

## ‘TOCCATE PER CIMBALO DEL SIGNOR DOMENICO SCARLATTI’: AN UNEXPLORED EARLY SOURCE

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### Abstract

The loss of musical autographs by Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757) makes it difficult to date and establish a reliable chronological order for his keyboard sonatas. A previously unexplored source now sheds new light on the composer’s early period: a manuscript contained in a miscellaneous codex preserved at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris (F-Pa ms 6785). This source includes a collection of 21 sonatas by Scarlatti, copied by two anonymous scribes.

This paper examines the activity of each copyist and the paper’s watermarks. The findings indicate that the manuscript originated in France, and was based on drafts of individual sonatas stemming from an Italian context. A philological analysis confirms that this new source derives from Scarlatti’s autographs. A comparison between this manuscript and the first pieces published in Paris (*Pièces choisies pour le clavecin ou l’orgue*, Boivin, 1737) reveals that it could not have been based on that edition, nor on its antigraphs. Rather, it must have arrived in France at an earlier date, derived from an Italian antigraph. This source represents the most extensive surviving collection of early sonatas circulating in manuscript form across Europe prior to the printed dissemination of Scarlatti’s keyboard works.

**Keywords:** Domenico Scarlatti, copyist, watermark, sonata, dissemination.

### A manuscript inserted into a miscellaneous codex

The manuscript in question consists of a collection of twenty-one sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti, headed *Sonate per cimbalo del Signor Domenico Scarlatti*. It is presently foliated as the last part of a factitious codex preserved at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris under the shelf mark *F-Pa ms 6785. Musique italienne: recueil*<sup>1</sup>.

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However, it is independently bound with Venetian-style marbled cardboard covers.<sup>2</sup>

Gustafson and Fuller cite this codex as:

A collection of 16 mostly unrelated MSS with a single modern foliation in preparation for binding. The contents are Italianate instrumental music from the mid-eighteenth century, including harpsichord music by Galuppi (fos. 96-7), Handel (fos. 164-75; 188-95, including the arrangement of ‘Vo far Guerra’ by Babell), and Scarlatti (fos. 196-217). There is one two-voiced anonymous and untitled piece (fos. 184-5) that could conceivably be by a French composer. This jumble of MSS was omitted in Laurencie-Gastoué”<sup>3</sup>.

The complete foliation of the codex is presented in Table 1. The section with Scarlatti sonatas occupies the final folios (ff. 196r-217r) of a disordered compilation of fascicles and loose leaves, whose varied paper types and inks point to distinct origins and chronological layers.

Foliation	Composer	Work	Source <sup>4</sup> Title	Format
1r-33r	Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801)	Aria Se cerca se dice	<i>Aria Seria Se cerca se dice con Recitativo del Sig<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Domenico Cimarosa Neli Olimpiade In Napoli presso Luigi Marescalchi</i>	Oblong
35r-95r	Antonio Catena (1735-1790)	Solfeggi for Soprano	<i>Libro Secondo/Raccolta/ Di Solfeggi per Soprano/Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Antonio Catena/ In Napoli presso Luigi Marescalchi In f. 36r: Raccolta</i>	Oblong
96r- 97v	Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785)	Sonata	<i>Sonata per Cembalo del Signr Baldasar Galuppi</i>	Oblong
98r-130r	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816)	Duet	<i>Duetto Buffo / O Momento Fortunato/Del Sg<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Giov<sup>ni</sup> Paisiello/Nella Pazza d amore/ In Napoli presso Luigi Marescalchi</i>	Oblong
132r-137r	Carlo Giuseppe Toeschi (1724? or 1731?-1788)	Quartet	<i>Quartetto/Flauto traverso/Violino/ Viola e / Basso / Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Toeschi</i>	Oblong
138r-144r	Christian Cannabich (1731-1798)	Quartet	<i>Quartetto/Flauto Traverso Obs/ Violino obs/Viola e / Basso / Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Cannabich</i>	Oblong

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<sup>1</sup> The library’s former shelf mark was: 223 *decies. S. A. F.*

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to the staff of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal for granting access to the Scarlatti manuscript for the study of its watermarks.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Gustafson and David Fuller, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music 1699–1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 257–258, 270–275. A reference is provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in its online catalogue; however, it is also incomplete, as it includes only the titles of each booklet and the composers’ names: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc86681q> (accessed 6 June 2025). A recent recording of Scarlatti’s sonatas for mandolin, Anna Schivazappa (mandolin), Pizzicar Galante, *Domenico Scarlatti: Mandolin Sonatas*, Arcana A115 (Import CD, 24 May 2019), mentions this source without providing more details.

