half a century. We must remember that Kirkpatrick presented the first study of the chronology of the sonatas, and that his numbering system remains the predominant one in use today. It was Kirkpatrick's thesis that most of the sonatas were intended as pairs, a position that has gradually gained wide, if not universal, acceptance. While short octaves and unequal temperaments were not his domain, he was nevertheless

the first to raise the connection between Scarlatti and Cristofori. He also discovered the inventory of instruments included with the testament drawn up in 1756 by Queen Maria Barbara and discussed the compasses and registers of these instruments.

We have to wait seventeen years for another major contribution to Scarlatti research. Joel Sheveloff's 1970 doctoral dissertation *The Keyboard Music of Domenico Scarlatti: A re-evaluation of the present state of knowledge in the light of the sources* is impressive both in size and content. He devotes almost three hundred pages to descriptions of the sources, interrelationships among the sources and textual details. He then tackles issues of chronology, organology and pairing. His contention that chronology is too difficult is not unreasonable, though our knowledge may yet be improved upon by means of analysis of the sonatas and on-going research on instruments.

In 1971 Kenneth Gilbert began publication of his complete edition of the sonatas (the eleven volumes published out of order, the project coming to fruition with the release of volume 1 in 1984) and Gerhard Doderer published his *Clavicórdios Portugeses do Século Dezoito* with the Gulbenkian Foundation. 1973 saw the discovery, by Harold Lester, of an anonymous Portuguese piano. In 1974 comes Seunghyun Choi's doctoral dissertation *Newly found eighteenth century manuscripts of Domenico Scarlatti's sonatas and their relationship to other eighteenth and early nineteenth century sources*, which shows beyond doubt that Scarlatti's works were known in Austria during his life-time. In 1976 Jane Clark caused much excitement with her study of the influence of Spanish music on Scarlatti. And in 1978 Fadini commenced publication of her complete edition of the sonatas, which was to occupy her for more than the next quarter of a century.

1985, the year of the tercentenary of Scarlatti's birth, saw a flurry of activity from Scarlatti scholars. Sheveloff (1985, 1986) summed up the situation as he saw it in the two-part article "Domenico Scarlatti: Tercentenary Frustrations". While acknowledging Choi's dissertation (mentioned above) as "the most important Scarlatti dissertation of the 1970s" (1985, p. 406), he was nevertheless of the opinion that "very little has happened in Scarlatti research since 1970" (1985, p. 407). His overview of recent Scarlatti scholarship was brutal: "The

haphazard approaches of the past twenty years have placed Scarlatti research so far behind that of even minor contemporaries, that one can hardly view the present state without shame" (1985, p. 408). He goes on to list nine major areas requiring greater scrutiny, among which I was pleased to see the following: "(5) the instrument of intent of the composer—whether such a thing exists, and if so, how far we can pinpoint it; (6) performance practice, including keyboard logistics, ornaments and their interpretation, extemporization, and related matters". He calls for a Collected Edition and Thematic Index (1985, p. 408), but fears that "an ideal edition of Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard works seems farther away than ever now that GILBERT is available" (1986, p. 113).

Sheveloff was perhaps lamenting a little too soon, as a plethora of articles surfaced in 1985 along with Roberto Pagano's book *Scarlatti Alessandro e Domenico: due vite in una*, which presented much new biographical material on both composers, while Malcolm Boyd's *Domenico Scarlatti — Master of Music* of the following year brought Scarlatti's activities as a composer of vocal music (opera, cantata, church music) into focus. In 1988 Christopher Nobbs delivered a speech on "Two Portuguese pianos and a harpsichord" at the Anverpiano Conference. Nobbs had studied and partially restored Lester's instrument, one of those discussed in his paper. Meanwhile Scott Ross was recording the complete Scarlatti sonatas on a single-manual Italian harpsichord, reflecting the thinking of the wider populace at that time. But musicologists were following another path, detailed studies of a variety of original keyboards being the focus of the work of both Beryl Kenyon de Pascual and John Henry van der Meer. Both were having considerable success exploring within Iberia, their work spanning more than two decades.

The 1990s saw another broadening of activities, the biggest developments occurring around the piano. The discovery of the Antunes 1767 piano was an unexpected bonus. This Portuguese instrument was sold by Sotheby's to the Shrine to Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota, in November 1990. Denzil Wraight entered the arena with explorations of Cristofori in 1992, and in the mid-nineties David Sutherland started publishing his findings on Florentine pianos. Cristofori also came into new prominence in the 1990s with a dissertation on "Cristofori in the late Medici Florence court" in 1994 by Michael

O'Brien, essential books by Stewart Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, in 1995, and Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era*, in 1998, and replicas of Cristofori's 1726 piano completed simultaneously in 1997 by Kerstin Schwarz in Florence and David Sutherland in Ann Arbor. Denzil Wraight's reconstruction of a pianoforte dated to 1730 from the workshop of Cristofori-Ferrini, made for Queen Maria Barbara of Spain, was completed in 2003. All three instruments have inspired fine recordings.

While Gerhard Doderer's contributions to Scarlatti research have been both substantial and original, they have remained hidden from the world at large. *Revisita Portuguesa de Musicologia* seems quite impossible to obtain outside Portugal (scholars in other countries have told me that this has also been their experience), and it was only by going to Lisbon that I was able to get copies of Doderer's work. In addition to discovering a previously unknown sonata by Scarlatti, he has shed considerable light on the composer's mysterious Portuguese years of 1719–1727. Most recently Doderer has revised his 1971 book as *Cordofones de tecla portuguesas do século XVIII: Clavicórdios, cravos, pianofortes e espinetas* for publication by the Gulbenkian Foundation, but I have not been able to purchase a copy of this, the Foundation's response to my enquiry having advised of a problem of ownership of the rights. In recent years the Portuguese musicological scene has been further fortified by the activities of João Pedro d'Alvarenga, among whose publications are editions of two of Scarlatti's sacred works, *Laetatus sum (a 2 con ripieni)* and *Motetto in festo Omnium Sanctorum (Te gloriosus a 4)*, and his book *Estudos de Musicologia*, which includes another important article on Scarlatti's Portuguese years.

Scarlatti the cantata composer has come to prominence in recent years. Soprano Kate Eckersley's research has focussed on these works, some of which she has also recorded with her ensemble *Fiori Musicali*. Her article "Some late chamber cantatas of Domenico Scarlatti: a question of style" and her doctoral thesis deal with style, musical language and influences. Her work, along with Malcolm Boyd's, has done much to raise the profile of Scarlatti's vocal music, which, analysed alongside his sonatas, may contribute something to the issue of chronology. Eckersley has more recently worked with James Sanderson to champion the cantata with their on-line edition service.

Significant restorations of Italian and Iberian organs have been happening over the past twenty years. The work of Claude and Christine Rainolter and the Barcelona-based German builder Gerhard Grenzig is well respected in the Iberian region. In 1994 the Rainolters undertook extensive work on the 1765 São Vicente de Fora organ upon which I recorded for this project.

2001 saw the publication of the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, with a revised article on Scarlatti. In the same year David Sutherland broke new ground with his article on “The Earliest Evidence of Idiomatic Piano Technique”. And in 2003 a fresh approach to Scarlatti was presented by Dean Sutcliffe in his book *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and Eighteenth Century Style*.

It is encouraging to see the Scarlatti scene being explored from new dimensions. We may never find the missing autographs: it is almost to be expected that at least some of them would have been destroyed in the palace fire of Madrid and others in the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami. But this does not mean that the search for a greater understanding of his work is complete. In fact, the current level of activity suggests that it is only just beginning. I hope that the ensuing pages contribute at least a jigsaw piece or two towards the total puzzle.

¹ Polybius, *The Histories*, Book XII, chapter 25h.

Chapter 1: The 1742 Venice Manuscript

The Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice preserves the world's richest collection of source material of the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. The collection, purchased by the library in 1835, consists of fifteen manuscript volumes and the printed *Essercizi*, all bound in red morocco leather with the engraved arms of Spain and Portugal, indicative of their point of origin, the court of Maria Barbara, Queen of Spain and daughter of the King of Portugal.

The manuscripts are dated 1742 (without number), 1749 (without number), 1752 (I and II), 1753 (III to VI), 1754 (VII to IX), 1755 (X), 1756 (XI and XII) and 1757 (XIII). All numbered volumes appear to be from the same hand, possibly that of Scarlatti's student Antonio Soler, while the unnumbered volumes are from another hand. Malcolm Boyd's suggestion (1986, p. 149) that the scribe of these two volumes was Sebastian de Albero, organist of the Royal Chapel in Madrid from 1749 until his death in 1756, is difficult to accept. Not only would this place Albero in the court seven years earlier than his appointment there, but it would also imply that in 1742 his musical literacy was limited—for the scribe of the 1742 volume clearly possessed little understanding of what he was copying—and this is scarcely believable of one who was soon to emerge as a composer of some merit.

What is most difficult to understand, however, is how this volume has been taken at face value by Scarlatti scholars, and particularly by his editors. Several sonatas are littered with what can only be described as musical nonsense, yet these incoherent passages have been copied and re-copied with barely a correction and scant comment.

The volume is without doubt the most complex of all Scarlatti sources. It contains sixty-one items of which numbers X and LXI are two versions of the same sonata, K52, the work being unique to this source. A further twenty-six sonatas are unica, along with the concluding movement only of another:

XVII, K59	XLII, K77
XX, K61	XLIV, K78 (Minuet only)
XXI, K62	XLV, K79–80
XXIII, K63	XLVI, K81
XXIV, K64	XLVIII, K83
XXVI, K65	XLIX, K84
XXIX, K67	LI, K86
XXXIV, K70	LIII, K88
XXXV, K71	LIV, K89
XXXVI, K72	LV, K90
XXXVII, K73	LVI, K91
XXXVIII, K74	LVIII, K92
XXXIX, K75	LX, K93
XL, K76	

The volume also includes versions of five of the *Essercizi*, K3, 10, 11, 12 and 17. Of these, only Sonata LIX (= K12) is virtually identical to the printed version. Sonata XVIII (K11) contains a few deliberate variants, some of which may be regarded as preferable to the printed version; Sonata XXXIII (K17) is clearly an earlier version, though except for the addition of a bar the differences are slight; while Sonatas XXII (K10) and XXXI (K3) are, respectively, shorter and longer than their printed versions, and clearly earlier. Certainly something other than the *Essercizi* served as the copyist's source for at least the last four of these works.

A further subset is the collection of sonatas seen by most commentators, despite the volume's title "Sonatas per cembalo", as works for violin and continuo.

These include the following:

XXXVII, K73	LIII, K88
XLII, K77	LIV, K89
XLV, K79 & 80	LV, K90
XLVI, K81	LVI, K91

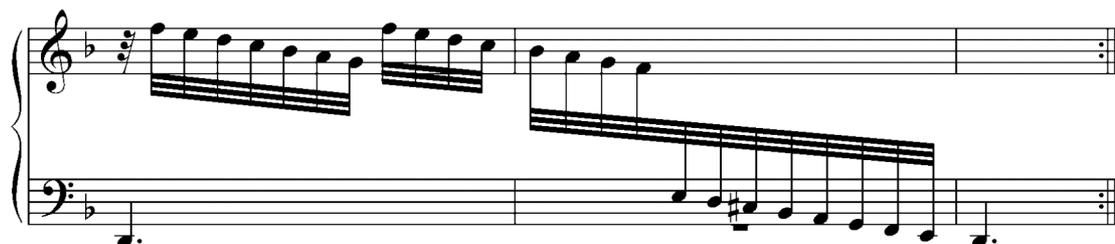
Sonata XVI (K58), subtitled "Fuga", stands alone as an apparent reduction of an instrumental fugue. In the form in which it is presented it is fraught with errors,

highly ungrammatical and, in one spot (the second half of bar 25), totally unplayable. It is discussed further in Chapter 3.

The focus of this chapter, however, is a miscellany of twelve sonatas having an unusual feature in common. These are Sonatas XVII (K59), XXIX (K67), XXXIV (K70), XXXV (K71), XXXVI (K72), XXXVII (K73), Sonata XXXIX (K75), XL (K76), XLI (K37), LVII (K31), LVIII (K92), and LXI (K52); and their shared feature is that their notation contains a significant number of octave displacements that are not occasioned by limits of instrumental compass. Individual notes, groups of notes and whole phrases are notated at times an octave and at other times two octaves away from the intended pitch. Yet editors and commentators have devoted barely a word to this phenomenon. In 1979 Kenneth Gilbert restored a single scale at the end of the first section of K76, but without any attempt to explain why eight notes in the middle of a twenty-four-note descending scale had been notated an octave too high. Emilia Fadini, however, was clearly aware that the phenomenon was rather more widespread and required attention. In her edition of 1978 (revised in 1986) she corrected many octave displacements, though not always with consistency and again without any attempt at explaining the origin of the faulty notation.

Scarlatti was, of course, a highly idiosyncratic composer, and his description of his own compositional process as “ingenious jesting with art” (1738, *Lettere*) should guard us against unnecessary “corrections” of his text. He was clearly fond of darting hither and thither about the keyboard, and he admitted to being “sensible he had broke through all the rules of composition” (Burney 1775, p. 253). But we are dealing with something else here, the following excerpt being an uncontroversial example:

Example 1: Scarlatti, Sonata K76, bb.26–28



This obvious octave displacement of the last four notes of bar 26 and the first four of bar 27 is the one corrected and annotated in Gilbert’s edition. On the

other hand Gilbert allows the following endings of the first and second halves of Sonata XXXV (K71) to stand:

Example 2a: Scarlatti, Sonata K71, bb.13–14

Example 2b: Scarlatti, Sonata K71, bb.28–29

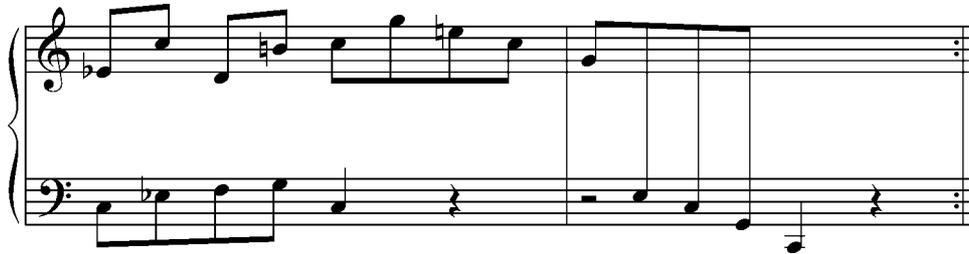
Not only is the expected musical “rhyme” absent from these endings, but there is a lack of musical consequence to each of the lines. However, if we transpose the last four notes of bar 13 and the first four of bars 14 and 29 down an octave we get a musically satisfactory result:

Example 3a: Scarlatti, Sonata K71, bb.13–14 revised

Example 3b: Scarlatti, Sonata K71, bb.28–29 revised

These are among the passages emended by Fadini. On the other hand she makes no attempt to emend the concluding bars of each part of Sonata XVII (K59):

Example 4a: Scarlatti, Sonata K59, bb.13–14



Example 4b: Scarlatti, Sonata K59, bb.30–31

Fortunately three of the works identified as having octave displacements in Venice 1742 have concordances that give us the courage to go where we might otherwise fear to tread. The only concordance of Sonata LXI (K52) occurs in Venice 1742 itself as Sonata X; and while this version of the work is not without its weaknesses it is clearly superior to the version copied as Sonata LXI. Meanwhile Roseingrave had included both K31 and K37 in his enlarged edition of the *Essercizi* in 1739, and the superiority of his versions over those presented in Venice 1742 is without question. Let us compare the endings of the two halves of K 37:

Example 5a: Scarlatti, Sonata K37, bb.26–28 (Venice 1742)

Example 5b: Scarlatti, Sonata K37, bb.50–52 (Venice 1742)

Example 6a: Scarlatti, Sonata K37, bb.26–28 (Roseingrave 1739)

Example 6b: Scarlatti, Sonata K37, bb.50–52 (Roseingrave 1739)

What is particularly telling in the Venice version is the indication M[anca] (left hand) for both endings, which is superfluous as the music stands, the notes being in both the staff and the clef in which the left hand normally operates. The indications are there because the music initially involved hand-crossing, the left hand commencing its long descent from a point an octave above the right hand's last note.

Let us take a second example, from K52:

Example 7: Scarlatti, Sonata K52, bb.20–24

Everything makes sense in bar 21, after which the right hand's music is all an octave too high, leaving the left hand to negotiate intervals of a twelfth over the next few bars.

How are we to explain these notational irregularities? There is, in fact, a simple explanation of such a phenomenon, though making it fit the present case is anything but simple. As any student of German Baroque keyboard music knows, octave displacements occur regularly in works that have been copied from keyboard tablature. The extent of such displacement varies enormously according to the scribe's abilities both as a copyist and as a musician; but even a skilled copyist may make the occasional error, while an unskilled one can create musical havoc. A short example will suffice. Following is a fanfare motive that occurs twice in a transition section of Nicolaus Bruhns' *Praeludium in E minor* (the larger of the two). Here is a literal transcription of the two excerpts as they appear in the only extant source (Bds Mus. ms. 40644):

Example 8a: Bruhns, *Praeludium in E minor*, bb.81–82

Example 8b: Bruhns, *Praeludium in E minor*, bb.86–87

The first twentieth-century editor of this work, Fritz Stein (1939), saw fit to transpose the first c-sharp of bar 87 up an octave, leaving the remaining notes

the *Essercizi* as repeated phrases, contrasting figurations, leaping arpeggios, expanding and diminishing intervals, and octave doublings. But its range is curiously constricted. The arpeggios turn back on themselves (measures 12, 28) and scale passages are broken by transpositions of octave (measures 1–4, 6–8).” A footnote at this point, however, alerts us to the fact that at some stage he became aware of Roseingrave’s version, which “expands these figures, continuing the scale passage of measure 2 downward into measure 4, and running the last half of measure 12 an octave higher, etc.” That the initial observations on the work were not excised, either at the time of discovering the Roseingrave version or in one of the “Additions and Corrections” added to the book in 1963, 1968, 1969 and 1982, suggests that Kirkpatrick did not attribute the limitations of the Venice 1742 version to a copyist’s errors but simply regarded this as a more primitive version of the work. As for K37 Kirkpatrick simply quotes bars 1 to 3 and 41 to 45 according to Venice 1742 with the comment (pp. 199–200): “The sound of the string orchestra of the Vivaldi concertos is clearly to be detected in such pieces...”

Let us superimpose the two versions of K37 so that we can appreciate the nature and extent of the miscopying:

Example 10: Scarlatti, Sonata K37

The image displays a musical score for Scarlatti's Sonata K37, organized into two systems. The first system is labeled "Venice 1742" and the second "Roseingrave 1739". Each system consists of four staves: a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a lute-style grand staff (two bass clefs). The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The first system shows the initial measures, with trills (tr) marked above the notes in the upper staves. The second system begins with a measure number "4" and shows the continuation of the piece, including a change in the lower staff's clef from bass to alto.

Musical score for measures 7-9. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). Measure 7 begins with a treble clef staff containing a quarter rest followed by a quarter note G4, and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. Measure 8 continues with similar rhythmic patterns. Measure 9 features a treble clef staff with a quarter note G4 and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Musical score for measures 10-12. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). Measure 10 begins with a treble clef staff containing a quarter note G4 and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. Measure 11 continues with similar rhythmic patterns. Measure 12 features a treble clef staff with a quarter note G4 and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

Musical score for measures 13-15. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). Measure 13 begins with a treble clef staff containing a quarter note G4 and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. Measure 14 continues with similar rhythmic patterns. Measure 15 features a treble clef staff with a quarter note G4 and a bass clef staff with a quarter note G2. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

16

16

tr

This system contains measures 16, 17, and 18. It features four staves: two for the right hand and two for the left hand. The right-hand staves contain complex melodic lines with many sixteenth notes and a trill in measure 17. The left-hand staves provide a steady accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

19

19

This system contains measures 19, 20, and 21. The right-hand staves continue with intricate melodic patterns, including sixteenth-note runs. The left-hand staves maintain a consistent rhythmic accompaniment.

22

22

This system contains measures 22, 23, and 24. The right-hand staves feature block chords and rests, with a melodic flourish in measure 23. The left-hand staves continue with a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth and sixteenth notes.

24

Musical score for measures 24-26. The system consists of two grand staves. The upper grand staff has a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The lower grand staff has a bass clef and a key signature of two flats. Measure 24 begins with a treble clef change to 7/8 time. The music features complex rhythmic patterns with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets and rests.

27

Musical score for measures 27-29. The system consists of two grand staves. The upper grand staff has a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The lower grand staff has a bass clef and a key signature of two flats. Measure 27 begins with a treble clef change to 3/8 time. The music features complex rhythmic patterns with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets and rests. Trills are marked with 'tr' in measures 28 and 29. A 'M.' marking is present in the lower staff of measure 27.

30

Musical score for measures 30-32. The system consists of two grand staves. The upper grand staff has a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The lower grand staff has a bass clef and a key signature of two flats. Measure 30 begins with a treble clef change to 3/8 time. The music features complex rhythmic patterns with eighth and sixteenth notes, including triplets and rests. Trills are marked with 'tr' in measures 30, 31, and 32.

33

Musical score for measures 33-34. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Bass, Grand Staff (Tenor and Bass), and Bass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 7/8. Measure 33 features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. Measure 34 continues the pattern with some rests.

35

Musical score for measures 35-36. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Bass, Grand Staff (Tenor and Bass), and Bass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 7/8. Measure 35 features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. Measure 36 continues the pattern with some rests.

37

Musical score for measures 37-38. The score is written for four staves: Treble, Bass, Grand Staff (Tenor and Bass), and Bass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 7/8. Measure 37 features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. Measure 38 continues the pattern with some rests.

Musical score for measures 40-42. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The second system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The first system (measures 40-42) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef. The second system (measures 40-42) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef.

Musical score for measures 43-45. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The second system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The first system (measures 43-45) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef. The second system (measures 43-45) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef.

Musical score for measures 46-48. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The second system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The first system (measures 46-48) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef. The second system (measures 46-48) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the treble clef, and chords and eighth notes in the bass clef.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, labeled with measure numbers 49 and 50, consists of two staves: a right-hand staff in treble clef and a left-hand staff in bass clef. The second system, labeled with measure numbers 51 and 52, also consists of two staves: a right-hand staff in treble clef and a left-hand staff in alto clef. The left-hand staff in the second system has a 'M.' marking under a measure. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs.

It is doubtful that any editor would have arrived at the Roseingrave version had the Venice 1742 manuscript been the only available source. On the basis of comparison with the second half of the work the left hand's broken chords of bars 3 to 11 might well have been restored; and an adventurous editor might have arrived at the pattern for the closing bars of each section, especially if he had given some thought to the M[anca] indications. But what of the left hand quavers from the middle of bar 13 onward and again from bar 38 onward? On what basis would these have been transposed up one or two octaves?

At first glance it could appear that the copyist of Venice 1742 was simply unfamiliar with C-clefs, unlikely as this might seem in the period. The right hand's first two chords (bars 3 and 4) have clearly been copied a third too high, while the doubling back of the left hand's arpeggios often concurs with the use of the alto clef. Closer perusal, however, shows that such an explanation satisfies only part of the problem; but certainly the initial right-hand chords

suggest an error during another stage of copying, implying that Venice 1742 is already at least a couple of generations removed from the original.

Using the parallel readings of K37 as a Rosetta Stone let us attempt a reconstruction of Sonata XXXVI (K72). Bar 6 of this piece first suggests that the copyist may not have got things right, the left hand's response to the right hand's flourish being particularly clumsy:

Example 11: Sonata K72, bb.4–6

For the left hand's line to flow easily the second group of semiquavers of bar 6 will have to be taken by the right hand, but in a manuscript that is meticulous about indications of hand crossing this direction is missing. If we acknowledge octave displacement, however, the left hand can imitate the right exactly:

Example 12: Sonata K72, bb.4–6 revised

The next instance that is clearly corrupt occurs in the left hand of bar 10:

Example 13: Sonata K72, bb.9–11

The solution requiring minimum surgery here is simply to transpose the g of the last group of semiquavers down an octave:

Example 15: Scarlatti, Sonata K72

Allegro

Venice 1742

Allegro

Ogeil

4

7

10

13

16

This musical score is for piano and consists of three systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system (measures 10-12) features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system (measures 13-15) continues the melody and bass line, with a change in key signature to B-flat major. The third system (measures 16-18) concludes the piece with a final melody and bass line. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Musical score for piano, measures 19-28. The score is written in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piece features a complex, rhythmic melody in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The score is divided into three systems, each containing two staves (treble and bass clef). The first system (measures 19-21) shows a melodic phrase in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The second system (measures 22-24) continues the melodic phrase in the right hand and the rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The third system (measures 25-28) concludes the melodic phrase in the right hand and the rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece, organized into three systems. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The first system covers measures 28 to 30, the second system covers measures 31 to 32, and the third system covers measures 33 to 34. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings, such as accents and slurs. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the third system.

Gilbert allows the piece to stand as presented in the manuscript. Fadini, however, attends to many of the emendations presented here, though she allows the repeated quavers in bars 12–14 and 31–32 to stand.

A particularly perplexing example is Sonata XXXIV (K70). Here is the piece as notated and as possibly to be realised:

Example 16: Sonata K70

The image displays a musical score for Example 16: Sonata K70, presented in two versions: Venice 1742 and Ogeil. The score is written for piano and is organized into three systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef).