145r-150r	Carlo Giuseppe Toeschi (1724? or 1731?-1788)	Quartet	<i>Quatuor Del Signor Thoeschi / Violino</i>	Oblong
151r-152r	?	Work for flute	<i>Flauto</i>	Vertical
153r-159r	?	Quartet	<i>Quattro/ Violino/ Flauto Traverso/ Viola etc Basso./ del Sig Toeschi On the top: canabich n° 10</i>	Oblong
160r-160v* *paging error	?	Four Contradances	<i>Quattro Contradanse /dedicate al Ex.mo Signore Marchese de Belmonte/ Composte del Abate ***[sic]</i>	Oblong
161r-163v	?	Work for violin	<i>Serbaco[?] / Violino</i>	Oblong
164r-171v	George F. Handel (1685-1759)	Chaconne Suite in G major HWV 442/2 (1733, ed.)	Untitled	Oblong
172v-175r *175v blank page	George F. Handel (1685-1759)	Suite in E minor HWV 438 (1733, ed.)	Untitled	Oblong
176r – 185v	?	Instrumental fragments		Oblong
186r – 185v	Antonio Brioschi (ca. 1725-1750)	Sonata	<i>Basso/ Sonata à Quattro/ Del Sig.r Antonio Brioschi</i>	Oblong
188r-190v	Handel transcribed by William Babell (ca. 1690-1723)	Aria <i>Vo far guerra</i> , Rinaldo HWV 7 (Rome, 1711)	<i>Handel</i> [added later]	Oblong
190v-191v*	Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670-1747)	Aria <i>Amante e Sposa</i> , Astarto (Rome, 1715)	Untitled	Oblong
192r	?	Fragment in D minor	Untitled	Oblong
192v-195v	George F. Handel (1685-1759)	Suite in G minor HWV 439 (1733, ed.) HWV 432 (1720, ed.)	Untitled	Oblong
196r-216r	Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757)	20 Sonatas + 1 repeated (K. 36)	<i>Toccate per Cimbalo, Del Signor Domenico Scarlatti &amp;</i>	Vertical
216v-217r	Blank			

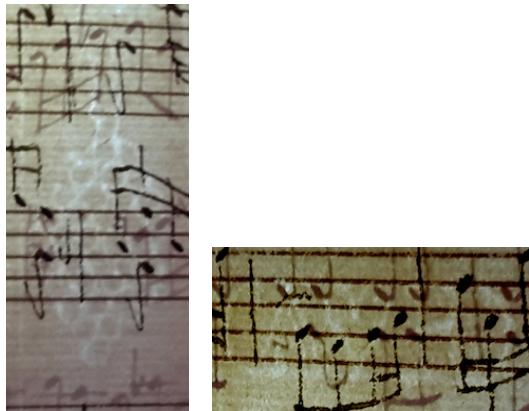
**Table 1:** Foliation of codex F-Pa ms 6785.

No other paper similar to that used in Scarlatti's sonatas appears elsewhere in the codex, and the blank folio at the end of this section further supports the conclusion that it constituted an independent collection within the volume.

### Description of the source: watermarks and copyists

The Scarlatti collection is the only one in the codex written on large, vertically oriented paper (280 × 400 mm). The presence of a watermark characteristic of French paper mills indicates that the copy was produced in France. Notably, the date of issue – commonly included alongside the initials identifying the mill in French papers from 1741

onwards— is absent. This suggests that the copy was made prior to that year.<sup>4</sup> The following image displays the identified watermark: a bunch of grapes accompanied by the countermark ‘A (heart) R’ enclosed within a cartouche (Figure 1). This corresponds to no. 4019-B in Gaudriault’s catalogue, with an approximate date range between 1710 and 1731.<sup>5</sup>



**Figure 1:** Watermarks in Paris-S: a bunch of grapes and a countermark of ‘A (heart) R’ in a cartouche .

In conclusion, the data derived from the paper analysis indicate that the copy was produced in France and may date from the early eighteenth century.

### The copyists

The analysis of the musical text reveals the presence of two anonymous copyists. The first, designated as Copyist S, was responsible for all the sonatas except Sonata K. 30, which was copied by the other hand, referred to here as Copyist H (ff. 209v-210r).

<sup>4</sup> On the French edict of 1741 and the years of the use of paper, see Claire Bustarret, ‘Usages des supports d’écriture au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: une esquisse codicologique’, *Genesis*, 34 (2012): pp. 37–65, at p. 18 ; <http://journals.openedition.org/genesis/908> (accessed 8 June 2025).

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. J. Telford (Paris: CNRS, 1995), 282.

The following illustrations highlight the notational characteristics unique to each of them (Figures 2 and 3).



Fig. 2. Handwriting of Copyist S. Heading on the first page of the Scarlatti manuscript (Paris-S).  
Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6785, f. 176r.



Fig. 3. Handwriting of Copyist H. Sonata K. 30 in Paris-S. Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6785, f. 209v.

Sonata K. 30 appears approximately halfway through the booklet containing the 21 sonatas, which may indicate that the two copyists alternated their work. However, the analysis of the two pages of Sonata K. 30 shows that this copy was made later, filling a space left blank by the first copyist, S. The notation by the second copyist becomes progressively more compressed, as demonstrated in Figures 3 and 4. Copyist H also manually extended each staff by one or two measures into the right margin (Figures 4 and 5) and added a new system at the bottom of each page, reducing the note size as much as possible to fit the entire sonata within the limited space.