System 1:

- Top Staff (Treble Clef):** Labeled "Venice 1742". It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, Bb4, and C5, then a quarter rest, and continues with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Bottom Staff (Bass Clef):** Labeled "Ogeil". It begins with a bass clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The bass line starts with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes A2, Bb2, and C3, then a quarter rest, and continues with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 2:

- Top Staff (Treble Clef):** Continues the melody from the first system, featuring more complex rhythmic patterns including sixteenth and thirty-second notes.
- Bottom Staff (Bass Clef):** Continues the bass line from the first system, maintaining a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

System 3:

- Top Staff (Treble Clef):** Continues the melody, showing a change in texture with more frequent sixteenth-note runs.
- Bottom Staff (Bass Clef):** Continues the bass line, with a dynamic marking of *p* (piano) appearing below the staff.

The score concludes with a final measure in the bottom staff of the third system, marked with a *p* dynamic.

10

10

f *p*

10

f *p*

This system contains measures 10, 11, and 12. It features two grand staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower staff has a bass clef. Measures 10 and 11 are marked with a forte (*f*) dynamic, while measure 12 is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The music consists of continuous eighth-note patterns in the upper staff and more sparse accompaniment in the lower staff.

13

13

13

This system contains measures 13, 14, 15, and 16. It features two grand staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower staff has a bass clef. The music continues with eighth-note patterns in the upper staff and accompaniment in the lower staff. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

17

17

17

This system contains measures 17, 18, 19, and 20. It features two grand staves. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower staff has a bass clef. The music continues with eighth-note patterns in the upper staff and accompaniment in the lower staff. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

20

Musical score for measures 20-22. The score is in 3/4 time and features a complex texture with multiple voices. The upper staves contain rapid sixteenth-note passages, while the lower staves provide a more rhythmic accompaniment. The key signature has one flat.

23

Musical score for measures 23-25. The score continues with intricate sixteenth-note patterns. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano) in the lower staves. The key signature remains one flat.

26

Musical score for measures 26-28. The score features a prominent sixteenth-note texture. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano) in the lower staves. The key signature remains one flat.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, starting at measure 29, consists of two staves for each hand. The upper staves contain a dense, flowing melodic line with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The lower staves provide a more rhythmic accompaniment with fewer notes and some rests. The second system, starting at measure 32, shows a similar but less complex texture, with the upper staves ending in a chord and the lower staves continuing with a few more notes before a final double bar line.

There are perhaps four levels of editorial decision to be made here. First, the manuscript clearly contains many wrong notes: bar 9, stave 1, last two notes; bar 11, stave 1, last two notes; bar 14, stave one, upper voice, last note; bar 15, stave 1, upper voice, second note; bar 17, stave 1, second note; bar 19, stave 2, missing accidental to the note *b*; bar 24, stave 1, third and last notes; bar 28, stave 1, seventh and eighth notes; and bar 32, stave 1, eighth note. Secondly, sudden octave shifts such as those occurring in both hands together in the middle of bar 3, both hands at different parts of bar 6 and the right hand alone in the middle of bar 21 can safely be interpreted as indicative of octave displacement, whether before or after the shifts. Thirdly, there are a few suspect notes: bar 13, stave 1, sixth note; bar 24, stave 1, tenth note; bar 25, stave 1, second note; and bar 29, stave 1, fourteenth note. The first and last of these are certainly a little unusual at first sight, but they are parallel, and therefore one feels compelled to accept them. Moreover, similar patterns occur in Sonata XXXIII (K69) at bars 27 and 58. Undoubtedly the suspect notes of bars 24–25

could also stand, but the prevailing pattern of broken thirds and the obvious error in the passage, the last note of bar 24, argue in favour of considering these notes to be corrupt. Fourthly, there are a number of details that are arguably more compelling with individual notes or groups of notes transposed by an octave. We are on subjective ground here, but given the poor quality of this unique source we may not be doing the composer a favour by exercising timidity. To this category belong the right hand's fourth quaver of bar 8, the left-hand crotchets of bars 9–12 and 25–29, the right hand's last four semiquavers of bar 13 and first of bar 14, the left hand's tonic-and-dominant figures of bar 14–16 and 30–32, and the last left-hand quaver of bar 21.

Typically, Gilbert shows a cautious approach in his edition of K 70, emending most of the notes listed in my first category (but not those of bars 14 and 15) and just one (in bar 25) in my third category. Fadini comes to the same conclusions in these categories but also remedies some of the octave displacements of category two. Her decision to maintain the notated pitch of the left hand until the last note of bar 2, however, makes the restatement of the opening imitation commencing in the middle of bar 4 rather less effective, the right hand now an octave lower than the opening, the left hand imitating at its opening pitch. Fadini does not venture to the category four emendations explained above. But it should be noted in passing that Fadini's edition is in error at bar 4, stave 1, third and fourth notes, which are a third too high in both the text and in the critical notes' musical illustration of the pitch as notated in the source.

A further unicum from this group demanding exacting attention is Sonata LVIII (K92). Again I present it both as found in the manuscript and as I have edited it:

Example 17: Scarlatti, Sonata K92

Venice 1742

Ogeil

6

11

12

17

18

Musical score for measures 18-23. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Trills (tr) are indicated above several notes in measures 19, 20, and 21. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of measure 23.

24

Musical score for measures 24-29. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music continues with the same complex rhythmic pattern. A double bar line with repeat dots appears at the beginning of measure 24. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of measure 29.

30

Musical score for measures 30-35. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music continues with the same complex rhythmic pattern. A double bar line with repeat dots appears at the beginning of measure 30. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of measure 35.

35

Musical score for measures 35-39. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, and various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The first system (measures 35-39) shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system (measures 40-44) continues the melodic development in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass.

40

Musical score for measures 40-45. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music continues the complex rhythmic pattern from the previous system. The key signature remains one flat. The first system (measures 40-45) shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system (measures 46-50) continues the melodic development in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass.

46

Musical score for measures 46-50. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music continues the complex rhythmic pattern from the previous system. The key signature remains one flat. The first system (measures 46-50) shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the bass clef. The second system (measures 51-55) continues the melodic development in the treble and the accompaniment in the bass.

There are at least two strong reasons for deciding that the first three bars of stave 2 have been notated an octave too low. Most obviously the transitional material of bars 23–24 does not lead naturally into either the right or left hands notes when returning to the opening, or in proceeding to the second part for that matter. One could, then, consider that the transition may have been notated an octave too high. But consideration of bar 2, where the tenor's final crotchet *f* must serve also as the resolution of the alto *g'* argues in favour of the upward transposition of the opening bars. This process also results in a more natural left hand progression from bar 3 to bar 4. From the second beat of bar 8 to the end of bar 12 the left hand again slips into a distant register that not only results in forced connections at each end of the passage but also involves some unconvincing spacing in bars 11 and 12. Of course bar 12 has been further dislocated by the interval of a third during one of the copying processes (an original notation in the tenor clef having been read as alto clef?), suggesting that our unicum is at least two generations removed from the hypothetical original.

The sudden jolt in stave 2 at bar 33 confirms our suspicion that the opening eight bars of this section also need to be an octave higher (to follow naturally from the transition passage at the end of the first section as well as that of bars 55–56 leading to the repeat of the second section), and not surprisingly this also results in better spacing, which was often far from satisfactory as the passage stood. A final dislocated passage occurs in bars 48–49, stave 2, and while most of this is musically possible as it stands it is arguably more effective to allow the bass line to continue its rise. But the first left-hand chord of bar 50 may furnish

an important clue here. The chord makes no sense as it stands, but the position of the notes on the staff would make perfect sense if they had been originally notated in the tenor clef, and this would have been a likely scenario if the notes of the previous two bars had also been in the tenor register. Again these unconvincing readings suggest that the manuscript is a number of generations removed from the original.

While the octave dislocations appear not to have worried Gilbert, he attends to the other corrections, except that he is content with the alto's b'-flat in bar 37. Curiously Fadini adjusts certain passages by an octave while not really solving many of the obvious problems. Most notably she allows the left hand of each section to commence at the pitch given in the manuscript, despite the fact that the transition passages connecting to these sections invariably lead to a pitch an octave higher. She also leaves the offending tenor semiquaver f intact in bar 2, turns the soprano's crotchet e'' of bar 21 into a minim, mistranscribes the left hand's rhythm in bar 32, chooses harmonic forms of the minor scale in the alto of bars 34 and 36, and leaves the concluding chord as an open fifth. Both editors present the work with a modernised signature of one flat.

Particularly problematic among the unica of Venice 1742 is Sonata XXIX (K67). Here it is as notated in the manuscript and in my edition:

Example 18: Sonata K67

Two systems of musical notation for measures 1-3. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled "Venice 1742" and the second system is labeled "Ogeil". Both systems show a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a more active accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).

Two systems of musical notation for measures 4-6. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled "4" and the second system is labeled "6". Both systems show a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a more active accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).

Two systems of musical notation for measures 7-9. Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled "7" and the second system is labeled "9". Both systems show a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a more active accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).

10

Musical score for measures 10-12. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (measures 10-11) features a melodic line in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system (measures 11-12) continues the melodic and bass lines, with a repeat sign at the end of measure 12.

13

Musical score for measures 13-15. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (measures 13-14) features a melodic line in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system (measures 14-15) continues the melodic and bass lines, with a repeat sign at the end of measure 15.

16

Musical score for measures 16-18. The score is written for two systems of piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (measures 16-17) features a melodic line in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system (measures 17-18) continues the melodic and bass lines, with a repeat sign at the end of measure 18.

The descending broken chord concluding each section, similar to those in Sonata XXXV (K71), is easily remedied. Two questions to address are: was Scarlatti writing for an instrument whose highest note was c'' ? and exactly where is the prevailing figure (as given in the left hand of bar 2) to adopt the ascending form (as given in the left hand of bar 3)? The first question arises with the right hand's opening gesture, clearly compromised as notated. Of course Scarlatti often has to adjust his musical figures to fit his compass, the opening of the second part of K 13 being a well-known example. But why choose to write a sonata in the unusual key of F-sharp minor and then commence it with a gesture for which the notes are not available? The whole piece would fit comfortably on a four-octave keyboard (C to c'') if notated in F minor. Surely Scarlatti was writing for an instrument with a compass extending at least to d''' ! Consequently I have adjusted the right hand's opening gesture and the further occurrences of the same figure in bars 16 and 20.

A clear answer to the second question, however, is not easy. As keyboard writing the left hand's bar 3 is certainly less idiomatic than the previous bar, but the musical result is perfectly acceptable; and while bars 7–9 may offer numerous possibilities for the interpretation of octave pitches in both hands, the copyist has, whether by chance or skill, achieved a musically convincing result. Bars 13–16, however, seem less felicitous, the right hand wandering aimlessly, the left hand apparently in a rut in the second half of bar 13 and first half of bar 14. In re-writing the passage I have attempted to realise the implications of each hand's sequences, admitting nevertheless that the possibilities are virtually limitless. That the left hand reaches bar 17 an octave higher than in the manuscript certainly gives more force to the ensuing semiquavers, which

would otherwise be simply returning to the low C-sharp whence the line had just come. A further problem is the alto's lone quaver f'-sharp in bar 20, superfluous as the music stands through doubling with the left hand. It possibly suggests that the left hand should be an octave lower at this point, but I have chosen to see it simply as a copyist's erroneous duplication of the left hand's first note.

Gilbert adheres closely to the source in his edition, correcting a single note in the upper stave at the end of bar 5 and omitting the clashing sharp in bar 16 by analogy with bar 19. Fadini makes the same correction to bar 5, adds a sharp to bar 19 by analogy with the clash in bar 16 and repairs the descending broken chords in the last one and a half bars of each section. Both editors fully annotate these changes and give the piece a modern key signature.

The concluding flourish of each section of Sonata XXXV (K71) was discussed above, but in addition to a number of obvious errors there are again several passages that appear to have been notated in the wrong octave. Here are the manuscript version and my edition:

Example 19: Scarlatti, Sonata K71

Two systems of musical notation for measures 1-3. The first system is labeled "Venice 1742" and the second is labeled "Ogeil". Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The music is in common time (C) and features a complex melodic line in the treble and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the bass.

Two systems of musical notation for measures 4-6. The first system is labeled with a measure number "4" at the beginning. The notation continues with the same grand staff format as the previous systems, showing the continuation of the melodic and accompanimental lines.

Two systems of musical notation for measures 7-9. The first system is labeled with a measure number "7" at the beginning. The notation continues with the same grand staff format, showing the continuation of the melodic and accompanimental lines.

10

Musical score for measures 10-12. The score is written for four staves in two systems. The top system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The bottom system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. Measures 10-12 show a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and some rests.

13

Musical score for measures 13-16. The score is written for four staves in two systems. The top system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The bottom system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. Measures 13-16 show a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and some rests. There are repeat signs in measures 13 and 14.

17

Musical score for measures 17-20. The score is written for four staves in two systems. The top system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The bottom system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. Measures 17-20 show a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and some rests.

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of two staves (treble and bass clef). The first system begins at measure 20, the second at measure 23, and the third at measure 26. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

The middle of bar 11, stave 2, provides the first clue that something is amiss, the left hand's broken semiquavers leading naturally to F-sharp (an octave lower than notated). A review of the passages to the left and right of this junction suggests that stave 2 might be transposed up an octave from the last beat of bar 8 to the middle of bar 11. But could it be that the opening notes of the left hand

are also in the wrong octaves? At the return to the opening upon reaching the repeat sign G, rather than g, seems the more natural position, while the ensuing phrase, taken an octave higher, prolongs the opening imitation, now identical through two phrases. The resulting octave, rather than two-octave, imitation parallels the opening of the second part, whose left hand is clearly dislocated at the beginning of bar 17 and again at the beginning of bar 25. An adjustment of bar 28, stave 2 also avoids anticipating G until the end of the concluding flourish.

As usual Gilbert's emendations are confined to obvious wrong notes, while Fadini, in addition to correcting the concluding broken chords of each section, also transposes the notes of the lower stave up an octave from the last beat of bar 8 to the middle of bar 11, from the last note of bar 16 to the first note of bar 20, and throughout all but the last note of bar 25. Both editors fully annotate these changes and provide a modern key signature.

Sonata XVII (K59) is less complex, though clearly corrupt. Curiously Fadini emends only one obvious error, despite the fact that the concluding descent of each part shows the same dislocations as occur in Sonatas XXIX (K67) and XXXV (K71). Again I present the manuscript version and my edition:

Example 20: Scarlatti, Sonata K59

Two systems of musical notation for measures 1-3. The first system is labeled "Venice 1742" and the second is labeled "Ogeil". Both systems show a treble and bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and slurs. The bass staff contains a supporting line with trills (tr) and slurs.

Two systems of musical notation for measures 4-6. The first system is labeled "4" and the second is labeled "6". Both systems show a treble and bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and slurs. The bass staff contains a supporting line with trills (tr) and slurs.

Two systems of musical notation for measures 7-9. The first system is labeled "7" and the second is labeled "9". Both systems show a treble and bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and slurs. The bass staff contains a supporting line with trills (tr) and slurs.

11

Musical score for measures 11-14. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The melody in the treble clef consists of eighth and quarter notes. The bass clef accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the first two measures, followed by a more complex rhythmic pattern in the last two measures.

15

Musical score for measures 15-17. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff. The key signature has one flat. The melody in the treble clef includes trills (tr) and sixteenth-note runs. The bass clef accompaniment continues with a steady eighth-note pattern.

18

Musical score for measures 18-21. The score is written for two systems, each with a grand staff. The key signature has one flat. The melody in the treble clef features sixteenth-note runs and quarter notes. The bass clef accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern.

21

25

28

The left hand's part from the end of bar 7 to the end of bar 10 is surely an octave too low: the triad on the second beat of bar 9 is thick in this register, and the overlapping that occurs in the progression from bar 10 to bar 11 is clumsy; moreover this passage has something of the string-accompaniment character that was notated an octave too low in the Venice 1742 version of K 37. I have also chosen to read the left hand's bars up to this point an octave higher, the

resulting closer spacing between the hands being more typical of Scarlatti's practices, especially the imitation at the octave (rather than two octaves) in bar 3 and the close rhythmic interplay of bars 3–6. The second part of the piece contains several unconvincing octave displacements: stave 1, bars 15–16; stave 2, bars 19–20; stave 1, bars 20–21; and stave 1, between the third and fourth notes of bar 29. Further problems of this section are the spacing of bars 17–19 (especially the last half of this passage), the lower stave's fifth note in bar 23, written as BB, but clearly intended to be GG, a note suggesting a larger compass than required by the other sonatas of this group, and the left hand's descent to F in the middle of bar 30, exactly a bar before it reaches the same pitch by means of a descending broken chord. The major surgery that I have effected eradicates these perceived weaknesses and perhaps gives better direction to the whole. It assumes a compass up to d'''.

Both Gilbert and Fadini notate the piece with a modern key signature, correcting and annotating only the BB of bar 23. Gilbert also gives the left hand's final note of bar 20 as b-natural, presumably a printing error.

The remaining piece to be considered in this section is the Sonata XXXIX (K75). Here are the manuscript version and my edition:

Example 21: Scarlatti, Sonata K75

The image displays a musical score for Scarlatti's Sonata K75, organized into two systems. Each system consists of two grand staves (treble and bass clefs). The first system is labeled 'Venice 1742' and 'Ogeil'. The second system begins at measure 8. The score is written in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'p.' (piano) and 'tr' (trill). The piece concludes with a repeat sign and a trill on the final note.

22

29

35

42

Apart from the annotated correction of obvious wrong notes both Gilbert and Fadini have let this piece stand. The first five bars, however, are problematic:

first, the presumed trill of bar 1 naturally leads to b'', not b' (compare bars 21–22), and it would be difficult to argue that the opening phrase does not gain immeasurably from the transposition of the triplet of quavers up an octave; secondly, bar 5 is harmonically unsatisfactory, the note f-sharp' needing to be consonant in the position it occupies. If one were to retain bars 4 and 5 in their notated shape — and the reading does have its own musical logic, the minim b' of bar 5 resolving the minim c'' of bar 4 — the triplet in bar 5 should perhaps read d'–f-sharp'–g'. My reading assumes that errors have been made at two different stages of copying, one (from tablature) involving octave displacement, the other (from stave notation) displacement by a third.

* * *

Another enigma of Venice 1742 is more easily dealt with. This is the problem of the wavy lines, known to keyboard players especially through the transmission of K52 as Sonata XII of Kirkpatrick's edition of *Sixty Sonatas*. In the Preface Kirkpatrick includes among the *Questions answered* in the section Ornamentation:

[Question] What does Scarlatti mean by the wavy line ~~~ following a note?

[Answer] That the note is to be prolonged beyond its written value.

The matter-of-fact nature of this discourse might well lead the reader to understand that the answer is based on incontrovertible evidence. In the section "Notes on the Text of the Sonatas" Kirkpatrick explains his decision "to retain the indefinite notation which Scarlatti evidently used to indicate an overlapping, super-legato style of playing, in which chord tones are intended to be sustained, regardless of part-writing". This takes the interpretation a step further: no longer is the note simply to be prolonged, but it is to be sustained beyond the entry of the next note. But since the next note is often a repeat of the previous note this is an impossibility. Moreover, musical notation has perfectly good ways of indicating the prolongation of a note; and the indication of "super-legato" by writing shorter note values than those required to fill the space defies logic.

In the Preface to the *Sixty Sonatas* Kirkpatrick also refers the reader to Appendix IV of his *Domenico Scarlatti* "for the fullest available information concerning Scarlatti's ornamentation". Here we are told that the wavy line in K52 "appears

to indicate that the preceding notes are to be held longer than their written duration”, apparently “a survival of the imprecisions of lute and organ tablature”. The certainty of the edition thus dissolves, in the monograph, into an opinion supported only by a vague reference to lute and organ tablature. It is true that lute tablature does leave some note durations open to interpretation; however, organ tablature does not. And neither notation features wavy lines.

Gilbert retains the wavy lines without offering any explanation of them in either his Preface or his Critical Commentary. Fadini also retains them in her edition, the Preface referring to notes “followed by an undulating line, which probably indicates an indefinite prolongation of the note value”.

In fact similar wavy lines occur in four other sonatas in Venice 1742: III (K45), VII (K49), XI (K53) and LVIII (K92). K45 features a single wavy line in the tenor of bar 31. It is not present in the two Viennese manuscripts that are the only concordances, nor is it present in the repeat of this phrase in our source. Gilbert omits the wavy line without comment; Fadini includes it and annotates its absence from the two Viennese manuscripts in which the piece occurs. K49 contains wavy lines in bars 86 and 120. In bar 86 the right hand has a wavy line to the right of the only note in the bar (and seemingly growing out of it), the note given as a breve with a fermata above it, tied to the first note of the next bar. Below the stave are the words “mantiene il Trillo con Carriera veloce” (“maintain the trill at full speed”). In Venice II and Parma III the note is given as a semibreve with fermata, tie and annotation, but without a wavy line. Both Gilbert and Fadini give a semibreve with fermata and tie along with the wavy line to the right of the note. There is no doubt about the meaning of this particular wavy line: the annotation confirms that it represents a trill. The left hand, however, has a minim followed by a wavy line (not connected to the note), the wavy line surmounted by a fermata, and the context suggests that this should be interpreted as a rest, since the right hand alone continues with a long flourish growing out of its trill.

The copyist of Venice II and Parma III maintains the right-hand notation and text, except that the note is given as a semibreve. He seems to have been unsure about the left hand, however, notating a dotted minim with a wavy line under

the note in Venice and a dotted minim with a wavy line under the dot in Parma. Gilbert gives a semibreve with fermata, followed by a wavy line, while Fadini gives a dotted minim with fermata followed by a wavy line. Neither of these notations is in any source, nor do the critical commentaries mention the bar. The wavy line of bar 120 is simply absent from Venice II, Parma III and London Add. Ms. 31553. Fadini retains it without further annotation, while Gilbert replaces it with rests. K53 contains wavy lines in bars 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47 and 48. All of these occur also in London Add. Ms. 31553, while Parma VI replaces all wavy lines by rests of appropriate values (crotchet rests in bars 9, 11, 15 and 17, minim rests elsewhere). Lisbon 194.1 transmits a slightly different version of the work. Wavy lines are present in bars 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47 and 48, but in bars 9, 11, 15 and 17 (as well as bar 13) the right hand has a crotchet followed by a dotted minim, with a trill over the latter. The apparently erroneous dot after the minim in bar 11 of Venice 1742 may indicate that the versions transmitted in this and the London sources resulted from a misreading. Gilbert gives rests in all instances, fully annotating the notation in Venice 1742. Fadini retains the wavy lines, annotating the rests in the Parma, though incompletely (missing bars 9 and 11).

The unicum K92 contains wavy lines in bars 24, 41 and 51. Gilbert treats the first of these as a whole-bar rest, simply omits the second, and changes the value of the note before the third from a crotchet to a minim. None of these instances is annotated. Fadini also treats the first as a whole-bar rest and simply omits the other two, all without annotation.

Sheveloff devotes a number of pages to the wavy line (1970, pp. 396–402). In addition to the above instances (with the exceptions of K49 and 92, which he has clearly overlooked) he cites examples outside the Venice 1742 manuscript. These are in K109, 300 and 349, all instances occurring in both Venice and Parma sources with the exception of bar 32 of K300, where Parma simply has a blank. Without comment, Gilbert replaces the wavy line in bar 7 of K109 with rests; Fadini retains the wavy line while noting its absence in Cambridge. Again without comment Gilbert replaces the wavy line in bar 27 of K300 with a whole-bar rest and those in bars 32 and 33 with crotchet rests falling on the second and third beats of each bar; Fadini retains the wavy lines and notes their absence in

Münster IV and Vienna B. As for K349, Gilbert treats the wavy line in bar 28 as an unannotated rest, while replacing the one in bar 71 with a dotted-minim octave F/f (!) without annotation. (Longo had replaced it with a dotted-minim octave C/c.) Fadini retains both wavy lines, annotating each as an indefinite prolongation of the previous note (which in each case occurs in the previous bar). It has to be said that in bar 28 such an interpretation beggars belief, the final note of the previous bar being part of a semiquaver passage that continues into the upper stave of bar 28.

After considering Kirkpatrick's interpretation of these wavy lines Sheveloff suggests other possible interpretations (1970, p. 402):

- "1) the sign may indicate some form of trill or other ornament,
- "2) the sign indicated some special device available only on certain keyboard instruments,
- "3) the signs may mean more than any one realization can convey, in fact there are some appearances that may have no relation at all to the others."

If we except the trill in the right hand of bar 86 of K49, there is a simple solution to the enigma of the wavy line. Concordances without wavy lines either omit them altogether or replace them with rests. Either way they amount to the same thing. This suggests that they simply derive from a casual approach to the notation of rests by a particular scribe, or perhaps by Scarlatti himself. For one thing, where a wavy line is the only notation in a particular bar in the stave in which it occurs it can hardly involve the interpretation of a note, given that no note is present. And apart from these occurrences wavy lines always occupy spaces between notes or at the end of a bar: a bar never begins with a wavy line. If we study the notation of Scarlatti's sonatas we find a very casual approach both to whole-bar rests and to rests that should strictly be notated to complete the value of a bar. Venice 1749, for example, written by the same scribe at Venice 1742, does not include a single whole-bar rest: the bars are simply left blank. And there is a minimum of rests used to complete the value of a bar: the spaces are also simply left blank.

There is a further example of the wavy line, occurring in the first bar of both Venice and Parma sources of K348. An annotation at the conclusion of K347

indicates that K348 is to be played *attacca*, and this explains the semibreve value of the first left-hand note of K348, which is in $\frac{3}{4}$ time—it is the final note of K347. Above this note, however, is a wavy line, interpreted as a trill in modern editions, though it is difficult to make musical sense of such an interpretation, either as the conclusion of K347 or as the opening of the repeat of the first section of K348. But if the wavy line is simply an indication of a whole-bar rest when the first section of the sonata is repeated there can be little argument that it makes perfect sense.

* * *

A further notational peculiarity of Venice 1742 needs comment. In a number of sonatas the whole-bar rest is accompanied by the sign . This occurs in the following locations:

Sonata XXXI (K3) bars 1, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 48, 69 and 70 [the sign is missing from the whole-bar rest in bar 73]

Sonata XXXV (K71) bars 14 and 29

Sonata XXXIX (K75) bars 16, 17, 40, 41 and 42

Sonata XL (K76) bars 27 and 65 [the sign is missing from the whole-bar rests in bars 1 and 28]

Sonata XLI (K37) bar 52 [the sign is missing from the whole-bar rest in bar 28]

I have not to date been able to establish a convincing meaning for this sign. What is noteworthy is that four of the five works that include the notation are among those that also feature octave displacement, while the fifth (K3), though I have not included it among this group of works, also contains two groups of five notes that also appear to have been notated an octave too high. It thus remains a possible contender for having been transcribed from tablature, but it is also possible, in this case, that the position of the five-note groups was purposely adjusted because of compass. Any further progress that may be made in identifying this sign may well be linked to the discovery of the exact form of notation through which these pieces have passed.

* * *

The last subject to be investigated in connection with the notation of Venice 1742 is dynamics. Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 283) observes: “The few indications of piano and forte that appear in earlier pieces apply almost entirely to echo effects (Sonatas 70, 73, 88).” These three sonatas are among the *unica* of Venice

1742. Both K73 and K88 are chamber sonatas, and the single *P.^{no}* in the first Minuetto of K73 and the two *P.^o* and one *F.^e* in the Grave of K88 all involve echoes. K70, on the other hand, is clearly a keyboard work, and it is little short of astounding that its dynamics have not attracted more detailed commentary. One possible reason that they have not received more attention is that all six dynamic indications are silently omitted from Gilbert's edition, as is the single dynamic in K73. Fadini also omits the *piano* in K73 but includes all six markings in K70. As observed above, this sonata is one of those containing a considerable amount of octave displacement; but it also contains the following dynamic indications, all noted below the bass stave:

bar 9: <i>P.^o</i>	bar 25: <i>P.^o</i>
bar 10: <i>f.</i>	bar 26: <i>f</i>
bar 11: <i>p.</i>	bar 27: <i>p</i>

The last of these indications is missing from the Monumenta Musicae Revocata facsimile of 1985, though it is clearly visible in Kirkpatrick's facsimile edition of 1972, whose photographs date from 1950. In his unpaginated "Notes on Sources" in this edition Kirkpatrick laments the deterioration of the Venice manuscripts: "My recollection of these volumes as I first saw them in June 1939 was that they were in impeccable, pristine condition." By 1950, however, "many of these volumes...suffer[ed] from showing through of ink from the reverse sides of the pages," and "by June 1970 they had deteriorated to such a point that ink eating through the decorative borders on numerous pages had caused many margins to become detached as if cut off with scissors." The obliteration of the "*p*" in bar 27 of the 1985 facsimile is presumably the result of this process of deterioration and/or a process of tidying up the photographs prior to printing.

What are we to make of these indications? As a harpsichordist Kirkpatrick must have known that they made little (if any) sense for the harpsichord: for one thing they would presume a two-manual instrument, not the norm in either Italy or Iberia; for another the resulting effect of having these few bass notes on contrasting manuals would be minimal; moreover the sudden jump to another manual at the end of a passage of semiquavers, as would occur at the beginning of bar 9, is simply not idiomatic. Similar observations would apply to the organ. The passage makes total sense, however, on the piano, which affords effective

tonal contrast without any need to change manuals. And it is not inconceivable, given the chaotic state of the notation, that the *forte* notes were intended to be displaced in octave as well as in dynamic, as suggested in my edition (above).

The significance of these markings lies not in the musical detail they provide but in the evidence they offer in favour of the piano as the instrument for which the piece is here notated (and may have been specifically composed).

* * *

In summary, there is much to consider in the 1742 Venice manuscript. That it has received little attention to date is puzzling up to a point, but the fact is that there is little in it that can be regarded as quintessential Domenico Scarlatti. Nevertheless it almost certainly contains his earliest extant keyboard writing, and this is of interest as we try to recognise the provenance of the many elements that make up his mature style. My focus in this chapter, however, has been on the unravelling of the notational peculiarities of the manuscript. This has involved a certain amount of conjecture, and there are certainly some unanswered questions in relation to my German keyboard tablature hypothesis. But I believe that I have presented a strong case, argued both scientifically and artistically, and that the shoe is now firmly on the other foot: is there a more convincing explanation of the state in which these pieces have been passed down to us?

¹ See also Pagano, *Due Vite*, p. 439: "...probabilmente il copista riceveva da Scarlatti una sorta di abbreviazione stenografica dei testi, qualcosa che poteva lasciare allo scriba una certa latitudine d'iniziativa: l'adozione di una notazione d'involatura, che non prevede certe differenze di segnatura, giustificherebbe tutto, a esempio." (...the copyist probably received from Scarlatti a sort of shorthand abbreviation of the texts, something that allowed the scribe a certain latitude of initiative: for example, the adoption of a tablature notation, which does not provide for certain notational distinctions, would explain everything.") I think it important to add that keyboard tablatures, whether Spanish or German, traditionally communicate all details of pitch and duration, which is as much as was usually indicated by the staff notation of the day. The displacement of octaves common to transcriptions from tablatures arises from scribal errors, not notational deficiencies.

Chapter 2: The Piano

Botta forte. A strong blow. In music written for what class of instrument should we expect to find such an annotation? The mind certainly does not go automatically in the direction of a plucked instrument such as the harpsichord; but the words occur five times in the *Sonate per cembalo* of Azzolino Bernardino della Ciaja published in Rome in 1727. Could it be that Ciaja's volume is intended for a particular type of *cembalo*, the variety known by such names as the *cembalo col piano e forte*?

Recent years have seen a remarkable growth in our knowledge of the Cristofori piano and its capabilities; and this, in turn, is having far-reaching consequences for our understanding of Scarlatti's keyboard output. The 550-odd sonatas—most of them incontestably harpsichord music to the scholar, at least since Ralph Kirkpatrick's pioneering study of 1953, all of them recorded on harpsichord by Scott Ross in the 1980s—are being claimed for the piano. And not only by pianists, who have always regarded them as part of their repertoire, but also by instrument makers and students of eighteenth-century performance practice. "It is going too far to transform the greatest harpsichordist in history into 'the piano's greatest advocate'", writes Robert Pagano (2001, p. 403) in response to David Sutherland's claims (1995, p. 252). But the piano camp has gained considerable momentum over the past two decades, having on side such luminaries as Eva Badura-Skoda (1985), Joel Sheveloff (1986) and Beryl Kenyon de Pascual (1987). There has been considerable analysis of Maffei and the Queen's list of instruments, but so far there has been little interest in Scarlatti's contemporaries who were certainly writing for the piano, and there has also been scant study of the qualities of this music that might make it appropriate to the piano.

Our first obstacle is nomenclature. Just as the German "Clavier" referred to any keyboard instrument, including the organ, so the Italian "cembalo" and Spanish "clavicordio" referred to any variety of stringed keyboard instrument. Stewart Pollens draws our attention to twenty different titles for the piano in the eighteenth century, five different names being from Gottlieb Türk alone (1995,

p. 5). The confusion persisted. Beethoven, in his sonatas up to and including the *Pathétique*, opus 13, indicated “Pour le Clavecin ou Piano-Forte” on the title pages. Is Beethoven really suggesting that the *Pathétique* can be played on either the harpsichord or the piano, or is “Clavecin” simply a generic term? Opus 26 has “pour le Clavecin ou Forte-Piano”; the opus 27 sonatas (including the “Moonlight”) “Per il Clavicembalo o Piano-Forte”; and the Zürich print of opus 31 (the opus was published simultaneously in Bonn) labels these three sonatas “Pour le Piano-Forte” while including them in a series called *Répertoire des Clavecinistes*. As late as 1817 opus 101, “pour le Piano-Forte” or “für das Hammer-Klavier”, is published in a series called *Musée Musical des Clavecinistes*. Thus a century after the piano first came into prominence the terminology is not defined—small wonder that it was unclear during Scarlatti’s lifetime!

Fortunately, however, we do have a volume of contemporaneous keyboard music whose title specifies the piano in unambiguous terms, and from this we may be able to determine whether there are identifiable characteristics distinguishing early piano writing from the harpsichord writing of the day. Lodovico Giustini di Pistoia published his *Sonate da cimbalo di piano e forte detto volgarmente di martelletti* in Florence in 1732. The first point to note about the volume beyond the detailed specification of the instrument is its dedication — signed not by Giustini himself but by the Brazilian prelate D. João de Seyxas da Fonseca — to His Royal Highness the Most Serene Prince Don Antonio of Portugal. Antonio was the brother of King João V, who was sufficiently interested in his sibling’s musical education, as well as that of his own daughter Maria Barbara, to seek out one of Europe’s greatest keyboard players as their tutor—and that tutor was none other than Domenico Scarlatti, who carried out these duties with some interruptions from 1719 to 1729, subsequently serving Maria Barbara in Spain for the rest of his life. Since it is known that João purchased pianos from Cristofori at considerable cost—a contemporary account gives a figure that would have been “four or five times what might have been paid for an antique Ruckers harpsichord that had undergone a *grand ravalement* in Paris” (Pollens 1995, p. 118)—it is reasonable to assume that the dedication of Giustini’s volume to Don Antonio was an acknowledgment of the importance of the piano in the Portuguese court. Examination of the twelve sonatas reveals the following:

1. All are contained within the compass BB to c'''. This is one note outside the C to c''' compass of Cristofori's earliest known pianos, and while he occasionally made pianos with larger compasses this seems to have been his norm. It is also quite likely the compass for which Giustini composed, his three uses of BB (one in the *Preludio* of Suonata IV and two in the *Siciliana* of Suonata XII) probably being accomplished by tuning down the C or the C-sharp, neither of which is required in these particular works. To players accustomed to a variety of short octave and broken octave configurations such a procedure would not have been unusual.

2. The keys of the sonatas (respectively g, c, F, e, D, B-flat, G, A, C, f, E, G) do not venture beyond four sharps or flats. Nor do a few individual movements set in related or parallel minor keys. This is possibly of significance to temperament practices of the day, Italy and Iberia showing conservatism in this regard.

3. The texture is predominantly homophonic and in two or three parts.

4. Nevertheless there are large chords of up to four notes in each hand, and even five notes in the left hand.

5. Chords are often spiced with *mordenti* and *acciaccature*, the former touching notes a semitone below a harmony note, the latter a tone below a harmony note.

6. Melodies, both spirited and serene, often feature repeated notes.

7. There is some octave doubling in the bass.

8. Contrasts of *forte* and *piano* are indicated, and, on occasion, *più piano*.

While Giustini's volume is an obvious starting point, it has to be admitted that there is little in it that suggests comparison with Scarlatti's keyboard writing. Giustini is a musical conservative, his sonatas descendants of Corelli, with some French intermarriage occasionally in evidence. Indeed the opening *Balletto* of

Suonata I, marked *Spiritoso, ma non presto*, is nothing short of an entrée in the vein of Lully (and, it has to be said, a fine example at that), something that we shall seek in vain in the sonatas of Scarlatti. Of the features of the works listed above it is perhaps the melodic use of repeated notes that most marks the music as belonging to the piano rather than the harpsichord. Here is the opening of the second movement of Suonata VI:

Example 1: Giustini, Suonata VI, 2nd movement

Allegro assai

The musical score for Example 1 is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The tempo is marked *Allegro assai*. The bass staff features a prominent repeated-note figure in the left hand, while the treble staff has a more melodic line. A trill (tr) is indicated above the final note of the first phrase, and a piano (pia.) marking is present above the second phrase.

And in a more peaceful environment, here is an excerpt from the *Preludio* of Suonata IV:

Example 2: Giustini, Suonata IV, 1st movement

Largo

The musical score for Example 2 is in 3/4 time and D major. It consists of two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The tempo is marked *Largo*. The bass staff features a prominent repeated-note figure in the left hand, while the treble staff has a more melodic line. The score includes a trill (tr) and a piano (pia.) marking.

The repeated-note figures may be regarded as instances of the rhetorical figure epizeuxis, being the emphatic repetition of a word. Walther (1732, p. 228) gives the verbal examples “Jauchzet, jauchzet, jauchzet dem Herrn alle Welt” and “Jauchzet, jauchzet dem Herrn alle, alle Welt”, naming the latter a double epizeuxis. Mattheson (1739, p. 243) illustrates epizeuxis musically, giving a simple version of a melodic idea followed by a version incorporating the rhetorical figure:

Example 3: Mattheson, *Epizeuxis*

eigentlich:  figürlich: 

Epizeuxis is clearly a figure that comes into its own with Cristofori's *cembalo col piano e forte*, for the player is able to shape the repeated notes in a way that the harpsichord, no matter for skilfully it is played, simply cannot. Of course the figure was already well established in the violin repertoire and other instrumental literature; but though repeated-note figures are not absent from earlier keyboard music—many a canzona subject from Frescobaldi to Buxtehude springs to mind—and though both organ and harpsichord have recourse to *quantitas intrinseca* to shape such material, only the piano, among keyboard instruments, can aim to match either the vehemence or subtle expressiveness of the figure as rendered by voice or violin.

Ciaja's *Sonate per cembalo* precede Giustini's by five years. Stylistically the two volumes have virtually nothing in common. This, however, does not preclude the possibility or likelihood that the two works were written for the same instrument—a little over a century later Schumann, Chopin and Liszt were also composing for a common instrument, though their approaches to that instrument were highly individual.

The first thing that can be said about Ciaja's writing is that it bears almost no resemblance to known harpsichord writing of any time or place. Consider the following passage from the second movement, *Canzone*, of Sonata I.

Example 4: Ciaja, Sonata I, *Canzone*, bb.21–24


A left-hand theme is presented in octaves (repeated notes!) to the

accompaniment of right-hand passages in thirds and sixths. Perhaps it is only the notation in four voices that prevents us from believing that we are looking at a piano study of the early nineteenth century. Let us modernise the notation a little:

Example 5: Ciaja, Sonata I, *Canzone*, bb.21–24 (revised notation)

Ciaja's volume abounds in such virtuosic writing, especially in the fugal movements called "Canzone", the presentation of the theme and other material in the octaves in the left hand being a feature of these movements in a number of the sonatas, the fifth and sixth in particular.

Let us now consider the opening of the first movement, *Toccata*, of Sonata VI:

While the ornamentation clearly marks the piece as belonging to the early eighteenth century, there is also much here that could be mistaken for piano writing by a minor composer of a century later, including the *Grave* left-hand octaves of the opening and the *botta forte* chords that conclude the excerpt. With “*botta forte*” replaced by “*sforzando*”, ornamentation removed or curtailed and the whole re-written in modern clefs and with modern stemming we should be unlikely to find ourselves dating the work to 1727 or thinking of any instrument other than the piano for its realisation.

Here is an overview of Ciaja’s sonatas:

Ciaja, Sonate per cembalo

No.	Movement	Key	Compass	Annotations
1	Toccata	G	GG–c'''	Largo, e sostenuto Botta forte Lento Appoggiato Risoluto
	Canzone	C	GG–c'''	
	P ^o Tempo	g	GG–c'''	Allegro
	2 ^o Tempo	G	GG–b''	Moderato
2	Toccata	F	AA–c'''	Largo
	Canzone	a	AA–c'''	Languente
	P ^o Tempo	c	GG–c'''	Lento
	2 ^o Tempo	F	FF–c'''	Allegro
3	Toccata	g	FF–c'''	Li Passi replicati d’Arpeggio potransi replicare a piacere in tutti le Toccate Arpeggio arpeg arp. x 3 a tempo

				a piacere
				stentato
				Arp.
				Arpeggio
				3 ^o solo portato per piatto
				presto
	Canzone	d	FF-c'''	Adagio
				risoluto
	P ^o Tempo	B-flat	BB-flat-c'''	Moderato
	2 ^o Tempo	g	GG-c'''	Non presto
4	Toccata	A	AA-b''	
	Canzone	D	AA-b''	
	P ^o Tempo	E	AA-b''	Larghetto
	2 ^o Tempo	A	AA—f-sharp''	Allegro
5	Toccata	C	CC-a''	Arpeggio
	Canzone	G	GG-c'''	
	P ^o Tempo	D	GG-c ³	Moderato
	2 ^o Tempo	C	GG-g''	Maestoso
6	Toccata	a	GG-c'''	Veloce
				Grave
				Veloce
				Grave
				Veloce
				Grave
				Arpeggio lento
				botta forte x 2
				Stentato
				Botta forte x 2
				Affettuoso
				Arpeg:
	Canzone	C	GG-c'''	Pausato e sostenuto
				Allegro

P ^o Tempo	B-flat	BB-flat—c ^{'''}	
2 ^o Tempo	a	AA—c ^{'''}	Allegro

Ciaja appears to be writing for an instrument whose extremes are FF and c^{'''}, but a further detail of his compass requirements is that the notes FF-sharp and GG-sharp are never used. Indeed the note GG-sharp^{'''} is specifically avoided on at least one occasion, in bar 37 of the *Canzone* of Sonata V. The subject of this fugal movement

is:

Example 7: Ciaja, Sonata V, *Canzone*, bb.1–3



The entry commencing in the middle of bar 35, however, is as follows:

Example 8: Ciaja, Sonata V, *Canzone*, bb.35–38

The compass requirements for playing Ciaja's *Sonate per cembalo* are thus FF, GG, AA—c^{'''}, and this is exactly the original compass of the 1720 Cristofori piano now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Sutherland, 1988–9, p. 20). Given that only an estimated two per cent of eighteenth-century keyboard instruments survive in any state at all (Sutherland 2001, fn.10), it could well be that Ciaja had access to a similar instrument and that such a piano compass was not uncommon in the 1720s. On the other hand I have not encountered such a harpsichord compass among Italian instruments of this period.

Consideration of the Ciaja's annotations offers even more compelling support for the piano as the medium for which he was writing. *Botta forte* leaves us in

little doubt, but the word *appoggiato* is also of interest. It is the past participle of the verb *appoggiare*, meaning “to lean” or “to support”, and is probably best translated here as “leant upon”. *Appoggiato* did not appear in Brossard’s dictionary of 1703, but it is present in Walther’s *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732, under the entry *Appuyé*:

Appuyé (*gall.*) appoggiato (*ital.*) unterstützt;... [The entry proceeds to describe the tremblement appuyé, which is not of relevance here.]

Appoggiato receives an individual entry in Koch’s *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1802:

Appoggiato soll eben so viel bedeuten, als col portamento di voce, oder mit getragener Stimme.

Among Ciaja’s contemporaries the only musical use of the word with which I am acquainted occurs in Alessandro Scarlatti’s Toccata VII of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Napoli ms. 9478, where we encounter a section marked “Adagio [:] Cantabile, ed appoggiato”,¹ literally “at ease: singable and leant upon”. Are we not being told here to let the melody sing out above its accompaniment? And, if so, are we not looking at music composed for the piano? Here is the opening of the section in question:

Example 9: A. Scarlatti, Toccata VII, *Adagio*

The musical score for Example 9 consists of two systems of music. The first system is labeled "Cantabile, ed appoggiato" and is in common time (C). It features a treble clef with a melodic line that includes a trill (tr) and a bass clef with chords. The second system shows a more complex melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line with arpeggios (Arpeggio) and chords.

Of additional interest is that this toccata is subtitled in its New Haven source (Yale University ms. 164) “Toccata per Cembalo d’ottava stesa. Napoli, 1723”. “Ottava stesa” actually means “extended octave”, its use designating a compass with a full chromatic first octave instead of the more common “short” or “broken” octaves. This work stands apart from its nine companions not only in

London in 1738. Dedicated to João V of Portugal, these thirty sonatas represent a selection of Scarlatti's keyboard works, originating, according to the dedication, during his years of service to the king's daughter, Princess Maria Barbara, and to his brother, Don Antonio. Thus some of the works were born in Portugal — and perhaps all of them — while the possibility that others may have had their origins in Spain is not excluded. Given the dedicatee's known interest in the piano it seems likely that at least some of the sonatas would be specifically for this instrument, and it is not impossible that all would have been regarded as appropriate to it. Twenty-one of the sonatas are contained within the standard Cristofori compass of C- c''', while the remaining nine sonatas require a larger compass, always at the bass end. Some of them can be played on a four-octave instrument with a note or two retuned: for example, the C-sharp strings could be tuned down for the BB in K6 or the BB-flat in K16, and both C-sharp and D-sharp could be retuned to provide the requisite AA and BB in K7. But all semitones down to GG, except for GG-sharp, are required in various places. An instrument such as the Metropolitan Museum's Cristofori of 1720 would thus have been an appropriate vehicle for these works, and given that João V purchased instruments from Cristofori at this very time there is every reason to suppose that an instrument of this compass had found its way to Lisbon.

What is most striking about the compass of the *Essercizi*, however, is the avoidance of any note above c'''. The transposition of the first note of the second part of K 13 down an octave shows that no d''' was available on the instrument for which this sonata was composed:

Example 11: Scarlatti, Sonata K 13, opening of each section

The note d''' is also clearly avoided in bar 48 of K6 (compare bar 40), and both c''' and d''' are plainly unavailable for the completion of the fugal entry commencing at bar 27 of K30:

Example 12: Scarlatti, Sonata K 30, bb.1–4, 27–30

Moderato

These are three unequivocal examples of musical situations where d''' would certainly have been employed had it been available. The importance of the avoidance of this note in keyboard sonatas composed in Portugal can hardly be over-estimated since all the evidence we have suggests that even at this time the standard Portuguese keyboard compass, unlike that of Italy, was C to d''' . This is the range of the keyboard works of Carlos Seixas, who was working alongside Scarlatti in Lisbon, and it is also the compass of all known Portuguese harpsichords and clavichords from the first half of the eighteenth century, though as yet these are few in number (van der Meer 1997, pp. 141–3). If the

sonatas considered here (K6, K13 and K30) were indeed composed in Portugal but ignored the prevailing Portuguese keyboard compass we should have a virtually watertight case for the piano as the instrument for which the collection was composed.

Since all but one of the *Essercizi* have fast tempo markings—fifteen *Presto* and fourteen *Allegro*—while the last is a fugue marked *Moderato*, it is not possible to make any comparisons with Platti's *cantabile* writing. But the writing throughout most of the *Essercizi* does feature qualities that can be regarded as pianistic in the more gymnastic mould: scales, broken chords and arpeggios aplenty across the compass of the instrument, broken thirds and sixths, right hand double sixths, left hand octaves, considerable use of repeated notes and chords. And while Ciaja's extraordinary writing makes Scarlatti's look tame (I am tempted to find parallels with the remarkable writing of the Parisian Alkan in comparison with that of his next-door neighbour, Chopin), we are nevertheless certainly dealing with a new type of keyboard writing. In this regard it may be as well to note Sutherland's observation (2001, p. 8), reflecting on the reinforced construction of Cristofori's piano keyboards: "Cristofori had discovered from experience that players took a far more energetic and forceful approach to his pianos than was normal for ordinary keyboard instruments."

Such a view of the contemporaneous use of Cristofori's piano is diametrically opposed to that supposed by Kirkpatrick (1953, pp. 185–6):

Barring definite proof to the contrary, I am inclined to believe that the pianoforte was used at the Spanish court largely for accompanying the voice (witness Farinelli's fondness for the pianoforte), and that the harpsichord retained its pre-eminence for solo music. Certainly in the case of Scarlatti this appears to have been true. But in the first two volumes of the Queen's manuscripts, i.e. Venice I and II, we find a number of pieces, particularly the first eight sonatas of Venice I, that are quite different in character from Scarlatti's usual harpsichord writing. The basses have little of the animation and color to which Scarlatti has accustomed us. In terms of the harpsichord they remain inert and without overtones like a bare unharmonized continuo. It has occurred

to me that these sonatas might represent experiments in writing for the early piano. Moreover their range falls within the compass of Queen's pianofortes. The delicate and fluid nuance of the early pianoforte might well make them sound better than they do on the harpsichord.

However, on grounds of style it is almost impossible to draw a definite borderline between mid-eighteenth-century harpsichord music and music for the early piano.

The eight sonatas to which Kirkpatrick refers are numbers 148–155 according to his catalogue, and they may well have been written for the piano. It is clear, however, that Kirkpatrick's understanding of the instrument's limitations is at variance with Scipione Maffei's enthusiastic report on Cristofori's invention, published in Venice in 1711.³ Yes, Maffei admitted, there were those who had criticised the instrument—and it must be remarked that Kirkpatrick's criticisms are in the vein of those censured by Maffei—but such objections are voiced by those who have not taken the trouble to learn how to play the new instrument. One had to learn how to graduate the sound, how to give prominence to individual voices, how to “press the keys with impetus” to achieve the forte. On this last point Sutherland (2001, p. 10) comments: “The piano responds well to high energy, not only to forceful playing but to speed...”

Another group of works for which the piano is a likely contender are the twenty-one sonatas marked “Cantabile”. Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 179) considered and rejected the association of *cantabile* and the piano:

The most extended of the Queen's pianos had fifty-six keys, or four octaves and a half. Many of the *cantabile* pieces and many of the latest and most highly developed sonatas, however, demand a full five-octave range in such a manner as to be impossible of execution on any of the Queen's pianos.

In fact only six of the twenty-one sonatas go beyond the fifty-six-note compass GG to d^{'''}, which Kirkpatrick is most likely assuming. But if the fifty-six-note compass is GG, AA to d^{'''}, e^{'''}—a distinct possibility given the propensity for omitting the lowest “black” notes—a further three sonatas can be

accommodated by tuning e''' down a semitone. Here are the relevant details of the *cantabile* sonatas:

Scarlatti, *Cantabile* Sonatas

K	Key	Compass	Tempo/Character
77*	d	C-c'''	<i>Moderato e Cantabile</i>
132	C	C-d'''	<i>Cantabile</i> (Venice), <i>Andante</i> (Parma)
144**	G	D-d'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
170	C	C-d'''	<i>Andante moderato e Cantabile</i>
176	D	D-d'''	<i>Cantabile Andante</i>
208	A	G-d'''	<i>Adagio e Cantabile</i>
277	D	D-d'''	<i>Cantabile Andantino</i>
304	G	GG-d'''	<i>Andante Cantabile</i>
308	C	C-c'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
347	g	D-d'''	<i>Moderato e Cantabile</i>
384	C	C-c'''	<i>Cantabile Andante</i>
474	E-flat	Eb-e-flat'''	<i>Andante e Cantabile</i>
478	D	AA-g'''	<i>Andante e Cantabile</i>

481	f	C-d'''	<i>Andante e Cantabile</i>
485	C	FF-g'''	<i>Andante e Cantabile</i>
490	D	AA-d'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
507	E-flat	BB-flat-e-flat'''	<i>Andantino Cantabile</i>
534	D	AA-d'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
536	A	AA-f-sharp'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
544	B-flat	BB-flat-d-flat'''	<i>Cantabile</i>
546	g	GG-e-flat'''	<i>Cantabile</i>

*Probably a work for violin and continuo.

**Authenticity doubted by Gerstenberg and Sheveloff.

In terms of piano compass the problematic works are thus K478, 485 and 536. Of these, K485 might be regarded as the most problematic of all: alone among Scarlatti's sonatas it requires a compass of FF to g''', and it contains passages such as the following, which we are inclined to regard as pianistic:

Example 13: Scarlatti, Sonata K 485, bb.46–50

The particular problem with this work is that we have no knowledge of an instrument of this compass at this time, be it harpsichord, clavichord, piano or organ. We must therefore return an open finding, again remembering that only an estimated two per cent of eighteenth-century keyboard instruments are extant.

The association of *cantabile* and the piano has recently been revisited by Rosalind Halton (2002), who points out that a fine Italian harpsichord can also achieve an outstanding singing style. “What is less easy”, she adds tellingly, “is for the harpsichord to accompany itself” (p. 45). And here she has perhaps guided us to the most important criterion in our search for evidence of piano writing in the *cantabile* manner—the accompanimental material, often made up of repeated notes or chords, which the harpsichord simply cannot render with the appropriate subtlety. The sonata K208 furnishes a convincing illustration of this point:

Example 14: Scarlatti, Sonata K 208, bb.1–5

Adagio e Cantabile

Our composer also shows a close association between *Cantabile* and *Andante* (in one case *Andantino*), ten of the sonatas (K170, 176, 277, 304, 384, 474, 478, 481,

485, 508) pairing these words for their indication of character, another (K132) having *Andante* in the Parma manuscript and *Cantabile* in Venice. Among the numerous sonatas simply marked *Andante*, K185 opens with a fine example of a left-hand melody, *cantabile* in all but name, whose right-hand accompaniment is often difficult to bring off on the harpsichord without being intrusive:

Example 15: Scarlatti, Sonata K 185, bb.1–7



Do we not have here one of the earliest examples of a type of piano writing that was to reach its epitome in such pieces at Chopin's *Etude in C-sharp minor* op. 25 no. 7?

Sheveloff (1986, p. 96) draws our attention to another group of sonatas that might be considered appropriate to the piano—those featuring the *acciaccatura*. The ornament has long been considered to be the domain of harpsichordists, but Sheveloff, noting the similar notation employed by Giustini and Scarlatti for the *acciaccatura* “with the dissonant notes given in full value like the consonant ones”, suggests that it is indicative of a “desire to add bite to the texture.” He continues:

“Perhaps we can speculate that both composers employ this special effect because of the gentle, somewhat saccharine sonority of the *gravicembalo col piano e forte*, as compared to the abrasive twang of the harpsichord.”⁴

One does not have to agree with Shevaloff's “saccharine sonority” any more than his “abrasive twang” to grasp his point. Furthermore, the Toccata VII of Alessandro Scarlatti, discussed above, is the only one of the ten toccatas in the collection to feature the *acciaccatura* other than in an arpeggiated setting.⁵ The following excerpt shows that we are dealing with notes that are sounded together:

Example 16: A. Scarlatti, Toccata VII, bb.249–253

While Giustini's use of the *acciaccatura* is confined to chords approaching cadences, and while his notation distinguishes *acciaccature*, notated in full note values, from *mordenti*, written as small notes,⁶ Scarlatti considerably extends the use of the *acciaccatura* and usually makes no distinction in notation between *acciaccature* and *mordenti*. Sheveloff (1986, p. 96) lists fifteen sonatas that “exhibit the most pervasive, if not obsessive, treatment”, all of them falling within the fifty-six-note compass GG-d''' available on pianos at the Spanish court. These sonatas are K105, 115, 119, 124, 134, 137, 138, 141, 175, 181, 193, 212, 215, 249 and 262.

At this stage we have considered evidence for the piano in the essentially athletic *Essercizi*, in a number of less active sonatas, including those marked “Cantabile”, and in sonatas containing *acciaccature*. The whole *raison-d'être* of the piano, however, is its ability to contrast and graduate dynamics, and of this we have noted only Giustini's use of *forte*, *piano* and *più piano*, Ciaja's use of *botta forte* and *appoggiato*, Alessandro Scarlatti's use of the latter, and, in the previous chapter, the dynamic indications in the sonata K70.

The absence of dynamic indications, however, need not be indicative of an absence of dynamic variation in performance. Among Quantz's prescriptions for good execution is the continual alternation of light and shadow, of *forte* and *piano* (1752, p. 106), while C. P. E. Bach heads his list of the subject matter of performance with “the loudness and softness of the notes” (1753, p. 117). Further, Quantz (p. 100) opens his chapter on good execution with the

following sentence: “Der musicalische Vortrag kann mit dem Vortrage eines Redners verglichen werden.” (“Musical execution can be likened to the performance of an orator.”)

The educated musician of the eighteenth century would have been much more familiar with the orator’s art than most of us are today. Rhetoric was still part of a basic education, and oratory a skill developed by anyone who aspired to a position involving public speaking, sacred or profane. Rhetoric properly covers the whole art of writing and delivering a speech, and parallels exist at all stages with the composition and performance of music. Paramount to the performer, however, is the ability to recognise and give appropriate voice to rhetorical figures, and the fact that these figures find their way into eighteenth-century music dictionaries confirms their importance to the musician. We have already encountered epizeuxis, illustrated by both Walther and Mattheson in the 1730s. In 1740 Scheibe devoted two of his weekly pamphlets to rhetorical figures, discussing in turn exclamatio, dubitatio, ellipsis, hyperbaton, repetitio, paronomasia, distributio, antithesis, suspensio, interrogatio, epistrophe and gradatio (1745, pp. 683–99).

From the performer’s point of view it is Scarlatti’s rich variety of repetitions that most tantalises and challenges. Repetition may involve echo effects, such as are commonly indicated by *forte* and *piano* in Giustini’s sonatas, the repetition occurring either at the same pitch or an octave lower. On the other hand we can have the reverse of this, as is indicated in the source of the Sonata K70. The Sonata K2 can be performed almost entirely as a series of echoes, virtually the whole piece consisting of a series of exact repetitions of two- and four-bar phrases. As such it can be effectively performed on a two-manual harpsichord or a two-manual organ (this study includes a recording of it on the latter), but it is difficult to do it justice on any single-manual instrument other than the piano. The Sonata K384 also involves much direct repetition, both at the same pitch and an octave lower. But there are greater complexities here: is bar 2 to be performed as an echo of bar 1? or is the repetition of the opening down an octave, commencing at bar 4, to be performed as an echo of the opening bars? or perhaps both? On the other hand it is not impossible to regard bar 2 as a more insistent repetition of bar 1. After this we have exact repetitions in pairs of

bars, 7–8 repeated in 9–10, 11–12 repeated in 13–14; and again either loud-soft or soft-loud seem to be legitimate options for the performer. Bar 16 may also be an echo of bar 15, though the right hand’s repeated d’ in triplets of quavers may suggest a *crescendo* through the two bars. The final repetition in the first section occurs in bars 21–22 and 23–24, which can again be handled in a variety of ways. A two-manual instrument is unlikely to be of value here, the repetitions demanding the subtlety and variety of the piano; and again it is difficult to accept that such a piece should have been conceived for a single-manual harpsichord.

Gradatio or climax is a particular type of repetition involving the reiteration of the last word of a clause or sentence as the first of the one following, continued through three or more stages. Walther (1732, p. 172) gives the following example: “Jauchzet und singet, singet und rühmet, rühmet und lobet.” Musically, gradatio is applied to a rising sequence. What is important here, however, is that the performer know how to execute a gradatio with the conviction of an orator, each repetition more impassioned than the previous one. Here are two fine examples from Scarlatti:

Example 17: Scarlatti, Sonata K 215, bb.42–53

The musical score for Example 17, Scarlatti's Sonata K 215, measures 42–53, is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 42–45) is in A major. The second system (measures 46–49) is in B-flat major. The third system (measures 50–53) is in B major. The music features a rising sequence of chords and melodic lines, characteristic of gradatio.

Example 18: Scarlatti, Sonata K 518, bb.69–77

Both examples can certainly be played on the harpsichord, but perhaps the piano's capabilities more effectively allow the performer to build the sequence dynamically and thus fulfil the rhetorical implications.

A further example of *gradatio* involves a lengthy rising sequence over a dominant pedal:

Example 19: Scarlatti, Sonata K 487, bb.49–59

This is an extraordinarily gymnastic display from the left hand, and in addition to the obvious *crescendo* implied by the figure we shall do well to remember Sutherland's observation on the reinforced construction of Cristofori's piano keyboards, which he sees as evidence of a more energetic or forceful approach to playing the instrument.

Another type of repetition of which Scarlatti is particularly fond is one involving the insistent reiteration of a short motive to the accompaniment of changing harmonies. Sonata K490 furnishes a typical example:

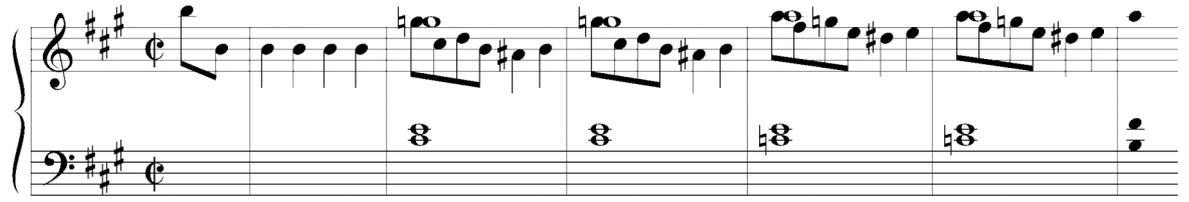
Example 20: Scarlatti, Sonata K 490, bb.49–59

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Example 20. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). In both systems, the right hand plays a simple, insistent melodic motif of quarter notes on a single pitch. The left hand provides a complex accompaniment of changing harmonies, featuring dense chords and arpeggiated patterns that shift in harmony from bar to bar.

This may be a musical parallel of the orator’s paronomasia, or play on words. Scarlatti’s reference to his “ingenious jesting with art” immediately comes to mind with such passages; and once again the dynamic play of which the piano is capable can match the playful skill of the punning orator. On the one hand the insistent rhythm suggests a gradual building of intensity through the whole passage; on the other, the harmonies involve various degrees of tension and relaxation that the skilful performer will juggle to maximum effect.⁷ Other fine examples of this type of repetition occur in Sonata K216, bars 69 to 88, Sonata K420, bars 42 to 60 and 108 to 126, and Sonata K422, bars 20 to 30 and 81 to 91.

Epizeuxis is the last rhetorical figure that I shall consider here. As we have seen, Giustini was keenly aware of the power of repeated notes as rendered on Cristofori’s instrument; and repeated notes are an integral component of Scarlatti’s writing. I am thinking here not of the fast repeated notes of such works as K96 and 141, where Scarlatti sometimes prescribes “Mutandi i detti”, but of the many instances of repeated notes used melodically, such as the three repeated crotchets that open the Sonata K331, and four successive crotchets of the same pitch such as occur several times in K285, 422 and 486. In K285, marked *Andante Allegro*, what will in time become known as the second subject commences as follows:

Example 21: Scarlatti, Sonata K 285, bb.27–32



Perhaps here we are witnessing the birth of a type of piano writing that will subsequently find its way into many a melody in the piano sonatas and concertos of the Viennese Classicists, and even into such Romantic melodies as the second subject of Liszt's Sonata in B minor.

My final example of epizeuxis is a rapid six-fold repetition of a progression of three chords:

Example 22: Scarlatti, Sonata K 502, bb.39–45



Beyond emphatic or vehement, this passage is nothing short of obsessive; and once again, it is difficult to accept that Scarlatti would have written such music for an instrument incapable of responding to the rhetorical content.

At the opening of this chapter I observed that pianists had always regarded Scarlatti's sonatas as part of their repertoire. In that statement I was thinking back to Beethoven's student and patron, the Archduke Rudolph, who purchased about a hundred of the sonatas at auction in 1814; I was considering the publication of two hundred of the sonatas by Haslinger and Czerny by 1839; and I was remembering Brahms' enthusiasm for collecting Scarlatti sonatas. That Brahms championed Scarlatti among his circle of friends is clear from the following, written to him by Elisabeth von Herzogenberg in 1885 (Kalbeck 1907, pp. 218–9):

How I envy you your Scarlatti, if there are many such excellent specimens! What an ingenious fellow he is, with his arpeggio figures in the unexpected A major part, and the long modulation, which has no reference to the piece itself, and his sudden recollection of the subject and prompt return to it! Ah yes, a robust talent may take liberties which become preposterous in weaker hands.

Her comments refer to the Sonata K394.

But on reflection my use of “always” appears to be more precise than intended. As a harpsichordist who came to know Scarlatti through the harpsichord I find myself forced to acknowledge the weight of evidence for Scarlatti as the first great composer for the piano.

¹ Alessandro Scarlatti 2000 lists three other sources of this work that give a similar annotation to an earlier Adagio section.

² Denzil Wraight has drawn my attention to an article by Michael Günther (2003, p. 36), where a similar claim is made for the piano as the instrument for which Platti was writing. Wraight has also questioned the significance of the words “known throughout Europe”, pointing out that “known” may not signify first-hand knowledge.

³ The full text of Maffei’s article is given in Pollens 1995, the original on pp. 238–243, the English translation on pp. 57–62.

⁴ Sheveloff’s footnote 82 gives the locations of all Giustini’s *acciaccature*. One of his citations, however—“Sonata VII, mvt. 2, mm. 71–72”—does not qualify, being merely a 5/4 on the dominant resolving to a 7/3 in the next bar. By contrast, all of Giustini’s *acciaccature* involve the tonic as a dissonance obstinately present in the dominant chord.

⁵ Toccata IX opens with twenty-one bars of semibreve chords including some *acciaccature*, the section simply marked *Arpeggio*. There is a further *acciaccatura* in the closing bars of the work, but again in a section that one would expect to be arpeggiated.

⁶ This distinction between *acciaccature* and *mordente* was made in Gasparini 1708, Chapter IX, though he did not distinguish the two ornaments in notation. There is, in fact, a single exception to Giustini’s notational distinction: Sonata V, movement 1, bar 30, contains a *mordente* that is a tone below the principal note. Since this is followed by a dominant chord without added dissonance it is clear that the notation is intentional, *viz.* the note does not behave in the manner of his *acciaccature*.

⁷ One cannot help but note in passing that there are a number of excessively slow performances of this sonata currently available on CD. Can it be that these are the products of the erroneous “common” time signature in Gilbert’s edition? Both Venice and Parma have an unmistakable “cut-common”.

Chapter 3: The Organ

With the exception of three pieces whose annotations indicate performance on the organ (K287, 288 and 328), Scarlatti's sonatas are only occasionally performed or recorded on the so-called King of Instruments. To date there has been little analytical work on which sonatas may at least have originated as organ works, which has led me to test a variety of movements to determine their suitability for organ performance. I can, of course, join the chorus of lamentation over the paucity of source material for Scarlatti scholarship, which has certainly been slow to advance because of this, especially in comparison with that of his exact contemporaries, Handel and Bach; but much may still be learned from the careful study of individual works in relation to the organs known to the composer.

We should recall that while the last twenty-eight years of Scarlatti's life (1729–1757) were spent almost exclusively in the service of the Queen of Spain, the previous twenty-eight years (1701–1729) involved a succession of ecclesiastical appointments. In 1701, aged fifteen, he was appointed *organista e compositore di musica* in the Cappella Reale in Naples, a position that he held until 1704. While virtually nothing is known of his next four years in Venice, he was by 1709 *maestro di cappella* in Rome to Maria Casimira, the former exiled Queen of Poland. In 1713 he became assistant director of the Cappella Giulia at San Pietro in Rome, and was promoted to *maestro di cappella* in December the next year. From June 1714 he also found time to accept, concurrently with his work at St Peter's, the position of *maestro di cappella* to the Marquis de Fontes, Portuguese ambassador to the Vatican. This connection was to determine the direction of the remainder of his life, for in August 1719 he resigned from his positions in Rome and on the 29th November 1719, now aged thirty-four, arrived in Lisbon, where he was appointed *mestre de capela* of the royal chapel by João V. Pagano (2001, p. 400) points out that a Vatican document and a notice in the *Gazeta di Lisboa* gave Scarlatti the title "Abbate" in 1722. It was only after leaving the Portuguese court for Spain in 1729 that he was never officially to resume work as a church musician.

A number of extant works demonstrate Scarlatti's skill as a composer of liturgical music, the ten-voice *Stabat mater* being his acknowledged masterpiece in this area. But since musicians during this time were commonly multi-skilled—singers, composers, improvisers, players of several instruments—it is curious that Scarlatti has not been considered more seriously as a composer for the organ by modern scholarship. Presumably this has resulted from the absence of liturgical organ music.

Nevertheless, though devoting only a little space to the matter, Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 185) is open-minded regarding the performance of some sonatas on the organ, suggesting that the words "Oytabado" and "Tortorilla" in both Venice and Parma manuscripts of K255 "would seem to indicate that this piece..., probably together with its mate [K254], was for organ", while the fugues K41, 58 and 93 "bear strong indications as having been conceived interchangeably for harpsichord or organ". Editing a volume of Scarlatti's *Sonatas and Fugues for the Organ*, Loek Hautus (1968) includes the three fugues K41, 58 and 93 because they work "equally well on organ or harpsichord"—he does not attempt to analyse the point further. Hautus also includes K255 and by association K254 in his edition, along with the three known organ pieces (K287, 288 and 328). Sheveloff (1970, pp. 351–7) considers that it is too difficult to determine how much more of Scarlatti's music may have been intended for the organ, there being insufficient difference in the writing styles of the known organ works and the other sonatas. He nevertheless becomes rather waylaid over K255, involving himself in a lengthy digression about the words "Oytabado", which he suggests indicates the harpsichord's four-foot stop, and "Tortorilla", which through contorted argument he takes to be an indication to couple the manuals. Tagliavini effectively dismisses the K255 sonata as an organ work, convincingly interpreting "Oytabado" as a corruption of the Portuguese "Oitavado", a popular eighteenth-century dance, and "Tortorilla" as an imitation of the cry of the turtle dove. He further points out that its pair, K254, requires a full chromatic first octave, unlikely to be found on an Italian or Iberian organ of the period.¹ And this fundamental contribution to the argument shows us that at least a basic knowledge of the organs that would have been known to Scarlatti—in particular their compass, temperament and general tonal

composition—is essential to any discussion of what may or may not qualify as organ music.

Italian organs of the seventeenth century, eighteenth century and even well into the nineteenth century are remarkably similar in form. Common to all instruments is a principal chorus of individual ranks, usually based on a Principale at 8' pitch, but on larger organs the Principale may be 12' or even 16' pitch. Above this is the Ottava 4' (assuming an 8' Principale), then the Quintadecima (or sometimes Decimaquinta) 2', after which all pitches at the fifth and octave are presented, giving the following total scheme:

Principale	8'
Ottava	4'
Decima quinta	2'
Decima nona	1 1/3'
Vegesima seconda	1'
Vegesima sesta	2/3'
Vegesima nona	1/2'
Trigesima terza	1/3'
Trigesima sesta	1/4'

Smaller organs may lack the last two or three of these ranks. Various sizes of principal chorus from full (all stops) to Principale, Ottava and one or two other stops were used for toccatas and also seem appropriate for some of the more brilliant sonatas of Scarlatti.

Most organs have an additional principal, the Voce umana, a rank tuned slightly flatter than the Principale, and occurring only in the treble. By drawing the Principale and the Voce umana together one obtains an effect similar to that of a tremulant. This was used for playing during the Elevation of the Mass. But we have nothing amongst Scarlatti sonatas that would suggest the use of such a registration.

Most organs also contain one or more flute ranks, usually a Flauto in ottava (4') and/or a Flauto in duodecima (2 2/3'). The first of these could be used alone or

in combination with the Principale, the second with the Principale, or with both Principale and Flauto in ottava. Later eighteenth-century organs often have some higher flute ranks at 2' and 1 3/5' pitch, the latter usually called Cornetta. As early as Frescobaldi's time flutes were used for the performance of canzonas, and a number of Scarlatti's lighter, imitative sonatas—descendants of the canzona—work well on a registration such as Principale with Flauto in ottava.

Next, some organs also have a rank of reeds, usually called Tromboncini, at 8' pitch. These reeds are of the regal type with short resonators. It is difficult to say whether such a stop is appropriate to any Scarlatti sonatas.

The pedal division of Italian organs is usually quite limited, often no more than an octave of pull-downs, that is, permanent, mechanical coupling to the bottom octave of the manual. Many have a single additional stop, the Contrabassi 16'. In Scarlatti's sonatas there are many examples of reiterated bass notes that could well have originated as true pedal points, the notes sustained by the pedal of the organ (*e.g.* K41).

Some Italian organs feature divided ranks so that treble and bass stops can be drawn independently. This is also a feature of Spanish organs. But whereas the extant Italian organ music of the baroque shows no use of such features, Spanish organ music makes considerable use of this facility. There is, however, nothing in Scarlatti's sonatas to suggest that he composed for an instrument with divided stops.

The final points to make about Italian organs in general are that their manual compass was from C to c''', but with a short octave—often notated CDEFGA to c'''—or more rarely a broken octave—CDE to c'''—and that their temperament was quarter-comma meantone. In northern Italy compromised tunings of D-sharp/E-flat and G-sharp/A-flat were common, though these seem to have remained unknown (or rejected) in Rome and Naples. Additionally, there were some instruments that achieved a greater range of tonalities by means of split keys. (All of this is dealt with more thoroughly in the chapter on temperament.)

Concerning one particular organ apparently known to Scarlatti— Cardinal Ottoboni’s instrument at which Scarlatti is said to have acknowledged Handel’s superiority in 1709—we have the following information (Kirkpatrick 1953, pp. 40 & 360): “The instrument... appears to have been the handsome one-manual choir organ with a number of stops, which is described in the inventory of the Cardinal’s instruments prepared after his death in 1740...: ‘Un organo corista con due principale voci umane flauto, cornetto, voce puerile, e tutto il suo ripieno seguito di registri n.º. 12 con suo tiratutti, mostra di stagno, tastatura d’avorio, credenza di noce lavorata a specchi scorniciata, e ornata d’intagli di legno tutti dorati con arma dell’E^{mo} defonto stimato scudi tre cento—300—.’” (A choir organ with two Principali, Voce umana, Flauto, Cornetto [possibly a three-rank stop consisting of flutes at $2\frac{2}{3}$, $2'$ and $1\frac{3}{5}$ pitch], Voce puerile [literally a child’s voice, possibly a reed], and all its following ripieno registers, twelve in total, with its Tiratutti [a lever to engage all principal stops together], tin façade-pipes, ivory keys, walnut case decorated with unframed mirrors, and ornamented with wooden carvings, all gilded, with the arms of the esteemed departed Eminence. [Value:] three hundred scudi.) The instrument is thus very similar to the typical Italian instrument described above, but there is no mention of a pedal division.

Of Portuguese organs known to Scarlatti we have little information owing to the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami of 1 November 1755, which eradicated most of Lisbon as Scarlatti had known it. The organ of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon on which I eventually recorded several of the sonatas, however, is no less than a 1768 rebuild of one of the major instruments over which Scarlatti would have presided as *mestre de capela* to João V. This is described more fully in Chapter 5.

Turning to Spanish organs, of the two instruments in the Royal Palace in Madrid, the smaller is of the greater importance for my research, as it existed during Scarlatti’s lifetime and in his sphere of reference, so there is a potential link to the composer. I have obtained details of its specification from *Órganos de la comunidad de Madrid*, Volume IV of the Guías de Patrimonio Histórico collection. According to Barcelona-based organ builder Gerhard Grenzing, who restored the larger organ in the Royal Chapel, the smaller organ, made by Pedro Echevarría in 1745, is currently in a poor state of repair despite a

restoration in 1991. Its specification is as follows:

Divided keyboard with a compass of GG – c''':

Trompeta Real 4' (bass), 8' (treble)

Tapadillo 4'

Quincena 2'

Lleno III

The Trompeta Real is a regal, Tapadillo a flute, Quincena a principal, and Lleno a mixture. The division of the compass presumably occurs in the normal Spanish position between c' and c-sharp'. An instrument of the same disposition and compass from the same organ builder exists in the Royal Palace at Aranjuez. While Scarlatti's position at the Spanish court was not that of chapel organist, it has to be considered likely that he would have been familiar with these instruments.

An interesting discovery that has not been mentioned by Scarlatti scholars to date is the organ in the Iglesia de Santa Bárbara in Madrid, which was part of a convent directly under the patronage of the Spanish queen. Farinelli oversaw the installation of a new organ from the Neapolitan builder Fr. José de Monticelli in this church in 1758/9, just after Scarlatti's death. The Neapolitan connection is certainly interesting, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Scarlatti may have contributed to the design of this instrument. From the information I have to date the instrument seems to have had two manuals and pedals and a total of nineteen stops; and the second manual, now a "swell", was originally in the chair position (*viz.* on the gallery rail behind the player). The organ was enlarged and electrified in the twentieth century. Other "modern" additions are the thirty-note pedalboard, the reverse console and several additional ranks of horizontal trumpets. According to local organ restorers this level of mutilation is the normal point from which restoration procedures begin, but at this stage no restoration of this little-known instrument is in sight.

A final morsel of information on organs known to Scarlatti occurs in the Parma VII manuscript of the Sonata K287. According to this source the piece is intended "Per Organo da Camera con due Tastatura (sic) Flautato e Trombone".

Thus a two-manual instrument is required, one manual of which has an 8' principal (Spanish "Flautado") and the other an 8' reed stop, presumably of the regal variety. Within this source and Venice V appear little drawings of hands, pointing up or down, which scholars agree can be taken as indications of the change from lower ("Flautato") to upper manual ("Trombone"). But the instrument is particularly described as a chamber organ, while the sonata and its pair both require a compass of D to d'', suggestive of Portugal rather than Italy or Spain, and include a number of D-sharps and A-sharps, which take them outside normal meantone tuning. We can only presume that Scarlatti composed this pair of pieces for a specific occasion in a private palace.

K287 and 288 having connected us with the music itself, I shall proceed with a few comments on the other acknowledged organ work before venturing some thoughts on other sonatas that may be appropriate to the instrument. Sonata K328 is a dialogue between Organo and Flauto. Compass and temperament requirements are identical to those of K287 and 288. The piece can, however, be played on a single manual if registrations can be changed quickly, such as by a pedal lever controlling a Tiratutti. The main question facing the organist is whether the Flauto sections are to be played at written pitch or to sound at written pitch, the point being that the Flauto is normally a four-foot register. If played at written pitch the Organo's echoes will sound two octaves lower than the Flauto's statements, but if played an octave lower to sound at the written pitch the Organo will respond at the more normal position of an octave below. A possible explanation of the notation in the latter case is that the piece is notated in a volume intended for performance on a variety of keyboard instruments, and if performed on harpsichord or piano performance at the higher octave is required.

Given that fugue is a well-established genre in the organ literature, we should next turn our attention to those sonatas that are, by name or texture, fugues. K287, already considered for its registrations, is a fugue in all but name. Of the remaining fugues—K30, 41, 58, 82, 93 and 417, three of which have already received some discussion above — all except K82 bear the title *Fuga* in their sources.² It should be mentioned in passing that the word "fugato" is also used in K373 and 387 but in the literal sense, from the verb "fugare", "to take flight",

in association with fast tempo indications: “Veloce e fugato”, and “Presto e fugato”. These pieces are not fugal in texture.

The Sonata K30, the so-called “Cat’s Fugue”, is the final item of the *Essercizi* published in 1738. It subsequently found its way into the collection *Pieces choisies pour le Clavecin ou l’Orgue* (Boivin, Paris, c1742) as well as Clementi’s *Selection of Practical Harmony, for the Organ or Piano Forte* (London, c1811–1815). Despite these titles, despite a compass of C to c^{'''}, and despite an eight-bar dominant pedal towards the end of the piece and a four-bar tonic pedal at the very end, performance on any organ likely to have been known to Scarlatti is ruled out both by temperament requirements (to three sharps and five flats) and the need for a fully chromatic bottom octave (except for C-sharp). Moreover the writing contains many left-hand octaves and right-hand sixths such as I have considered appropriate to the piano.

The Sonata K41 is quite a different matter. First, it can be accommodated by the traditional four-octave compass with short octave. Interestingly the note d^{'''} is avoided in bar 36, the soprano entry of the subject that commenced in the previous bar being continued two octaves lower in the tenor. Secondly it can be played on a meantone instrument, with the proviso that split keys are available for G-sharp/A-flat or the tuning of this note is compromised (such as was traditional in northern Italy). Thirdly, the part writing is consistent and grammatical, alternating between three and four voices. Finally, there are dominant and tonic pedal points towards the final cadence, reiterated in the notation, but sustainable on the organ. In summary, it is easy to accept that this piece began life as a liturgical organ work—a typical *fuga primi toni*. It is worth noting, however, that the version of the work chosen by Kirkpatrick as the primary source and subsequently published by Gilbert is almost certainly a more primitive version than that which closes Parma III. The former is the version included by Roseingrave in his enlarged edition of the *Essercizi* published in 1739 and may well date back to Scarlatti’s Italian years. While the Parma version is essentially the same work there are undoubted improvements in voice leading in bars 14 to 16, 58 and 65, as well as a minor melodic variation to the countersubject in bar 4 and some rhythmic variants in the alto of bars 76 and 77. My edition of the Parma version is given at the end of this chapter.

The Sonata K58 has already received brief mention in the chapter devoted to the Venice 1742 manuscript, where I suggested that it had the appearance of a reduction of an orchestral fugue and that bar 25 is unplayable on the keyboard as transmitted. Considered as a keyboard work, however, it requires an instrument with a four-octave chromatic compass, C to c''', and well-tempered tuning because of the range of accidentals to *G-flat*. Yet it has a number of features that suggest the organ, including long dominant and tonic pedal points towards the end—as in K41, reiterated in the notation, but sustainable on the organ—and general consistency of voice leading. On the other hand it is not very grammatical, which would be unusual in a work intended for the organ. The instances of alto and tenor moving in octaves (bars 12, 39–41) are puzzling, while the consecutive octaves between soprano and tenor from bar 22 to bar 23 would normally be interpreted as indicative of someone deficient in basic contrapuntal ability.

But could it be that K58's *passus duriusculus* subject is a clue to a D-minor origin? For over a century composers had made use of versions of this subject, based on a descending chromatic tetrachord (for example, Sweelinck's *Fantasia Cromatica*), but *D*, not *C*, was the starting point. Transposed up a tone and omitting octave doublings in the bass this piece fits on a meantone organ with short octave and split keys for *G-sharp/A-flat* or a compromised tuning of this note (as with K41). But it requires the note d''', not universally available, which may have brought about its transposition to C minor (assuming composition in Portugal where the note was generally available on organs and transposition in Spain where it was not). Interestingly there are quite a number of errors in the manuscript of this piece, such as could have been made by a scribe charged with the task of transposition. Yet after looking at the piece from all angles I am inclined to return to my earlier suggestion that, at least as transmitted here, this fugue is a transcription of an orchestral movement.

The Sonata K82 is an F-major fugue. Its notes stay entirely within the confines of a four-octave meantone instrument, though its single bass F-sharp calls for a broken (rather than short) octave.³ While I recorded the work from the Venice

1742 version, there exists in Coimbra another version of the movement that has never been published. I append my edition of this version to this chapter.

The Sonata K93 is a G-minor fugue variously for two, three or four voices. It requires a four-octave chromatic compass (except for C-sharp) and its accidentals go as far as *Db*, factors that discount it as an organ work.

The Sonata K417 is a D-minor fugue requiring a four-octave compass from D to d''', including the notes F-sharp and G-sharp available on instruments furnished with a broken octave.⁴ As with K41 it can be accommodated by a meantone instrument with split or compromised G-sharp/A-flat. In favour of the organ as the instrument for which it was intended are the archaic metre of four minims to the bar, sustained notes up to the value of a dotted breve (soprano bars 19 to 20), and consistent part writing with good voice leading. Yet I cannot but be amazed that this work, which I regard as one of the most powerful pieces of writing in Scarlatti's output, has been treated so dismissively by Scarlatti scholars. I hope that my *organo pleno* recording on the historic instrument of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon will do something to convince others of its greatness.

In conclusion then, there are three fugal sonatas that can be considered for organ in the light of this analysis: K41, 82 and 417. The sonatas K58 and 93, suggested as organ works by Kirkpatrick and included in Hautus's edition of Scarlatti's organ works, are simply not playable on contemporaneous instruments. And this is also true of K30, the only fugue to be published in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections that include "organ" in their title.

Are there further pieces amongst Scarlatti's output that may have commenced life as organ works or may be just as well suited to the organ as to any variety of *cembalo* or *clavicordio*? In fact there are at least a handful worthy of consideration, among which I shall first deal with those that I have recorded on the organ, K1, 2, 5, 72 and 85. K1, in fact, makes quite a charming organ piece when played on a registration including the Flauto, in the tradition of the *canzona*. And it fits perfectly on a standard four-octave instrument with short

octave and meantone tuning. K5 is also accommodated by such an instrument, though it probably requires a more brilliant registration. I should mention that I was immediately tempted to play this piece on the organ owing to its superficial similarity to the *Presto* that concludes the third suite of Handel's 1720 collection—a piece that had formerly served in an orchestral *ouverture* and was subsequently employed in two organ concertos.

K2 also stays within the standard compass and temperament, except that its bass F-sharp requires a broken octave. And since the whole piece seems to be a series of echoes it requires either two manuals or an adept registration assistant. It was the fanfare motive upon which K72 is based that suggested to me that this might also be a successful organ work. But while it is accommodated by a standard four-octave instrument with short octave its temperament requirements are of the modified meantone variety common in northern Italy. K85, however, stays within the confines of the standard compass and tuning, and played at four-foot pitch on the Flauto it makes a delightful piece in the mould of the eighteenth-century English "flute voluntary". Given the confusing state of the accidentals in this piece as presented in Venice 1742 and Gilbert's edition, I append my edition made from the Coimbra manuscript that also includes K85.

Other sonatas that may be considered for the organ include:

K9: It can be played on an instrument with short octave and meantone temperament. The note AA in bars 55 and 56 requires an extended compass, or the left hand of these two bars can simply be played an octave higher.

K10: This requires nothing beyond the standard compass and temperament. On a *ripieno* registration it makes quite a brilliant organ piece in a style similar to K5.

K11, 31 and 37: These three pieces are fine concerto-style movements. All are within the standard four-octave range (though K31 requires a broken octave for its F-sharp), and all are accommodated by modified meantone temperament.

One can, of course, comb through Scarlatti's sonatas and find other pieces that are playable on the organ, especially if one is simply looking for things to play on a modern instrument, free of compass and temperament constraints; and

there are now a number of recordings resulting from just such an approach. But the combination of factors that make up the language of Scarlatti's mature works—their keys and attendant temperament requirements, their compasses, their athletic qualities or (on the other hand) their *cantabile* qualities, their *acciaccature*, their Iberian rhythms, and so on—make it unlikely that the composer ever considered the organ as the medium for these works, except for the three sonatas whose registrations designate them as organ pieces and the remarkable *Fuga* K417.

¹ Review of Hautus 1968 in *L'Organo* VIII, 1, quoted in Gilbert, volume 1, p. VIII.

² For unknown reasons Gilbert fails to give K41 its title of *Fuga*, though it is so named in both Roseingrave's edition that serves as his main source and in the version given in Parma III.

³ In fact I had only a short octave available for the recording of this work and so took the liberty of making a minor editorial amendment to avoid the unavailable F-sharp.

⁴ Lacking these notes when I recorded this work in Lisbon I was obliged to play a few notes an octave higher in bars 57–8.

Chapter 4: Temperament

“The principle of equal temperament is clearly taken for granted in all Scarlatti’s keyboard works, from the *Essercizi* onwards”, wrote Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 241). This categorical assertion simply bypassed the volumes of discussion on temperament published during Scarlatti’s life as well as twentieth-century investigations into historical temperaments that were already well under way by this time. Did Kirkpatrick consider for a moment that the first of the *Essercizi*, Sonata no. 1 according to his catalogue, was composed within the constraints not only of meantone temperament, but also within the compass limitations of a four-octave keyboard with short octave in the bass?

Carl Sloane (1992, p. 15), on the other hand, claims meantone as the temperament for all Scarlatti’s writing, “poorly tuned intervals [being] either tolerated or fudged in performance.” Sloane gives no advice about how one might “fudge” notes in textures as precise and transparent as those of Scarlatti. Nor does it ring true that an artist of Scarlatti’s stature and originality would adopt a temperament requiring continual “fudging” at a time when musicians throughout Europe were experimenting with new temperaments. As for tolerating “poorly tuned intervals”, it is true that Girolamo Diruta (1609, Book 4, 16) had admitted the use of enharmonic notes if touched lightly:

Se nel tasto bianco di E, la, mi, ovvero in quello di B, fa, B, mi, havete da concludere l'accadenza, la sustentatione farete nel suo negro, ma solo accennarlo, perche non vi si può fare sustentatione naturale.

If you have to conclude on the white key of E or that of B, you will support the cadence with its black key, but touched only lightly, because that is not the natural supporting note.

Thus one could get away with a quick *E-flat* replacing *D-sharp* or *B-flat* replacing *A-sharp*. But even those reputed to be tone-deaf might find their ears responding more than a little adversely to whole sonatas in F minor (of which there are twenty-three) with *G-sharps* and *C-sharps* standing in for *A-flats* and *D-flats* respectively, let alone works in more remote keys.

It is not a matter of “poorly tuned intervals”, but of notes that do not exist in standard meantone tuning. A meantone keyboard usually lacks *D-sharp*, *A-sharp*, *A-flat*, *D-flat* and *G-flat*, notes that can be included only by sacrificing their respective enharmonic equivalents. By means of split keys (most commonly *D-sharp/E-flat* and *G-sharp/A-flat*, and occasionally *A-sharp/B-flat*) one could enlarge the palette, while northern Italian organs often featured compromise tunings of *D-sharp/E-flat* and *G-sharp/A-flat*,¹ and undoubtedly similar practices were applied to other keyboard instruments. Most of Scarlatti’s sonatas, however, take us well beyond these limits.

I conclude that the truth presumably lies somewhere between Kirkpatrick and Sloane. Curiously the otherwise encyclopaedic Sheveloff does not discuss the issue of temperament. Italian and Iberian temperaments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, have been thoroughly researched over the past two decades by Patrizio Barbieri (1983 & 1994 *inter alia*) whose studies show a musical scene engrossed with the problem of temperament. This is only to be expected in a scientific culture focussed on measurement. Eleanor Selfridge-Field (2005, pp. 83–4) mentions the telescope, microscope, thermometer and barometer, all Italian inventions dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, most of them stimulated by the patronage of the Medici family in Florence; and she sees Cristofori’s invention initially as one of primarily scientific interest. But while this age of measurement included many studies of musical temperament, Barbieri (1994, p. 219) has observed that “up until the middle of the eighteenth century, the only five temperaments for keyboard instruments of which Italian theorists made precise mention were all of the regular meantone type, made up of a chain of fifths—usually extending from *E-flat* to *G-sharp*—that were tempered identically”. He further admitted to me in an E-mail of 2 July 2002 that “nothing is clear” regarding the tuning practices of either Alessandro or Domenico Scarlatti.

A practical solution for Domenico has been offered by John Sankey, self-styled “Harpichordist to the Internet”, who has recorded the complete Scarlatti sonatas for the internet using an eighteenth-century French tuning, a decision reached by what he terms “a consonance based approach to the harpsichord

tuning of Domenico Scarlatti".² The result is a workable one, though Sankey's methodology in arriving at this temperament may be open to question. But does his approach not share with Kirkpatrick and Sloane the weakness of a desire to find a single temperament for a body of music composed over a period of some fifty years, in three countries and for a variety of keyboard instruments by a daringly original composer?

While the chronology of Scarlatti's sonatas is far from settled, scholars are nevertheless inclining increasingly toward the idea that the order in which the works appear in the Parma manuscripts is at least roughly chronological, while Scarlatti himself tells us in the dedication of the *Essercizi*, first published in 1738, that the volume is a selection of works from his Portuguese years. The temperament possibilities of the thirty *Essercizi* make an interesting study in microcosm, fifteen of the pieces being in sharp keys and fifteen in flat keys, seventeen in minor keys and thirteen in major keys. While D minor is the predominant key (five sonatas), Scarlatti also chooses spicier keys such as F-sharp minor (K25), whose modulations venture as far afield as D-sharp minor. Five of these sonatas (K1, 2, 5, 9 and 10) can be played in standard meantone temperament. A further seven (K7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 29) can be accommodated by split or compromised *D-sharp/E-flat* and *G-sharp/A-flat*, or in some cases by moving the meantone range one step in either direction.³ The remaining eighteen sonatas require a well-tempered tuning system.⁴

Examination of the total body of sonatas suggests a similar distribution of works that can be played in some kind of meantone and those that go beyond the limits. The word "suggests" is appropriate since it is not possible to ascertain exactly what compromises might have been adopted in meantone tuning or what enharmonic replacements may have been considered acceptable. Further, this mixture of possible meantone sonatas and those outside the meantone system is spread quite evenly across the total canon. For example, taking a group of successive sonatas at random: K511 and 512 in D major require well-tempered tuning; K513 in C major contains *D-sharps* and *E-flats* as well as *G-sharps* and *A-flats*, thus requiring split keys or compromised tunings if meantone is adopted; K514 and 515 in C major are accommodated by meantone with a range of *B-flat* to *D-sharp*; K516 and 517 in D minor can be

played in standard meantone; while K518 and 519 in F major and F minor require well-tempered tuning.

But how far was it common to move the meantone range from its norm of *E-flat* to *G-sharp*? The sonatas K436 and 447, for example, can, strictly speaking, be performed in meantone—if the range is moved through four perfect fifths in the sharp direction, *viz.* from *G* to *B-sharp*! Given, however, that the paired sonata in each case requires well-tempered tuning it is more likely that all four sonatas were conceived in terms of such tuning. Moreover, with no agreement on absolute pitch it is difficult to explain why Scarlatti would write a piece requiring an individual tuning that had no effect on the piece's *affect*, since in meantone all fifths are equally narrowed, whether by a quarter, fifth or some other fraction of a comma.

And what enharmonic equivalents may have been acceptable to the ear? K537 contains an interesting case: in bars 46-49 the harmony oscillates twice from *b-flat-e'-g'* to *a-e'-g'*, then in bar 50 the diminished chord is respelled as *a-sharp-e'-g'*, resolving to *b-e'-g'* in the following bar. Would Scarlatti and his contemporaries have considered this last progression admissible with *b-flat* replacing *a-sharp*? Given that the sonata and its pair otherwise fall within the confines of meantone with a range of *B-flat* to *D-sharp* it may be that this *was* considered to be acceptable. On the other hand meantone performance of the piece may never have been contemplated. Another interesting instance occurs in K552: this sonata and its partner fall within meantone capabilities (the latter, however, requiring both *D-sharp* and *E-flat*), except for the *a-sharp* in bar 49 of the former. Is it an accident that the chord also contains the only *acciaccatura* in the sonata and is dissonant with the persistent right-hand figuration? Again, one can only observe and consider: it is possible that the piece was never played on an instrument with meantone tuning.

Whatever Scarlatti's meantone practices—if any other than what he encountered as an organist—it is clear that at least 60 per cent of his sonatas require tunings beyond meantone limitations, all of which may be classified as “well-tempered”. While such tunings are not described by Italian or Iberian theorists in Scarlatti's time, the sonatas leave us in no doubt that their composer

was experienced in wolfless temperaments. Of the possibilities of learning of such things from northern musicians the most obvious contact is Handel, whose time in Hamburg (especially in the company of Johann Mattheson) would have familiarised him with Werckmeister's tuning systems—assuming that he had not already absorbed such information from his teacher Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow in Halle. But foreign contact was unnecessary for Scarlatti's knowledge of such temperaments, his father's music demonstrating that he was experienced in working with well-tempered tunings. Eight of Alessandro's ten toccatas in Naples ms. 9478 require well-tempered tuning, Toccata II utilising all seven sharps while both III and VII require five sharps and five flats. Admittedly Toccata VII is a late work, carrying a date of 1723 in Yale University ms. 164, and the dates of the remaining toccatas are unknown. But the cantata *Al fin m'ucciderete*, dated 20 July 1705, contains a G-minor recitative that travels as far as B-flat minor in one direction and C-sharp minor in the other. This leaves me in no doubt that well-tempered tuning was on a firm footing in the Scarlatti household.

In attempting to ascertain the characteristics of Scarlatti's well-tempered tuning it may be instructive to consider the various ways in which scholars and performers have approached the question of Bach's temperament practices since realising that well-tempered and equal-tempered are not necessarily the same thing. There have been three distinct avenues of approach:

1. Examination of contemporaneous temperaments, particularly those originating from writers with whom some connection to the composer can be claimed. In this category belong the temperaments of the organ builder Andreas Werckmeister and of Bach's student Johann Philipp Kirnberger.
2. Attempts to arrive at Bach's temperament by study of symbolism. Perhaps the only temperament in this category is the Kellner Bach temperament, "discovered" and patented by Herbert Kellner (1977). While musicians have expressed doubts about Kellner's methodology, and whether this is indeed Bach's personal temperament, as Kellner claims, it has nevertheless gained wide acceptance as a temperament for Bach. Whether a temperament can be patented is another question, especially if it is indeed Bach's own temperament.
3. Attempts to arrive at a suitable Bach temperament based on the incidence of major thirds. The pioneer of this approach was John Barnes (1979).

The differences between most of the temperaments mentioned here are not great, and even a trained ear may experience difficulty in distinguishing some of them in performance. Their common characteristic is that major thirds closer to C within the circle of fifths gravitate towards purity while those closer to C-sharp are increasingly less pure, usually including a few Pythagorean thirds, which is about as wide a third as the ear can tolerate.

Is it possible that any of these avenues of approach will help us with Scarlatti? Avenue 1 leads us quite naturally to the temperament of the Italian Francesco Antonio Vallotti, a system that has become very popular with performers of eighteenth-century music over the past two decades. Six fifths, from F around to B, are narrowed by a sixth of a comma each, while the remaining six fifths are pure. Certainly Scarlatti's sonatas can be played convincingly with this temperament. The same avenue also leads us to the less well-known temperament of Scarlatti's pupil Antonio Soler (1729–1783), which, being a variant of meantone, may have relevance to those sonatas of Scarlatti that are within meantone limits; but it is an unsatisfactory contender in the present context.

Avenue 2, involving symbolism, seems to have no application to the music of Scarlatti, who by his own admission belongs to the category of composer whose music appeals primarily to the ear.

Avenue 3, studying incidences of major thirds, is a possibility, though one cannot duplicate Barnes' methodology since Scarlatti did not write pieces in all keys. Nevertheless I have studied the incidences of major thirds on *F-sharp (or G-flat)*, *C-sharp (or D-flat)* and *G-sharp (or A-flat)* in the sonatas in B major, B minor, F-sharp major, F-sharp minor, C-sharp minor, A-flat major and B-flat minor in order to determine whether Scarlatti shows any tendency to treat these intervals—all of which are Pythagorean in most well-tempered systems—any differently from the way he treats other major thirds. This line of research has proved inconclusive. On the one hand these potentially wide intervals are frequently disguised by the presence of dissonant elements or ornaments; on the other hand such writing is not untypical of Scarlatti where purer major

thirds would be normal. Further factors that make this approach less successful than Barnes found it for Bach are: (1) most of Scarlatti's music is fast, so that less beautifully tuned intervals have little time to disturb the ear; (2) Scarlatti's writing is predominantly only for two voices; and (3) thirds are rarely included in final chords either of whole movements or sections.

Are there any other ways of approaching the question of temperament in Scarlatti? It was while working on the Sonata K394, with my harpsichord tuned to Kellner's "Bach" temperament, that I noticed that the sequence of parallel fifths in the second part consisted entirely of pure fifths until the last, which subsequently moved from a fifth to a major sixth, then a minor seventh that resolved as if it were an augmented sixth. It is impossible to be certain whether this is significant: one can note only that each fifth is heard first alone, where its optimum quality will be as a pure interval, and that when at last an impure fifth is reached the music changes direction. It may also be observed that Werckmeister III produces a similar result, while Vallotti's temperament commences and finishes the sequence on narrow fifths.

Example 1: Scarlatti, Sonata K 394, bb.76–83.

Another passage that tantalises the ear is the opening of the second part of the Sonata K518 (see Chapter 2, Example 18). Here we encounter a threefold sequence, a phrase heard first in D major, then in E major, and finally in F-sharp major, in each case commencing on the dominant chord of the key, followed by two-part contrary-motion stepwise movement to the tonic. The sequence of opening chords is thus A major, B major, C-sharp major. In Kellner's temperament these chords contain major thirds that are respectively three-fifths of a comma, four-fifths of a comma and a full comma wide, the temperament thus paralleling the increasing tension of the rising sequence. For comparison, Werckmeister produces A-major and B-major chords that are three quarters of a comma wide and a C-sharp major chord that is a full comma wide, and

Vallotti's A major is two-thirds of a comma wide, while both B major and C-sharp major are a full comma wide.

A parallel threefold sequence occurs in the second part of the Sonata K261, successive phrases commencing on the dominant chords of D minor, E minor and F-sharp minor, where well-tempered tunings will again enhance the increasing excitement of the music.

The threefold rising sequence at the opening of the second part of the Sonata K215, quoted as Example 17 in Chapter 2, might at first appear to negate the observations on K518 and 261, the respective tonalities featuring dominant chords on C-sharp, E-flat and F, increasingly consonant in most well-tempered systems. The presence of both sevenths and acciaccature in all of these chords, however, is likely to render the differences in tuning negligible to even the most highly trained ear. (See also the Sonata K264, bars 127–139, whose threefold sequence features dominant seventh chords on C-sharp, E-flat and F respectively, each containing an appoggiatura on its third.) Also interesting from the temperament point of view is the ensuing passage of K215, where the notes of the C-sharp major, F-sharp major and B major broken chords are not sustained while their respective dominant sevenths are. Thus the tension of the dominant sevenths, all of which contain Pythagorean thirds in most well-tempered systems, is enhanced, while the tonic triads, also Pythagorean or very nearly so in well-tempered systems, are simply not given time to offend the ear.

Example 2: Scarlatti, Sonata K 215, bb.54–63

The image displays a musical score for Scarlatti's Sonata K 215, measures 54 to 63. It is written for piano in 3/4 time and consists of two systems. The first system (measures 54-63) features a threefold rising sequence of dominant chords on C-sharp, E-flat, and F. The second system (measures 59-63) shows a passage where the notes of the C-sharp major, F-sharp major, and B major broken chords are not sustained while their respective dominant sevenths are.

The sequences described above are examples of the rhetorical figure most commonly called *climax* or *gradatio*, discussed in Chapter 2. The simple repetition of a phrase at another pitch, however, is usually known as *synonymia*, “a kind of repetition that adds emotional force or intellectual clarity” (Burton 1996–2003, “Synonymia”). An examination of the total body of sonatas reveals that just five of them begin with a phrase that is immediately repeated at another pitch (other than octave transposition): K39 (whose opening phrase in A is repeated in E), K133 (C, G), K403 (E, B), K513 (C, B-flat) and K534 (D, E). Although this is a small number it may be significant that the repetition invariably occurs in a key that is “spicier” than the original in well-tempered tuning, again reinforcing the rhetorical intent.

Another area of investigation has involved Scarlatti’s penchant for striking out into an unrelated key, usually after a rest or pause. Typical examples occur in K369, bar 95 (E-flat major after an imperfect cadence in C major), K426, bar 15 (A-flat major after an opening statement in G minor), K494, bar 73 (A-flat major after an imperfect cadence in C major) and K525, bar 39 (dominant 7th of E-flat following an imperfect cadence in D minor). In every case the new key is more strident in well-tempered systems, thereby increasing the shock value. True, the opposite also occurs: in K491 imperfect cadences in D major are followed by fanfares commencing in C major (first part) and F major (second part), both close to pure in well-tempered tunings, exceptions whose regal character perhaps proves the rule.

I conclude that we have no precise knowledge of Scarlatti’s temperament preferences. However, it is clear from this study that temperament was a living aspect of the music he created. While championing some variety of well-tempered tuning in a part of the world where such temperaments were perhaps little known, he nevertheless continued to write a considerable amount of music within the confines of meantone temperament. Were these two bodies of music composed for different instruments or different situations? It is not yet possible to say.

For Scarlatti himself the ear was the highest authority in matters musical. In his penultimate year he was visited by Dr L'Augier, a Viennese doctor who, according to Charles Burney (1775, p. 253), travelled to hear the

“national melody in all parts of the world with philosophical ears...Scarlatti frequently told M. L'Augier, that he was sensible he had broke through all the rules of composition in his lessons; but asked if his deviations from these rules offended the ear? and, upon being answered in the negative, he said, that he thought there was scarce any other rule, worth the attention of a man of genius, than that of not displeasing the only sense of which music is the object.”

This may be as definitive an answer to the question of Scarlatti's temperament preferences as we shall ever find.

¹ A study tour of Italian keyboard instruments in 2001 provided me with first-hand experience of these practices. I am grateful to Professors Agostino Ziino and Armando Carideo in Rome and Sergio de Pieri in Treviso for their advice and assistance in gaining access to instruments.

² <<http://www.sankey.ws/harpsichord.html>>

³ Meantone “range” refers to the circle of fifths beyond which lies the wolf. Thus, for example, standard meantone, with *F-sharp*, *C-sharp*, *G-sharp*, *B-flat* and *E-flat*, has a range of *E-flat* to *G-sharp*. If one re-tunes *E-flat* to *D-sharp* the range becomes *B-flat* to *D-sharp*.

⁴ “Well-tempered” is used here to represent any of a variety of wolfless temperament. Admittedly there are also variations on meantone that minimise the wolf, closely approximating a well-tempered system.

Chapter 5: Field trip and instrument data

The first part of this chapter presents data collected in 2001 during a tour to study instruments that could throw light on my understanding of Scarlatti's sound world. All organ specifications presented here are from notes taken at the console during my visits to the various instruments unless otherwise acknowledged. The second part of the chapter deals with the instruments I eventually chose to record on. I also include commentary from instrument makers and restorers.

My tour focussed on Baroque organs in particular regions of Italy and Spain, mostly from the period 1650 to 1750. First and foremost I was keen to experience the sound of these instruments, but I was also interested in collecting the bare facts on their compasses, specifications, and, if possible, temperaments. Where possible I also studied the sound of various registrations in particular Scarlatti sonatas.

My first port of call, however, was Pully in Switzerland, home of Bernard Brauchli, an expert on the clavichord. He has a fine collection of early keyboard instruments, among them a modified meantone Portuguese clavichord, anonymous, but similar to the Liberto Partou instrument in Paris. Brauchli also runs a festival in northern Italy that incorporates the use of several early organs with short octave and meantone temperament. For example, in Sillavengo, ten kilometres North of Biella, there is a 1690 Giovanni Battista Gavinelli six-foot organ of eleven stops, and in Biella Chiavazza there is a 1774 Giachono Cocone eight-foot instrument of eight stops. As I was subsequently to discover, Italy is dotted with instruments of this sort of age and composition, in various states of repair, but most of them retaining their original meantone temperament.

At his home in Portalban, Switzerland, Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini informed me of his main instrument collection housed in Bologna. It includes the most interesting 1746 harpsichord/fortepiano by Giovanni Ferrini, pupil of Cristofori, and it is believed by some scholars that Scarlatti may have had such

an instrument at his disposal. As well as recommending organs to visit, Tagliavini estimated that there were at least two hundred well-restored historical organs in Italy at that time; and he pointed out that it is not always the churches supporting such initiatives, but outside bodies, such as a bank that has restored the organ in San Michaelotto in Lucca.

I next visited Mario Duella in Biella, Italy. He is a specialist in organs of the Piedmont region. Whilst this is not Scarlatti territory, there are many restored organs from the eighteenth century that further demonstrate the abundance of meantone tuning and short octave compass in Italy during Scarlatti's lifetime. Duella took me to a finely restored single-manual small organ in the Chiesa di Santa Anna al Montrigone in Borgosesia. The organ of c1755 made by Giuseppe Maria and Antonio Ragozzi of Molla d'Arrigo was restored in 1995 and is regarded as a fine example of an instrument from the Piedmont region. Its specification is:

Principale

Ottava

Quintadecima

Decimanona

Vigesimaseconda

Vigesimasesta

Vigesimanona

Flauto in ottava

Cornetta in XII soprani

Cornetta in XV soprani

Cornetta in XVII soprani

Voce umana

Compass CDEFGA-c'''

Meantone temperament

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Italian organs of this era are remarkably similar in form. Musically there is little difference between this instrument and the palace organ of Cardinal Ottoboni described in that chapter.

From Piedmont I travelled to Treviso and the home of Sergio de Pieri, a pioneer of the restoration of historical organs in Treviso and Venice. As a result of his status there was much success in obtaining access to organs and gathering relevant information. Scarlatti spent four years of his early life in Venice (and Treviso is close enough to assume that he may well have travelled there at some stage); but it was also of interest to discover some Neapolitan instruments here. Following are details of the instruments I visited and played:

CENDON

Chiesa Parrocchiale: Ss. Victoris et Coronae de Cendono. Comune di Silea. Provincia di Treviso.

Organ made by D. Antonio Barbini and Giovanni Pizzenardi in 1780 and restored and enlarged in 1890 by Beniamino Zanin of Codroipo (Udine).

Compass: manual CDEFGA–f''' (divided stops split at c-sharp' / d'), pedal CDEFGA–b permanently coupled to the manual.

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vegesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Voce umana

Flauto in XII (bassi / soprani)

Flauto in XV

Cornetta

Tromboncini (bassi / soprani)

Pedal

Contrabassi

Ottava di Contrabassi

*FIERA***San Ambrogio di Fiera. Comune e Provincia di Treviso.**

Organ made by Gaetano Callido in 1779. Recently restored to its original condition by Alfredo Piccinelli of Padua.

Compass: manual CDEFGA–c''' (divided stops split at c-sharp' / d'), pedal CDEFGA–d-sharp permanently coupled to the manual.

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vegesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Trigesima terza

Trigesima sesta

Voce umana

Flauto in VIII

Flauto in XII

Cornetta

Tromboncini (bassi / soprani)

Violoncelli (bassi / soprani)

Pedal

Contrabassi

TREVISO**Duomo**

Positive, eighteenth-century Neapolitan.

Compass CDEFGA-c'''. .

Principale (C–e stopped pipes, permanently on)

Ottava

Quintadecima

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vigesima sesta

Voce umana

Flauto in XII

Duomo (crypt)

Positive by Antonio Petillo, Naples, 1860.

Compass CDEFGA-c'''. .

Principale

Ottava

Quintadecima

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Nasardo

San Leonardo, also known as the Santa Rita da Cascia

A well-restored organ with a boxwood keyboard.

Maker unknown.

Compass: manual CDEF–d''' (divided stops split at c-sharp' / d'), pedal CDEFG ("A" not working). Then it repeats. Permanently coupled and has a drum note.

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Quintadeci

Decimanona

Vigesima seconda

Vigesima sesta

Vigesima nona

Flauto in ottava (bassi / soprani)

Flauto in decima duo

Cornetta

Voce umana

Tromboncini bassi / soprano

Pedal

Contrabassi

VENICE**Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.** Two organs.

First organ made by G.B. Piaggia in 1732.

Compass: manual CDEFGA–c''' (divided stops split at c' / c-sharp'), pedal CDEFGA–e.

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Voce umana
 Flauto in duodecima
 Cornetta

Pedal

Pull downs only

Second organ made by G. Calledo in 1795.

Compass: manual CDEFGA–d''' '(divided stops split at c' / c-sharp'), pedal CDEFGA

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)
 Ottava
 Decima quinta
 Decima nona
 Vigesima seconda
 Vigesima sesta
 Vigesima nona
 Trigesima terza
 Trigesima sesta
 Voce umana
 Flauto 8 (bassi / soprani)
 Flauto 12
 Cornetta
 Tromboncini (bassi / soprani)
 Trombe reali

Pedal

Contrabassi
 Ottava di Contrabassi

San Zaccaria

Organ by Calledo, 1790.

Compass: manual FF-d'''.

Keyboard from CC.

Pedalboard one octave repeating.

Manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vegesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Voce umana

Flauto octavo (bassi / soprani)

Flauto duodecima

Cornetta

Viola bassi

Trombocini division bassi / soprani

Tromboni

San Martino "In Geminis"

Two-manual organ, 1799.

Compass: Manual CDEF - d''' (divided stops split at a/b-flat). Pedal one octave repeating.

Upper manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Flauto in octavo bassi/sopani

Flauto in duodecima

Cornetta

Voce umana (soprani)

Viola 4' (bassi/soprani)

Tromboncini (bassi/soprani)

Lower manual

Principale (soprani)

Ottava (bassi/soprani)

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vegesima seconda

Flauto in ottava (bassi/soprani)

Cornetta (soprani)

Tromboncini (bassi/soprani)

Pedal

Contrabassi

Ottava di Contrabassi

Tromboni

In Firenze I met with Dr Kathryn Bosi of the Harvard University of Renaissance Studies, who organised a private tour for me with the Director of the Galleria dell'Accademia, Dr Gabriele Rossi Rognoni. The timing of the visit was fortuitous as there was a special exhibition featuring the work of Bartolomeo Cristofori. The only instrument not to be displayed in the exhibition (the 1722 piano) I was able to visit in Rome. The instruments of most value in this collection were:

 a Cristofori harpsichord, clavicembalo d'ebano, of 1700 with a compass of GG–d'''; and

 a Cristofori spinetta ovale (1693) on loan from the Leipzig musical instrument museum. Its compass is C–c'''.

Next was a visit to the Accademia Bartolomeo Cristofori, ironically not because of any Cristofori instruments, but to see an organ by Giuseppe e Rosario Tamburrelli, Naples, 1855, originally constructed for the Palazzo Pitti. It had come highly recommended by Pier Paolo Donati, a well-respected organ restorer in Tuscany, who claimed that despite its late date this instrument remained typical of Neapolitan organ building of Scarlatti's time, there having been virtually no changes in the manufacture of these small instruments over the period of a century and a half. Donati had completed restoration of the instrument in 1986, but at the time of my visit the organ was not in working condition. The specification is:

Principale

Ottava

Decimaquinta

Decimanona

Vigesimaseconda

Flauto in ottava (from f)

Voce Umana (from c')

Cornamusa

Compass C – f'''

Modified meantone temperment.

From here I visited Kerstin Schwarz in nearby Vicchio to see her 1997 copy of the 1726 Cristofori piano in the collection of musical instruments of the University of Leipzig. The instrument has been well played in and is of excellent quality. The touch is light and responsive, and there is a surprisingly wide dynamic range. It also has excellent repeating action: playing the fast, repeated notes of K141 was not difficult. This instrument is made out of poplar, which makes it very light, and has a soundboard of cypress. The strings are of brass with a diameter similar to Italian harpsichords. The compass of the instrument is C to c'''.

In Pistoia I was most fortunate to gain access to the fine Willem Hermans organ of 1664 in the Chiesa dello Spirito Santo. A Flemish builder of great acclaim during his life, Hermans also built the instrument I tried to see in Collescipoli.

Both instruments have been restored by Riccardo Lorenzini.

Specification:¹

Principale (8')

Ottava

XV

XIX

XXII

XXVI-XXIX-XXXIII

Musetto (soprano 8')

Cornetto (soprano IV)

Flautino basso (1')

Flauto (8')

Flauto in XII (soprano 2 2/3')

Trombe basse (8')

Trombe soprane (8')

Voce Umana (basse 4', a reed)

Contrabbassi 16'

Manual compass CDEFGA-c''' (bass and treble divide between f-sharp' and g'); pedal compass CDEFGA-c). Accessories: Nightingales (2), Drum, Tremolo ("a vent perdu"). Unequal temperament.

In Rome I met with Professor Agostino Ziino, distinguished scholar and Director of the Accademia Santa Cecilia. He was formerly President of the Italian Musicological Society. He introduced me to Professor Armando Carideo, one of the major organ builders and restorers in the area. Carideo is also organist of Santa Maria Trastevere, whose organ dates from 1701 and has recently been restored by Carideo. Compass: CDEFGA-g'', a'' (no g-sharp'').

Santa Barbara di Librerie has an original Neapolitan organ from the early 1600s. It is a gem of an instrument that was saved purely because the church became deconsecrated and was used for storage. In fact many historical organs have been saved because of the poverty surrounding the church, which has left Italy

in an ideal position to restore its heritage. Its specification:

Principale

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Voce umana (from g)

Compass CDEFGA–c''

Meantone temperament

The organist of the church, Aaron Carpone, believes that the Voce umana was almost certainly originally a second Principale, the stop being too loud for a Voce umana.

Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) has a highly interesting organ from 1612 with split keys. While I was able to see and play this instrument briefly there was not sufficient time to make a note of its details.

Finally, there was a highly valuable visit to the museum of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The Director, Dott. Antonio Latanza, was most obliging and allowed filming and playing of one of the instruments. He also presented me with an excellent publication on the Museum's instruments, Luisa Cervelli's *La Galleria Armonica: Catalogo del Museo degli strumenti musicali di Roma* (Rome, 1994). Of most significance was a Neapolitan organ from the 1700s (no. 895 in the catalogue) with the following specification:

Principale (stopped to d-sharp, the stopped notes permanently on)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegisima nona
Flauto in XII from e
Uccelletti

Also of interest were the following instruments:

1. An anonymous Italian harpsichord of 1725. Compass CDEFGA–c^{'''}. Catalogue no. 758.
2. A seventeenth-century anonymous harpsichord “con tasti enarmonici” (with split keys). Compass: CDEFGA–c^{'''}, including d-sharp/e-flat, a-sharp/b-flat, d-sharp'/e-flat', g-sharp'/a-flat', a-sharp'/b-flat' and d-sharp''/e-flat''. Catalogue 779.
3. A harpsichord by Nicola Angelo Trenchii dated 1816. Compass CDE–c^{'''} (*i.e.* with broken octave: split D/F-sharp and E/G-sharp). Catalogue no. 787.
4. An eighteenth-century anonymous harpsichord, gilded, with two keyboards. Compass GG, AA–c^{'''}. Catalogue no. P. V. 3862.
5. Another seventeenth-century anonymous harpsichord “con tasti enarmonici”. Compass CDE–c^{'''} (broken octave), including d-sharp/e-flat, g-sharp/a-flat, d-sharp'/e-flat', g-sharp'/a-flat' and d-sharp''/e-flat''. Catalogue no. 859.
6. A Spinetto of 1778 probably by G. Barbani Macerata with instructions on tuning written on the face above the keyboard and labelled: “New tuning of the harpsichord coming from Bologna, and approved there by the Academy”. Catalogue no. 752.

My visit to Italy also included failed attempts to see organs in Collescipoli and Poggio a Caiano, both of which had been highly recommended to me, the former by Professor David Dahl of Tacoma, Washington, who suggested that it was a perfect organ for Scarlatti, the latter by Dr Kathryn Bosi, who mentioned the high quality of its recent restoration by Donati.

In Madrid several important contacts were tried to see the highly recommended organs in the Royal Palace, but this proved impossible to organise during the time frame of my visit. Of the two organs in the Royal Palace, the smaller instrument is of the greater interest to my project, as it was in existence during

Scarlatti's lifetime and in his sphere of reference, so there is a potential link to the composer. I have included details of this instrument in Chapter 3. My chance discovery of the organ in the Iglesia de Santa Bárbara in Madrid is also discussed in Chapter 3.

The Museo Archaológico apparently has a fine organ from 1728, built for the Royal household by Pedro de Liborna (or Liberna) Echevarría, but unfortunately it was not possible to see this instrument.

TOLEDO

The Cathedral in Toledo boasts ten organs from various eras. The most interesting is a 1699 unrestored instrument by Pedro de Liborna Echevarría. It is a three-manual instrument with compass C to d^{'''}. There are no pedals.

BARCELONA

In Barcelona I was able to meet with one of Spain's most important organ builders and restorers, Gerhard Grenzig, who restored the larger organ in the Royal Chapel, Madrid. As well as giving me an extensive tour of his impressive factory, he introduced me to a beautiful eighteenth-century Catalonian organ he restored in the church of Santa Maria del Mar. The organ, originally designed for a smaller church, was moved to this church after its restoration, as Santa Maria, like so many other churches, had lost its original instrument, destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. Of all the sound material of the instrument, only 80 pipes survived. Everything else has been newly made.

Specification:²

Organo Mayor 45 notas (octava corta)

Cara 8'

Octava 4'

Quincena 2' + 1'

Lleno III

Cimbala III

Corona III

Flautado de madera 8'

Tapadillo 4'

Nazardo 12a 2 2/3'

Nazardo 15a 2'

Nazardo 17a 1 3/5'

Corneta

Trompeta real

Bajoncillos 4'-8'

Clarines 4'-8'

Registros de ornamentación

Ruisenor

Trémolo

Gaita

Tambor

Pedal

Ocho contras 8'

Afinación mesotónica

Specification of the chair manual which is yet to be built.

Bordón 8'

Cara 4'

Flauta chimenea 4'

Quincena II

Nazardo 19a II/3

Cimbala III

Regalia 8'

En fachada 2' + 1 1/3'

HAMBURG

In Hamburg I met with Professor Andreas Beurmann, of whom I had learned from an article he published in *Early Music* in 1999, in which he described his

eight Iberian harpsichords, apparently the only originals left in the world.³ But these are only a small part of a private collection of over four hundred historical keyboard instruments, most of which he has recently donated to the City of Hamburg. I was given a private tour of his Schloss and instrument collection and invited to play many fine instruments from a variety of times and places. These included a small Italian organ of whose exact provenance he was unaware; but it was very similar to the various small Neapolitan instruments I had encountered in Treviso and Rome.

In conclusion, the information on organs collected during my tour in 2001 showed that there was a high level of uniformity in the specifications of organs built in Italy; that Neapolitan organs had found their way to various parts of Italy and beyond; and that short octave compass and meantone tuning were common throughout the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth. In Spain the most special part of my visit was indeed chancing upon the Neapolitan organ in the Eglisia de Santa Bárbara and learning of its association with Farinelli and possibly, during the design stage, with Scarlatti.

What was even more important than mere assembling of data, however, was making repeated contact with the sounds of instruments from the era of Scarlatti—sounds, moreover, that in most cases remain in the acoustics for which they were produced and that are essentially the same now as they were then. The Sonatas K 1 and 5, usually heard on harpsichord or piano, took on a new life (or perhaps an “old life”) played on these wonderful instruments.

The other important experience of my tour was the playing of Kerstin Schwarz’s copy of a Cristofori piano, from which I learned that the original piano was not as primitive in sound as my reading up until that time, based on experiences of the New York Metropolitan Museum’s Cristofori, had led me to expect. On the contrary, I was in the presence of an instrument that was fully developed in its own right.

Except for the organ of San Nicolò in Treviso, the instruments upon which I eventually recorded four years after the initial field trip were not encountered on that first excursion. Unfortunately, access to some of the instruments upon which had I hoped to record was not granted in time for my project.

Nevertheless, the organs upon which I eventually recorded in Cortona, Treviso and Lisbon were outstanding instruments well restored. What follows is a description about their restorations to ascertain to what extent we may be hearing as close to an “authentic sound” as possible.

CORTONA

San Filippo Neri.⁴

The organ was made by Antonio Felice Parlicini in 1719 and slightly enlarged by Giuseppe De Rittenfels in 1784. Its restoration by Riccardo Lorenzini was completed in 2004.

The original specification was:

Principale

Ottava

XV

XIX & XXII

Flauto in VIII

The additions of 1784 were:

Principale II (from c')

Cornetto Soprano III (from d'; $2 \frac{2}{3}' + 2' + 1 \frac{3}{5}'$)

Contrabbassi 16' al pedale

Manual compass CDEFGA–c''

Pedal compass CDEFGA–c

Meantone temperament (quarter comma)

TREVISO

San Nicolò. Chiesa Parrocchiale.

The organ made by Gaetano Callido in 1778–9 inside the case of the 1597 organ of Vincenzo Colonna. It was restored to its original condition in 1975–7 by Franz Zanin of Camino al Tagliamento.

Callido (1727–1813) mastered the Nacchini Venetian school of building and was not only prolific over his long life, but enjoyed respect outside of Italy with organs built in Corfu, Smirne, Alexandria (Egypt) and Constantinople. His intense pace of work resulted in almost ten organs a year being built. Such was the esteem for his work that “In 1779, the five “Savi della Mercanzia” of the Venetian Government, by decree of the Senate of the Republic, exempted him from all road tolls and transit duties for the transport of his instruments beyond Venetian territory, providing they were branded with his initials «G.C.»”⁵

The organ was built in two stages; the grand organ was completed for Easter in 1778, and the Positivo in 1779. In the nineteenth century the organ underwent some modifications which included making the pedal board chromatic and changing the temperament from unequal into equal temperament. The organ was restored to its presumed original condition in 1975–7 by Franz Zanin of Camino al Tagliamento.

Manual compass CC–d’’, but CC–EE borrow from the next octave (*i.e.* there are not independent pipes for these note: the pitch actually does not go below FF). Thus the real compass is from FF (12’). Pedal compass C–B.

Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini has written about the tuning system:

“The temperament...is an advanced form of the classical systems of tuning. The absolute perfection of the major thirds, a characteristic of Middle Tone Temperament, is sacrificed in favour of an expansion of the harmonies and tonalities that can be utilized...The system of tuning...is appreciable in that most of the organ literature adapted to this instrument does not go beyond its tonal limits. The resulting sound is of considerable beauty, over and above the dynamic created by the diversity between the major and minor semitones and by the distinctive character of the different tonalities.”⁶

The specification:

Upper manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Decima quinta

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Vegesima sesta

Vegesima nona

Trigesima terza

Trigesima sesta

Voce umana

Flauto in VIII (bassi / soprani)

Flauto in XII

Cornetta

Tromboncini (bassi / soprani)

Violoncelli (bassi / soprani)

Lower manual

Principale (bassi / soprani)

Ottava

Quintadecima

Decima nona

Vigesima seconda

Violetta bassi (4')

Voce umana

Flauto in VIII (bassi / soprani)

Flauto in XII

Cornetta

Tromboncini (bassi / soprani)

Pedal

Contrabassi

Ottava di Contrabassi

Duodecima di Contrabassi

Tromboni al Pedale

Tiratutti
 Terzo mano
 Unione manuali

Modified meantone temperament.

LISBON

Igreja de São Vicente de Fora⁷

As a result of the earthquake and tsunami of 1 November 1755, the organ of São Vicente de Fora was rebuilt in 1765 by João Fontanes de Maqueixa.⁸ The builder's name came to light only in 1994 when the instrument was being restored by Swiss organ builders Christine and Claudio Rainolter, who also have a workshop in Zaragoza. This organ is considered to be in almost original condition and is also an important representation of Portuguese Baroque instruments. Whilst there is no information about the builder, another instrument of his survives in the chapel of the Seminário Mãjor in Coimbra, built in 1763.

In the nineteenth century some minor repairs were undertaken, during which the original pitch was raised. In 1956–57 José and João Sampaio cleaned the pipe-work and fitted an electric bellow. In 1977 the same organ builders fitted plastic pieces, artificial skins and synthetic glues into the mechanism. But in 1993–1994 the Rainolters undertook a complete restoration, refitting original materials. They also moved the bellows closer (they were originally twenty-five metres away) into two deposit-bellows inside the box, over the great organ. The Rainolters believe that original pipe-work from the pre-1755 organ was reused in this larger 1765 instrument. The specification:

II - Órgão Principal

Mão esquerda (Dó–dó')

Flautado de 24
 Flautado de 12
 Oitava Real

Mão direita (dó sostenido'–ré''')

Oitava Magna
 Flautado de 24
 Flautado de 12

Quinzena	Oitava Real
Flautado de 12 tapado	Flauta Travessa
Flautado de 6 tapado	Flauta Doce
Quinta Real	Voz Humana
Requinta	Quinta em 12
Vintedozena	Decimaquinta
Mistura Imperial	Mistura Imperial
Címbala	Címbala
Subcímbala	Subcímbala
Clarão	Clarãoocilho
Trombeta Real	Corneta Real
Trombeta de Batalha *	Trombeta Real *
Baixãozinho *	Clarim *
Dulçaina *	Trombeta Marinha *
Chirimia	Dulçaina*
	Boé *

* Palhetas horizontais

I - Órgão de Eco

Mão esquerda (Dó–dó')

Flautado de 12 tapado
 Flautado Violão
 Flautado de 6 tapado
 Quinzena
 Dezanovena
 Vintedozena
 Cheio Claro
 Tolosana
 Nazardo de Eco
 Sacabucha

Mão direita (dó sustenido'–ré''')

Flautado de 12
 Flautado de 12 tapado
 Flauta Napolitana
 Flauta de 6
 Oitava
 Pífaro
 Vintedozena
 Cheio Claro
 Cornetilha
 Corneta
 Clarim de Eco

LONDON

Anonymous Portuguese piano c 1750 in the private collection of Harold Lester. This instrument was discovered by the current owner in Lisbon in 1973.

An extensive examination of this instrument was undertaken by Christopher Nobbs, who also partially restored it. Nobbs (1988) explains that the Lester instrument has some similarities to the 1763 Henrique van Casteel instrument, now kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon. "Both instruments have a compass of C-d". Natural key coverings and arcades are boxwood and the accidentals are of ebony. Both actions imitate the action found in Cristofori's surviving instruments, although they differ in detail. At c' the scale of the Lester instrument is 275mm and of the van Casteel, 254mm, and they are bichord throughout." But Nobbs believes the differences are more interesting than the similarities. In an E-mail of 2 April 2006 he writes: "Van Casteel has a northern harpsichord maker's approach to soundboard barring and bridge design for example. The Lester is internally more southern in barring, framing, and bridge section and closer to what little we know of antecedent Portuguese harpsichord and clavichord building. I still believe there is plenty of evidence to give it an earlier date than the van Casteel - it would be interesting to know what is under the paint."

As Nobbs explains (1988), the basic structure of the piano was "fairly sound" and his efforts concentrated on the action, trying to recreate its original condition by "the reinstatement of the original key guiding system". He explains that whilst Cristofori's action had been followed, there were also some deviations in this design. Nobbs believes that the hammer heads may be replacements and that "most of the original material on the contact surfaces of the action has been changed...". Nobbs restored the total stringing to brass. He also notes that the *una corda* on this instrument is not original.

Nobbs also thinks that this instrument predates 1755: "Working on the Lester piano and study of the other instruments...in addition to examination of other Portuguese harpsichords and clavichords, leads me to believe that the Lester

piano is among the earliest surviving Portuguese keyboard instruments, perhaps even predating the seemingly impassable chronological barrier of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Although not contemporary with any surviving Florentine pianos, it may not be so far in origin from the instruments in Maria Barbara's famous inventory of 1758" (1988).

In an E-mail of 26 March 2006 he writes:

"I do think the instrument could well date from before the earthquake. Apart from the 'earlier' aspects of the action, SB and case design, the styling of carving, mouldings and decorative veneer is definitely evocative of the more rococo pre-earthquake style rather than the severer neoclassic 'Pombaline' style of all the later surviving pianos - and harpsichords. The Una Corda shift is not original although it could be an early modification to bring it into line with the later pianos - a simple modification involving cutting a slice of a keyblock and its handle to give lateral movement (remember those handles are originally for withdrawing the action - not for shifting sideways). But also bear in mind, the keyboard shift, as on early English grands, may have been originally more a convenience for tuning, becoming 'expressive' only later."

In his talk (1988) Nobbs goes on to explain that as well as proportions, workmanship and scribing suggesting an earlier date than the other studied keyboards, the other "clue is the elaborate rosewood music desk with the instrument, which is embellished with boxwood mouldings and scrolls." Of interest also are the "keyblocks...fluted with mouldings and carrying rococo scroll handles in boxwood, evoke an earlier furniture style of the 1740s." Nobbs writes in a footnote: "The ensuite tables in the library at Coimbra display identical conjunctions of ornament and choice of wood. The library was designed by Gasper Ferreira and decorated by Claudio de Laprada, a Frenchman, between 1716 and 1728". He describes the sound of the piano as being close to a dulcimer and capable of "sustained sonority and generosity of sound".

Denzil Wraight was able to compare the sound of the Lester piano to his own reproduction and writes (2006): "The Portuguese piano, although based on Cristofori's action and largely on his design, typically used rather narrow

hammerheads of the same size throughout the compass. This leads to a distinctly bright sound, not so distant from the harpsichord.”

When I met this instrument eighteen years after this speech was delivered, I found that the right hand side of the keyboard was warped upwards which had the effect of destabilised the tuning. Harold Lester explained to me that it had always been like this and was as a result of years of pressure of the stringing on the wooden frame. In an E-mail of 26 March 2006 Nobbs confirms this, that “the bentside / cheek corner had already dropped...the standard distortion of old pianos and harpsichords - but not excessively. This does, especially on English instruments spoil the treble tone when extreme, but I don’t think it was affecting the tone very much back then, and I don’t think it much changed now, but it has got more flexible and strained since the 1980s.”

I found that the bass of this instrument was dynamically much stronger than the treble. This was also explained to me by Nobbs in an E-mail of 2 April 2006: “The relative weakness of the treble is...a common characteristic of many early piano types. Hence trichord stringing in the treble of some Viennese, or the loyalty to bright bare hammers - or the tangente-flügel - that help the balance.” My impressions on playing this instrument are discussed in Chapter 6.

The major development in my knowledge of replica instruments over the past three years has resulted from E-mail correspondence with two makers of copies of Cristofori pianos. Both men, David Sutherland and Denzil Wraight, are extremely articulate and have been painstaking in dealing with my enquiries. Both have also published a number of papers on the early piano and have been generous in providing me with pre-publication copies of their work. Unfortunately I have not had the benefit to date of playing their pianos, only that of hearing their work on recordings.

Sutherland writes on his webpage:

“Bartolomeo Cristofori's great work of inventing and developing a successful design for a string keyboard instrument with full dynamic expression (the piano) extended over more than a quarter of a century, from sometime before 1700 to 1726. Cristofori's successor, Giovanni Ferrini, continued the production of similar pianos until nearly the middle of the century. About a dozen other grand pianos with Cristoforian actions have survived from

Spain, Portugal, Germany, England and France. These facts have prevented me from accepting the view expressed by most historians of music who have written about Cristofori, to the effect that his design was interesting in theory but of little practical significance. My research aims are to clarify the relations between the surviving Cristoforian grand pianos and to demonstrate the influence exerted by these earliest of pianos on musical life throughout Europe during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.”⁹

Sutherland has made copies of pianos by Cristofori, Gottfried Silbermann and Giovanni Ferrini, the last based on the combination 1746 harpsichord/fortepiano owned by Tagliavini.

In an E-mail of April 2006 Sutherland writes:

“After the Silbermann piano I made a "Ferrini" piano for myself. I put that in quotes, because no Ferrini piano has survived to the present, except the piano action on the upper manual of his two-manual piano/harpsichord. But there is ample evidence that his pianos were identical in concept with Cristofori’s, but enlarged to d3 in the treble. The 56-note Florentine piano willed by Queen Maria Barbara to Farinelli was almost certainly by Ferrini, and it is just such an instrument that Silbermann and J. S. Bach knew. Its relevance to the keyboard works of Bach and Scarlatti is thus very considerable.”

Recordings on David Sutherland’s instruments are discussed in Chapter 6.

Sutherland raises the issue of stringing in his 1995 article—that heavier stringing needed for the piano is what led to the instruments in Maria Barbara’s inventory being turned into the lighter strung harpsichord. Sutherland surmises that it is possible that, after some years, the frame could no longer cope.

In an article “Recent approaches in understanding Cristofori’s fortepiano”, kindly forwarded to me prior to publication, Denzil Wraight writes that the modern Cristofori reproduction’s tone is “dependent on the maker’s choices when stringing and voicing”; that the quest to reproduce the sound of the original instrument is not as simple as merely restoring that instrument to playing condition. “The gaps in our understanding of tonal resources of Cristofori’s fortepiano cannot be bridged by restoring one of the surviving instruments to playing condition since we lack detailed information about original voicing and stringing” And whilst Wraight acknowledges that the

creation of high quality reproductions has provided us with a parameter for sound, he concludes that it is the voicing and stringing that “determine the character of the early Florentine piano.”

Wraight also supports Laura Och’s inference, in her 1986 article on Scipione Maffei, that Maffei’s description of Cristofori’s instrument following his interview with the maker is mainly the latter’s own description. Wraight goes on to say “that all the detailed information about the fortepiano, including its reception by contemporaries, are actually Cristofori’s descriptions and observations which were submitted to Maffei in writing.” This presents Maffei’s writings in a new light, giving an insight into the maker’s view of his instrument.

Wraight goes on to suggest that the tone of the piano, the original source of disappointment to those who supported the harpsichord, was meant to be the softer and duller than its competitor, otherwise why not invent a harpsichord with varying dynamics? This is further proved by the existence of the Ferrini 1746 combination fortepiano and harpsichord. He further claims that the partial harp sound, where the hammerheads were apparently covered with buckskin, was the original intention indicated by its original name *arpicembalo*.

Wraight also points out that the pressure of the stringing affects the tone. “The heavier the strings are, the louder and clearer is the tone, which particularly affects the treble of the instrument from c’ upwards. The lighter the tension the easier it is to detune a choir of treble strings in playing and this defines the limit of the force the player must use.” The reinforced construction is designed to withstand the increased tension.

He believes Cristofori’s preference was for a less bright sound. He notes that lighter stringing can yield more sound if the hammerhead is harder, as in Kerstin Schwarz’s reproduction, and acknowledges that Cristofori did “expect the performer to have to play harder on his fortepiano than one would on a harpsichord.” But he reminds us of Cristofori’s view: “This is properly a chamber instrument, and it is not adaptable for church music or a large orchestra...It is certain that to accompany a singer, and to support an

instrument or even for a smallish ensemble, it succeeds.” To this Wraight comments: “Cristofori’s information that the fortepiano may be used to accompany a singer or an instrument is interesting and gives us the minimum standard of volume which the instrument should achieve. It seems therefore that we should expect a sound larger than one would obtain from a clavichord...but it is clear to me that with the increase of the pressure of the strings bearing on the nut, the choice of hammer dimensions and hammer type, that he was aiming to control the tonal performance at the louder end of the range.”

¹ Details from the booklet accompanying the CD *L’organo Willem Hermans di Pistoia*. Discantica 51.

² Details provided by Gerhard Grenzig.

³ Koster 2000 casts doubt upon the origin of a number of these instruments.

⁴ Details from Lorenzini, 2004, ‘Il restauro dell’organo di Antonio Felice Parlicini nella chiesa di San Filippo Neri in Cortona’ in *L’Organo Parlicini della Chiesa di San Filippo Neri in Cortona*.

⁵ *Domenico Scarlatti: Sonate Per Organo*. Andrea Marcon playing an organ by G.Callido, S.Nicolo, Treviso, 1997. Divox Antiqua CD CDX 79607. Pozzobon, M. CD program notes p. 10.

⁶ *ibid*, p. 12.

⁷ Information provided by João Pedro d’Alvarenga.

⁸ d’Alvarenga, 1995.

⁹ <<http://sutherlandharpsichords.com/research.html>>

Chapter 6: Recording Scarlatti

A fundamental question that drives “early music” performance research is “What did it originally sound like?” The sound of the instrument, whether it be a certain type or an individual sound, is what the composer had in mind when writing the music, and it may have even inspired him to write the music in the first place, particularly if the instrument in question was a new development—and here one can compare composers’ response to the invention and development of the piano with the contemporaneous response of yet other composers to the invention and development of the clarinet. Each instrument found immediate champions.

As an undergraduate studying with Colin Tilney in 1990, I had the fortune of having some harpsichord lessons on his anonymous eighteenth-century single-manual Italian instrument. In playing Scarlatti on this instrument I was immediately struck by Scarlatti’s characteristic melodically displaced resolutions. The effect was so much clearer on this historic instrument, because each octave had its own colour or personality, whereas I had up until that time experienced only modern instruments whose makers had toiled long to eradicate such inequalities in the sound, aiming for a single colour from one end of the compass to the other. Tilney’s instrument thus taught me how to play as I reacted instinctively to its touch and sound.

As a result of the Toronto experience I felt it was a necessary part of my research to find suitable historic instruments and expose myself to their colours, in the hope they would reveal a new dimension on Scarlatti’s inner workings. I therefore searched for instruments as close in time and place as possible to those Scarlatti would have played. Major factors affecting the direction of my recording project were the current condition of the instruments, whether and in what ways they resemble what they were in the eighteenth century, and their availability. Some of the organs I recorded on were difficult to access, being highly prized instruments in venues of cultural or spiritual significance. In some instances they were not the instruments of first choice.

An essential focus throughout my recent years of study has been the organology of the sonatas. Such is the confidence of most modern performers of the post-Kirkpatrick era that these works are for harpsichord that in the 1980s Scott Ross released recordings of the complete works on a single harpsichord, despite prescription for organ in the main sources of three of the sonatas. More recent recording trends have diversified. Emilia Fadini has overseen a complete recording involving a variety of performers of varying degrees of historical awareness performing on a variety of instruments, some historical, some not. And even more recently the pianist Angela Hewitt has indicated her intention to record all the sonatas on the modern piano.

As the late organ builder Dirk Flentrop acknowledged: "It is not easy to write about organs; they need to be played or listened to" (Williams 1966, p. 6). So it is with all musical instruments. I can write detailed notes on how Scarlatti sonatas might sound on various instruments, but only the actual sound convinces, the aural faculty being not only the sense Scarlatti held in the highest regard but the essential element that has drawn all musicians to music in the first place.

In the last ten years there has been a slow but steady movement towards performing Scarlatti on historical instruments, the obvious increase in activity being in the direction of early pianos and organs. This has in part to been motivated by the high quality of recent copies of Cristofori's instruments.

Some recordings, of which I have been able to get copies, will be discussed below in order of release dates (where the recording date is mentioned this will be commented on). The recording industry does not, by and large, nurture such initiatives: they are seen as specialised and therefore not financially viable. The musicians mentioned in this chapter deserve recognition for contributing to recreate and preserve historical sounds, often accomplished at considerable personal expense and under less-than-ideal recording circumstances (such as external noise, acoustically poor venues, recording through the night hours, and instruments that require perpetual retuning owing to extremes of temperature or humidity). I shall be looking only at those recordings that attempt to recreate the sound world of Scarlatti. There are of course countless

other recordings available on the modern harpsichord, modern piano, modern guitar and so on, not to mention harpsichord recordings on historical instruments.

The recording medium, however, can be inaccurate in its positive representation of early keyboard instruments, as it often is in its representation of soft instruments generally. Having an instrument closely microphoned and subsequently played over fine quality speakers, usually with the volume knob in a position that allows the recording to compete with levels of sound experienced in the modern concert hall, means that we may be hearing a highly distorted version of the original sound. The intimacy and possible quiriness of the original instrument are delivered to us on a silver platter. Particularly with the early piano, the outcome can be a contrast in dynamic range far in excess of reality.

My purpose here is not to review the performances of the individual players, nor to discuss the work of the sound engineer. I am simply analysing the stated motives and outcomes of the choice of specific sonatas for specific instruments.

Selected recordings:

1.1996 *Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini and his collection of harpsichords* (Ermitage ERM 427-2)

Tagliavini performs Sonata K153 on his harpsichord by Giuseppe Maria Gocini (Bologna, 1721, built for export to England) and Sonata K109 on his harpsichord-pianoforte by Giovanni Ferrini (Florence, 1746). The purpose of the disc, according to notes by Paolo Da Col, is to create authenticity of sound and to take us on a journey of the evolution of sounds of keyboard instruments.

It is the performance of K109 on a Ferrini harpsichord-pianoforte that is of particular interest here. This unusual instrument has two keyboards, the lower activating a harpsichord action, the upper a pianoforte action of the type pioneered by Ferrini's teacher, Cristofori. The choice of this hybrid instrument for this sonata was occasioned by the implicit dialogue between two keyboards;

and at the conclusion of his paper describing the Ferrini instrument in detail Tagliavini (1991, p. 407) considers “the fascinating possibility of a connection with the art of Domenico Scarlatti.” It has indeed been suggested that the Spanish court, where Scarlatti worked for the last three decades of his life, owned instruments by Ferrini, two of which may have been of this type (van der Meer 1997, pp. 154–5).

In the booklet notes Da Col explains that the double nature of this keyboard “seems to ideally mark the phase in which the continuance of the harpsichord coincided with the increasing success of the piano...The delicate nature of the piano, rich in expressive shadings, and the sharpness of the harpsichord produce startling effects in pieces full of dialogue...An additional nexus is suggested by the fact that instruments built by Ferrini, perhaps even of this type, were used at court in Madrid, where Scarlatti was active for many years.”

Interestingly Tagliavini not only swaps to the piano for echoes in repeats of phrases but also uses the piano register as an accompaniment throughout most of sonata, giving the right hand’s harpsichord register an effect of greater brightness.

2. 1997 *Domenico Scarlatti, Sonate per Organo* (Divox Antiqua CD CDX 79607)

Andrea Marcon has chosen the following sonatas to perform on the historic organ of San Nicolò of Treviso: K92, 281, 282, 61, 384, 159, 328, 153, 513, 347, 284, 34, 391, 199, 79, 287, 288, 304, 305 and 41.

Marcon comments that it does not make sense that someone who had trained and worked as an organist did not write more sonatas within the body of such a vast output. “To my great surprise I managed to identify without difficulty about fifty sonatas that can be easily performed on either instrument. The works in question are probably early compositions, often two-part, that do not display the distinctive harpsichord features typical of later Scarlatti. In some cases, the performances on the organ are actually more convincing thanks to the diverse sonic possibilities offered by the instrument.”

In the booklet notes Arnaldo Morelli discusses the possible heritage of K61. "...one think(s) it was intended (though not in an exclusive sense) for organ—it calls to mind a style of organ music of the beginning of the eighteenth century, that of Accompanied Solo, exemplified, if in more modest form, by Zipoli's «Postcommunio co' flauti»."

Marcon explores the instrument fully, the accompanying notes giving registrations for each sonata. In K328 Marcon plays on the four-foot stop where it is written so that it sounds an octave higher. This is a legitimate interpretation given that the Flauto on the Italian organ is a four-foot stop. On the other hand the notation does go up to d''', which would have been found on very few Italian organs of Scarlatti's day. I have discussed this problem more fully in Chapter 3.

The only piece on this disc that I did not find convincing as an organ work is K347. Yes, one can divorce it from its partner despite the *attacca* annotation, but a tempo of *minim* = 36 for a "cut-common" movement marked *Cantabile e Moderato* does not ring true, at least for this listener. On the whole, however, this is a particularly well thought out and well executed CD, which provides further evidence supporting the arguments that Scarlatti's sonatas were written for a variety of keyboard instruments and that the organ has a significant place among those instruments.

3. 1998 *Scarlatti on the Fortepiano* (Cedille Records CDR 90000 042)

David Schrader plays a modern replica of the 1726 Cristofori piano, built by David Sutherland in 1997. Schrader has recorded the following sonatas: K132, 129, 386, 44, 43, 209, 434, 84, 239, 513, 158, 113, 52, 519, 405, 308, 64 and 517.

In his booklet notes Schrader informs us of his motivation behind this selection of sonatas: "I tried to choose sonatas that made good use of the early piano's tonal and expressive qualities, as opposed to those of the harpsichord...I looked for works that benefited from the different sound of the piano and its ability to employ dynamic variation for the purpose of phrasing. I also wanted to include sonatas that reflected Scarlatti's roots in the Italian, especially Roman, tradition

as well as his enthusiastic adoption of characteristically Spanish folk music.” Naturally if you include all of these parameters it will become a highly personal selection.

A point of interest that Schrader makes in choosing K52 is that “its fullness of its harmony and counterpoint suit the piano well...” Polyphonic writing is not what one would consider suiting this new invention, but the clarity of the voices is such that it gives an old medium new life.

4. 1999 *The Portuguese Fortepiano: 18th-Century Iberian Keyboard Music* (Wildboar WLBR 9401)

Edward Parmentier plays a fortepiano made by Manuel Antunes in Lisbon in 1767. In addition to works by Albero, Carvalho, Galuppi, Giustini and Seixas, the program includes two Scarlatti sonatas, K28 and 227.

In the booklet notes Joseph Spencer writes: “Domenico Scarlatti’s thirty *Essercizi* form without question the cornerstone of the nascent fortepiano literature, even as they epitomize Iberian harpsichord music...Demands upon the performer are high, often calling for dramatic hand-crossings and other devices that proclaim the birth of the piano virtuoso.” Other than a mention of the *Essercizi* no reason is given for the choice of these two sonatas.

5. 1999 *Domenico Scarlatti: Sonate Per Cembalo 1742 from manuscript source* (Frame CD FR9829-2)

For this double-CD set Laura Alvini performs on Kerstin Schwarz’s 1997 copy of Cristofori’s 1726 piano. CD A: K63, 60, 45, 52, 51, 5, 75, 48, 72, 61, 62, 47 and 38. CD B: K37, 75, 77, 17, 65, 67, 66, 74, 3, 11, 56, 69, 17, 68, 64, 10, 76 and 71.

Alvini was inspired to record Scarlatti on the piano instead of the harpsichord because of her conviction that it was considered an instrument of importance during Scarlatti’s life, but also due to Kerstin Schwarz’s fine reproduction. Her choice of sonatas is limited to those from the 1742 Venice manuscript that fit within the C–c’’ compass.

Her position is further explained in an essay by Paolo Paolini. Like David Sutherland he describes the influences of Scarlatti's time that would have made lack of knowledge of the Cristofori piano quite impossible.

Alvini's championing of the 1742 Venice manuscript drew my attention to its unusual readings. On closer inspection major fundamental errors made by the copiest became apparent, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Alvini explains that she has made no attempts to correct the scribe's quirks: "In these, as in the other sonatas, once I had corrected the manifest errors, I respected practically all the textual variants of the 1742 volume, even those that were puzzling or easily imputable to scribal idiosyncrasy or forgetfulness (such as the occasional lack of a second-half repeated mark. After all, our desire for a Scarlatti *Urtext* has little chance of being satisfied when it comes to the keyboard output. Nor, for that matter, do I find that our *esprit de géométrie* has much to do with the Scarlatti aesthetic, for the prevailing feature of the music seems to be the desire to astonish, explore and give a full display of the 'ingenious play of art', to use Scarlatti's own expression. And this is not just because of those apparently gratuitous hand crossings (which are actually decisive in giving the right articulation and spirit to the phrasing) or the perilous leaps from one end of the keyboard to the other...It is also, indeed above all, a question of accounting for the continuous asymmetries, the structural, melodic and harmonic peculiarities and the frequently unsystematic use of ornamentation. Given that the 'original' ordering of the Sonatas is already upset by the choice of the instrument, for this recording I have devised a different arrangement based on my own personal interest in the association of sounds and colours...Indeed one could say that my interpretations were totally conditioned by the new, incredibly new, sonorities that the instrument *col piano e il forte* progressively unveiled to me."

6. 2002 *Bartolomeo Cristofori: Sei Sonate di varij Autori* (Stradivarius STR33608)

Luca Guglielmi plays Kerstin Schwarz's 1997 copy of Cristofori's 1726 piano. The program includes Scarlatti's Sonata K81 in addition to works by Ciaja, Handel, Giustini, Benedetto Marcello and Zipoli.

Guglielmi believes that K81 reflects Alessandro Scarlatti's style and influence and Neapolitan traits. Whilst he acknowledges that it may be seen as a chamber sonata for the violin, he justifies filling out the figured bass to create a keyboard piece based on the practices of Telemann: "However a fairly normal procedure adopted by Telemann in his *Fantasie*, would call for harmonious filling between the two "extreme" parts and a keyboard destination. Without attempting to solve the problem from a musical point of view, we are more inclined to think that it is destined for the keyboard, remembering the *Sonate da camera a violino e violoncello ovvero clavicembalo solo opera prima* by Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco and the *Concerto per violino e violoncello in La maggiore* by Vivaldi, with the choice of a possible harpsichord execution given by the composer."

7. 2004 *Scarlatti Sonatas* (Capriccio 67112)

Linda Nicholson plays a copy of a Cristofori-Ferrini 1730 fortepiano built by Denzil Wraight in 2003. She performs the following sonatas: K197, 203, 215, 216, 208, 209, 213, 548, 158, 159, 248, 249, 490, 491 and 492.

Denzil Wraight writes about the role of the newly invented piano, both as a solo instrument and as one forced into the background by Kirkpatrick's influence. The "rounder and sweeter tone" that he describes is certainly evident in and unique to his reproduction. The GG, AA–d''', e''' compass is based on knowledge of the 1730 instrument made for Queen Maria Barbara of Spain.

The booklet notes also include an essay from Jane Clark, but neither she nor Linda Nicholson discuss the specific choice of pieces for the piano. The only link that has been made is by Dr Wraight, and it is to do with compass.

8. 2004 *Sonates Domenico Scarlatti* (Ambronay AMY002)

Aline Zylberajch plays a copy of a Cristofori-Ferrini 1730 fortepiano built by Denzil Wraight in 2003. She performs the following sonatas: K481, 386, 282, 213, 43, 308, 49, 133, 93, 45, 32, 517, 144, 391, 490, 220, 216 and 291.

As with the Linda Nicholson recording, the only stated link made between the Scarlatti sonatas and the piano is the compass of this instrument.

K216 is the one sonata that both Nicholson and Zylberajch record in common, but Zylberajch does not include its pair and does not explain why. The piano as recorded on both discs has an impressive dynamic range and quality of tone. Certainly the fast action and reaction of the touch is proved.

* * *

Previous chapters of this dissertation have laid the foundations for this chapter. I now enter a more contentious part of my work, expressing subjective interpretations of specially chosen sonatas, why I think they work well on the instruments of choice, and identifying clues in the music that led to the choice of instruments and the subsequent interpretation on that particular instrument. In this area of study—perhaps a grey one from the scholar’s viewpoint, but highly colourful to the performer—I started by identifying particular moments in each sonata that I believed could give some clue to the keyboard and sound it was written for. Each of Domenico Scarlatti’s keyboard sonatas is an individual contribution to the repertoire. And each keyboard instrument offers its own interpretation and colour. The original sound is the quality that is the focus of this dissertation, and remains the point of focus as the possible original stimulus to the composer.

The organ recordings

CORTONA

San Filippo Neri

I began my exploration on the organ of San Filippo Neri in Cortona. Details of this and the other instruments on which I recorded are given in Chapter 5.

In terms of the organ I was particularly intent upon recording instruments with a variety of temperaments. The Cortona organ was thus selected not only because of its quality, but also because it furnished an example of quarter-

comma meantone temperament. The Sonatas K1, 5, 82 and 85 were subsequently chosen for this instrument as they all fit within standard meantone tuning and short octave compass. Only in bar 135 of K82 was I forced to adopt a minor editorial amendment owing to the presence of an F-sharp.

Sonata K1: *Allegro*

Registration:

Principale

Flauto in VIII

K1 has something of the character of a canzona or capriccio: it is a light, imitative movement. The above registration is a standard canzona registration going back at least to the period of Frescobaldi. This sonata works particularly well on the organ, but is also very fine on the piano and harpsichord. It is thus a good example of the ambiguity of organology.

The very example Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 182) gives us as writing requiring two keyboards on the harpsichord (bar 7–8), is the very musical figure that I found works most effectively on the organ. Kirkpatrick is in effect admitting the awkwardness of this passage by suggesting a solution for it—but a most unlikely one given the rarity of double-manual harpsichords in Scarlatti's part of the world. The repetition of the note in the upper line means that one has to come off the quavers of the lower line more quickly than is suggested by their notated values. In fact, one needs to play it as a semiquaver to be able to release the note in time to play it again. On the organ this creates a particularly pleasing articulation, which, combined with the church's natural acoustic, gives the writing more shape and clarity, in the same way that Scarlatti's hand crossings force you to take time and shape the phrase. I first discovered the effectiveness of this passage while actually playing it on an organ, not by theorising about it whilst seated at my desk. On the piano one can create the illusion of quavers in the left hand by slightly accenting them.

Kirkpatrick also writes (pp. 181–2): "It should be remembered that harpsichords, like organs, were so completely lacking in standardization that the final choice of registration had to be left to the player." The weakness in this

argument is that Kirkpatrick expects organs to have a Steinway-like regularity. The fact remains that Italian organs, as shown in Chapter 3, were remarkably standardised, especially for a collection of states we now call Italy.

Based on intuition Sheveloff (1970, p. 318) pairs K1 with the next in my recording, K5.

Sonata K5: *Allegro*

Registration:

Principale

Ottava

XV

XIX & XXII

In Chapter 3 I have noted the similarity of the opening of this piece to the *Presto* that concludes the third suite in Handel's 1720 publication. K5 simply sparkles with a brilliant registration on the organ. And while my chosen registration was a *plenum* on this instrument, I should probably seek only a *mezzo ripieno* on a large instrument in order to avoid loss of clarity. In the last five bars of each section I have sustained rather than repeated the pedal points.

Sonata K82

Registration:

Principale

Ottava

Chosen mainly because it is a fugue which, despite its length, is constructed within the confines of meantone temperament, this sonata also has canzona-like features that suggest lightness and clarity of registration. I have sustained the dominant pedal of bars 183–188.

Sonata K85

Registration:

Flauto in VIII

This sonata is actually joined with K82 as part of a foursome in the Coimbra source. It maintains a two-part texture throughout and bears a resemblance to flute voluntaries that became popular in England in the eighteenth century. With this in mind I adopted the registration of four-foot flute alone, another long-established canzona registration in Italy.

TREVISO

San Nicolò. Chiesa Parrocchiale

It was the modified meantone temperament that first led me to this instrument, but its extended compass and two manuals also made it an ideal vehicle for the Sonata K2, which requires F-sharps and features a series of echoes. Further sonatas were planned for this instrument but simply had to be abandoned owing to time constraints and external noise.

Sonata K2: *Presto*

Registration:

Upper manual: Principale, Flauto in VIII

Lower manual: Principale, Flauto in VIII

This registration was chosen for lightness and playfulness. But I was also interested in having similar colours on both manuals, the echo effects thus featuring varied dynamics only. In the last three bars of each section I have sustained rather than repeat the pedal points.

Sonata K41: *Fuga. Andante Moderato*

Registration:

Upper manual: Principale, Ottava, Decima quinta

K41 was one of Scarlatti's most widely disseminated sonatas, though it is curiously missing from the Venice collection. As a *fuga primi toni* composed within the confines of modified meantone temperament it is an obvious contender for the organ, and while I chose on this occasion to register it on a bright but restrained registration, it is also effective played *organo pleno*, as

demonstrated in Andrea Marcon's recording of it on the same instrument. Once again I have sustained rather than repeated the pedal points.

Sonata K72: *Allegro*

Registration:

Upper manual: Principale, Ottava, Decima quinta, Vigesima seconda

Its opening fanfare motive suggested a brilliant registration, and my original intention was to use the entire *ripieno*. This, however, was thwarted by tuning problems. Nevertheless the resulting *mezzo ripieno* is musically effective.

LISBON

São Vicente de Fora

This organ was chosen principally because it had available the specific stops required for the Sonata K287. The compass up to d''' and well-tempered tuning were the other ingredients that made it a suitable instrument for this piece. Though not a chamber organ, which is one of the details specified in Parma VII—in fact quite the opposite—it was decided that an element of compromise had to be accepted somewhere. The experience of playing this great instrument was more than sufficient recompense for such a concession.

The instrument was first recommended to me by Dr João Pedro d'Alvarenga in an E-mail of 18 December 2004:

"I am sure that there isn't any organ left in Portugal that may have been known to Domenico Scarlatti. At least any playable instrument. For the purpose of recording the Sonatas K 287 and 288, I think the organ in the Church of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon will be quite appropriate. It is not, as you may know, a chamber organ. By the contrary, it is a large organ by Portuguese standards. It has two manuals—corresponding to two independent sections, the great organ and the echo organ with short octave ranging from C/E to d'''... The instrument was made in 1765 and restored in 1994. The present tuning is almost equal, so the A-sharps and the D-sharps are not a problem. João Vaz knows the instrument very well."

Sonata K287: *Andante Allegro*

Sonata K288: *Allegro*

Registration

I: LH Sacabucha; RH Clarim de Eco

II: LH Flautado de 12, Flautado de 6 tapado; RH Flautado de 12, Flauta doce

At last we are dealing with works that are incontrovertibly for organ. The bass's Sacabucha and the treble's counterpart, Clarim de Eco, are reeds of the regal type such as Scarlatti would have known as Trombone in Italy. (Sacabucha is also related to the English word sackbut.) Above the specified "Flautato" of the other manual I added a flute at the octave to give the lines better clarity, especially in the lower register.

Sonata K328: *Andante comodo*.

Registration

I: LH Flautado de 6 tapado; RH Flauta de 6

II: LH Flautado de 12, Oitava Real; RH Flautado de 12, Oitava Real

The manuscript calls for the use of two manuals, the main manual identified as *Organo*, the secondary manual as *Flauto*. Since the sections to be played on the Flauto go to d''' it is likely that these were played on a four-foot stop on octave lower since most organs of the period did not venture beyond c'''. This, at least, is the solution adopted here.

Sonata K417: *Fuga. Allegro moderato*.

Registration:

LH Flautado de 24, Flautado de 12, Flautado de 12 tapado, Oitava Real, Quinzena, Quinta Real, Requinta, Vintedozena, Mistura Imperial, Címbala, Subcímbala; RH Flautado de 24, Flautado de 12, Oitava Real, Flauta Travessa, Quinta em 12, Decimaquinta, Mistura Imperial, Címbala, Subcímbala, Clarãocilho

This fugue is unusual, first in having a subject spanning just on two octaves, and secondly in settling into something of a *moto perpetuo* from the end of bar 62, when quaver movement is first introduced, never to be relinquished until the final D/d octave in bar 121. The writing is mainly for three voices, though occasionally for four, and demonstrates no fugal devices. The range, D to d''', is the same as that of the three sonatas designated for organ—K287, 288 and 328—and there are other reasons to suggest that Scarlatti composed the piece with

organ in mind: the antique alla breve time signature (two semibreves per bar), the consistent polyphonic texture, notes lasting more than a breve (which would not sustain as well on other keyboard instruments), and the final tonic pedal. To me the work is an overwhelmingly powerful one for which nothing less than an *organo pleno* registration would do.

The piano recordings

I intended to record on two fortepianos, one copy and one original. Having played first the replica and then the original, it seemed to me that the Cristofori fortepiano and variants on it were not so primitive in sound as some initial reactions against the instrument had suggested. In fact both instruments have a distinctive beauty. Of the utmost importance to my studies was the ability to play and record on an original early Portuguese piano c 1750, and fortunately such was the instrument that was eventually made available to me. This will be the first professional CD recording on this London-based instrument, much written-about and highly praised in numerous articles and books.

I was astounded by the quality, depth and complexity of the sound of Harold Lester's anonymous Portuguese piano as I first met the instrument with Kirkpatrick's descriptions in mind. It struck me as having more of a harp quality than I expected, mixed with elements of piano and elements of harpsichord. This harp quality reminded me of Beethoven's comment in a letter written to the piano maker Johann Andreas Streicher late in 1796: "There is no doubt that as far as the manner of playing is concerned, the *pianoforte* is still the least studied and developed of all instruments; one often thinks that one is merely listening to a harp...I hope the time will come when the harp and the pianoforte will be treated as two entirely different instruments" (Arnold & Fortune 1973, p. 55).

Though Lester's piano was capable of quite a large dynamic range, the voicing of individual notes in its current state was uneven, so that one had to play the upper register quite forcefully at times in order to balance the bass, which was strong and vibrant, particularly the low C. On the other hand it was most satisfying performing as softly as possible, the pianissimos having a real

cantabile quality about them. In its current condition the action did not provide any feedback that would help the player make decisions on touch and articulation in the way a well-regulated instrument would. The touch was heavier than the Kerstin Schwarz copy that I played on, and the repeating action was also not as fast as Schwarz's instrument. But Christopher Nobbs believes that this may simply be due to one instrument being old and the other new.

I finalised decisions about performance and the interpretation once I had become familiar with the instrument and the recording venue. The acoustic of Wathen Hall, St Paul's Anglican Boys' School, London was warmly supportive without being too reverberant and did not interfere with tempo decisions.

There is a certain amount of improvised dynamics in performing this music—spontaneously reacting to the instrument and its colours. These reactions cannot be preconceived and, being in the domain of the performer, are not fixed and can be changed on the repeat of a section or phrase. This aspect of improvised dynamics would be characteristic of playing any touch-sensitive instrument of the early eighteenth century such as the clavichord or piano. The instrument also seemed to gather a momentum of its own with the build-up of sound that occurs with phrase repetitions and repeated pedal notes.

Whilst I thoroughly enjoyed Scarlatti's more subtle moments on this piano, it will be evident that I also became particularly excited over his more explosive moments, and that I had the perfect springboard for my more heated interpretations. The energy of the sounds accumulates in the faster and louder moments, whereas in the softer, more delicate passages, whilst one is very aware of the unevenness of the notes in the upper register and the imperfections of the touch, the instrument was nevertheless extremely responsive.

For the purposes of the recording the instrument was tuned to Vallotti temperament.

Sonata K185: *Andante*

This is a highly unusual sonata for Scarlatti in that the main thematic material is in the left hand and is accompanied by a right hand chord on the second minim beat of each bar. This is not usual harpsichord writing, as the only way to have a quieter right hand on a harpsichord would be to use a double-manual instrument and have the right hand play on the upper manual. But there is no obvious place to change manuals when the right hand assumes the melodic interest, which is why I chose it as a potential piano piece. The harp-like qualities of the Portuguese piano shone through in this piece: it was a pleasure to discover its *pianissimo*.

Sonata K 186: *Allegro*

This dance-like sonata is a fitting contrast to 185, its repetitions inviting a variety of dynamic interplay. The repetitions occur too often for them to be used only as echo devices. It is an ideal movement for the performer to improvise the dynamics, guided to some extent by rhetorical principles but also acknowledging an element of sheer playfulness.

Sonata K208: *Adagio e Cantabile*.

Whilst sharing many of the features of the other *cantabile* sonatas this work is unique for the stark simplicity of its bass line. In essence it is an expressive ornamented aria over a simple harmonic accompaniment. *Cantabile* may suggest composition for piano, as discussed in Chapter 2. Of greatest interest are the repeated bass notes of the opening bars and the left hand's unchanging rhythm, suggesting a simple harmonic accompaniment that is purely supportive in its role. This bass line tends to sound clunky and awkward on the harpsichord—it is simply not typical harpsichord writing. On a piano the player is able to stress and shape the individual notes and also play the accompaniment at a softer level from the melody. The piano gives the opportunity to project longer lines than on the harpsichord. At bar 13 the acciaccatura chord in the bass can be played with a delicacy, adding harmonic richness without bite. All voices drop down to the unison E at bar 14 and again at bar 25, which I take to mean to play as softly as possible.

In her notes for Linda Nicholson's recording mentioned above, Jane Clark suggests that K208 "could be the slow movement of a Venetian concerto". I agree.

Sonata K209: *Allegro*.

Again we have a fitting contrast in this partner to the foregoing sonata. There is a lot of drama in the work, which can be given operatic colour when performed on the piano. And there is also much repetition and playfulness. Important to note is the absence of a bass note to conclude the cadences in bars 70 and 146. Gilbert has supplied these "missing" notes in his edition, his critical commentary acknowledging the change in bar 70 in both Venice and Parma, but failing to acknowledge it in the parallel bar 146 (leaving the unsuspecting performer to believe that the first has been corrected by analogy with the second).

The piece certainly has a dance feel to it. Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 167) writes that K209 is a *jota*, and Jane Clark, again in her notes for Linda Nicholson's recording, considers that it "is based on a Spanish dance. However it contains no Andalucian features so was probably written after the arrival of the court of Castile."

Sonata K215: *Andante*.

The range of BB to d''' for both this sonata and its pair puts them within the range of the standard harpsichords of Scarlatti's day as well as all but the earliest pianos. The absence of BB, however, was solved in this recording by tuning the unused C down a semitone. According to Sheveloff's thinking discussed in Chapter 2 the remarkable acciaccatura chords that open the second half point to the piano. The wonderfully irregular phrase structure suggests a mature (but not necessarily late) work. While claiming no specific insights into Scarlatti's use of *Andante*, I am aware that my tempo is rather more sprightly than that adopted by some interpreters of this piece.

Sonata K216: *Allegro*.

Once again I see this as a most fortuitous partner to the previous sonata, particularly in the exploratory modulations with which their respective second halves commence. But even the opening left-hand octave E/e, which acts as a springboard in each movement for the right hand's subsequent activity, shows some parallelism in the thought.

Sonata K238: *Andante*.

The writing throughout this piece suggests a work of Italian, rather than Iberian, origin, and therefore assignment to an "early" period. Continual dotted rhythms are an Italian feature (also French, but only after the Florentine Lulli had taken them to France; and Scarlatti's music is almost innocent of French influence); harmonic and phrase structures are of the utmost simplicity; and the compass, C to d-flat'', suggests composition for a 50-note keyboard (C to d'', but omitting C-sharp). One bar particularly stands out as an indication that this piece better suits the piano than the harpsichord, and that is the final bar of the sonata. It can have a gentle finish with simple octaves in both hands. On the harpsichord it would be loud with the four voices spread over such a range, and also with one crotchet beat in length specifically written, an abrupt finish.

Kirkpatrick (1953, p. 167) writes: "Scarlatti's recollection of popular music is by no means confined to Spain. My Portuguese friends tell me that Venice IV 3 (238) resembles a folk song from the Estremadura." In conversation, Bernard Brauchli told me that that the sonata is indeed based on a Portuguese folk song, "A minha mae não quen que va" ("My mother does not want me to leave"), but I could not verify this in subsequent discussions with Portuguese musicologists. (It would provide a wonderful biographical and chronological touch to link it to Maria Barbara's departure from Lisbon in 1729!)

Jane Clark, on the other hand, writes in her booklet notes to *Voyage into originality: Domenico Scarlatti, an Italian in Spain* that K238 "uses a well-known tune from the province of Segovia, sung to the Romance 'Carmina la Virgen pura.' It is brilliantly concealed in the first two lines of the sonata."

Sonata K239: *Allegro*.

An identical range to the foregoing, combined with simplicity of harmony and phrase, make this a convincing pair to K238. Prominent throughout is a dance rhythm, first presented melodically in imitation and subsequently involving broken octaves. According to Brauchli (in conversation) this is a Portuguese dance, the *corridinho*.

Sonata K331: *Andante*

This sonata comes to life on the early piano with a charm not easily captured on the harpsichord. The opening crotchet motive repeating at the same pitch in the right hand calls for delicate shading and stressing. At bar 13 the left hand commences a leaping accompaniment figure. At bar 21 the melody in the left hand is the musical focus, accompanied by two-octave jumps in the right hand. The leaping, sparse accompaniment can be performed more elegantly on the piano than on the harpsichord. From bars 38–42 the resolution of each leap in the right hand provides a countermelody in the tenor range, which again is more appropriately shaded on the piano.

Sonata K332: *Allegro*

The obvious pair of K331 features quicker exchanges of thematic material between the hands. Despite its imitative opening this sonata has a Rococo flavour to it: it is harmonically simple, is largely melody and accompaniment

Bars 13–15 are interesting for their dramatic intent: an improvisatory cadence for a single voice wanders and lingers, then, after a minim's silence, a fast descending scale intrudes in octaves and in a foreign key. This is most arresting on the piano and one that calls to be executed as loudly as possible. The repeated bass pedal notes occur on the lowest note on the instrument and in the area that is most powerfully voiced, a natural by-product of its early construction. The final note of that figure occurs on the first beat of the bar and is the loudest and longest.

At bar 52 the echo effect can be applied again in the unaccompanied third and fourth beats. From bars 49–52, and then again in bars 53–56, the left hand gathers momentum towards the middle of the phrase each time, with the

number of harmonic notes increasing. From bar 59, with the introduction of octaves in the left hand as reinforcement (harmonic and dynamic), and the almost maddening motivic repetition, the music escalates to a climax in bar 77 with the arrival of new material, and set in the higher compass of the keyboard. The sonata ends quite simply in a single note octave between the hands, which I took to mean a softer ending.

Sonata K347: *Moderato e cantabile*

This piece immediately caught my eye for being a most improbable *cantabile*. The opening has four- and five-part chords in the right hand with three notes in the left hand. These full-bodied chords are punctuated with crotchet rests. Bar 1 is about as dramatic opening as Scarlatti could write, so why the *cantabile* indication? Was it an indication that it was conceived for the piano? There is nothing *cantabile* about the opening chords. A feature in common with K331 is the tapering of the melody into silence, but here followed by ascending chromatic scales in each hand in turn. This occurs in bars 13–14, 18–19, 33–34, and bars 38–39. The manuscripts clearly indicate the omission of the final bar on the repeat and an *attacca* into K348.

Sonata K348: *Prestissimo*

This sonata is one of virtuoso writing. With this Portuguese piano I had to attack as hard as possible the d''' in bar 24 to make it audible against the stronger bass line (remembering, as discussed before in Chapter 5, that in its original state the early piano's bass was stronger than the treble). With the repeat I do not play the first note in the left hand: what Gilbert and Fadini have as a trill I believe to be a rest (see Chapter 1 for a discussion of this).

The chamber sonatas

“Edward Joseph Dent first pointed out that some of Scarlatti's compositions might be ‘violin solos’” (Sheveloff 1985, p. 414) Those suggested by Dent in 1906 were K73, 77, 78, 81, 89, 90, 91. This is slightly different from my list given in Chapter 1, but we are in agreement about the ones that I recorded with Rachael Beesley, Baroque violin, and Rosanne Hunt, Baroque cello.

Sonata K77: *Moderato e Cantabile - Minuet*

Although this sonata is unfigured in both movements the treble line is suited to the violin, the slurs making good sense as bowing in both movements. The string crossing in the Minuet is idiomatic, for example in bars 60–63. The bass line has a purely supportive role, sharing none of the melodic material.

Sonata K90: *Grave - Allegro - (Giga) - Allegro*

This whole sonata features idiomatic violin writing. A few specifics that confirm this are the string crossings at the opening of the second movement, bars 29–32, as well as bars 186–189 of the fourth movement; the sudden change of tessitura in the sequential passage at bar 81, the music jumping to the higher octave when the lower compass of the violin has been reached; and the cadence at bar 165 (erroneously 166 in Gilbert's edition), where the writing had been in octaves with the left hand up until the last note, which then resolves up to open string d', not the d one octave lower. The sonata has a sparsely figured bass in the first and second movements (in the case of the second movement but a single figure). The bass line is a typical chamber sonata bass line, bearing no resemblance to Scarlatti's normal left hand writing for keyboard.

Sonata K91: *Grave - Allegro - Grave - Allegro*

The concluding chord in the upper stave of the second movement (bar 143) is g–d'–b'–g'', impossible for the keyboard player, perfect on the violin. The bass line, partially figured in all movement, again shows no idiomatic keyboard writing.

Whilst Kirkpatrick believed these sonatas to be chamber works, he felt there was no idiomatic solo writing in them (1953, p. 152). I hope that our performance convincingly challenges this opinion.

* * *

By way of conclusion I to return to Polybius, quoted at the opening of the Introduction. It is not enough to theorise: we must involve ourselves in the practical application of knowledge. And for musicians words are secondary to music. The recordings are thus the nucleus and the culmination of earlier discussions, and the sounds I have attempted to recreate need to speak for themselves.

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