**Figure 4:** First part of Sonata K. 30 by Copyist H. Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6785, f. 209v

As can be seen, there is a remarkable difference between the musical writing of the two scribes. The appearance of the ink also differs, suggesting that some time elapsed between the work of Copyist S and the later addition by Copyist H.

Regarding the time when Sonata K. 30 may have been copied, it is necessary to compare its text with that of its first edition from 1737 in *Pièces choisies pour le clavecin ou l'orgue* to determine whether it could have been derived from that edition and thus be a later copy. Apart from differences in the notation of note values and certain register changes that may reflect a modernization of the text,<sup>6</sup> what stands out most in this manuscript copy is the absence of the lower voice that extends the left hand in the final measures of the fugue (Figure 5). These are too many measures (thirteen in total) for this to be merely a copyist's oversight, especially considering that all the notes are clearly written in the edition. Nor can it be a more archaic version in which the bass octaves were omitted, since in that case the melodic sequential progression of the passage would continue descending stepwise (i.e., D2-C2-B1-A1-G1), rather than the leap to the higher register observed in the piece upon reaching B (jumps to B2, A2, and G2). This notation

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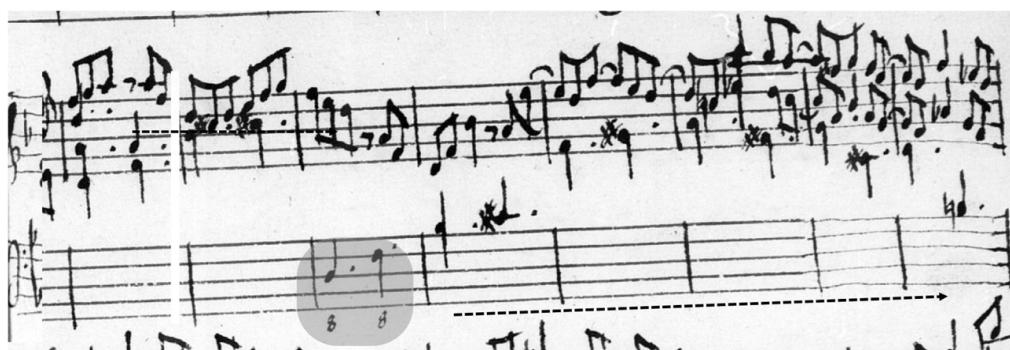
<sup>6</sup> There are some notable errors, such as G3 instead of F3 in bars 7 and 46.

was likely intended to prevent the low octaves from extending below the keyboard's bass limit at C1 (see the marked change in progression in Figure 5).<sup>7</sup>



**Figure 5:** Final of Sonata K. 30 by Copyist H. Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6785, f. 210r.

Considering the detail with which the entire fugue is written by Copyist H, it can be hypothesized that in his autograph this bass voice was not fully notated (as seen in the Paris edition and other known sources),<sup>8</sup> but may have been indicated in an abbreviated form, using the number '8' below the first notes. This would make the omission by the copyist more plausible. Such an octave-doubling indication appears in m. 96 (Figure 6), and was presumably intended to apply to the subsequent five measures, although the copyist neglected to mark it.



**Figure 6:** Sonata K. 30 in Paris- S, m. 96.

<sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Juan María Pedrero for this observation.

<sup>8</sup> Other sources for this work include the following editions: Essercizi, 30; Roseingrave, 5; Boiv2, 5; and the following manuscripts: Orfeó 15; MorganNY: 6; BO-1:4; BO-2: 11. Abbreviations are listed in the Appendix.

In any case, it seems clear that Copyist H did not use the French edition as a model, but rather a handwritten draft. Therefore it can be assumed that he probably made the copy before the printed edition was circulated in 1737. This information should be taken into account as a reference for establishing the chronology of the main copyist of this source, who worked before Copyist H.

### The sonatas in ‘Paris-S’<sup>9</sup>

The contents of ‘Paris-S’ indicate that the antigraph used could not have been a copy of the early editions of Scarlatti’s sonatas either. There is no connection with its title, nor any correspondence between the overall order of works included in ‘Paris-S’ and those found in the two volumes of the first French editions.<sup>10</sup> However, as we will see, there are certain overlaps between the sonatas in both editions; nonetheless, they do not contain all the works present in the ‘Paris-S’ manuscript, which strongly suggests that this copy was not based on them.

Ordering	Sonata K numbering	List in Choisies 1737	List in Pièces 1737
1	<b>K. 80</b>	<b>K. 8v</b>	K. 13
2	<b>K. 2</b>	<b>K. 4</b>	K. 14
3	<b>K. 9</b>	<b>K. 31</b>	K. 12
4	<b>K. 89-I</b>	K. 30	K. 35
5	<b>K. 79</b>	<b>K. 2</b>	K. 34
6	<b>K. 11</b>	<b>K. 32</b>	<b>K. 29</b>
7	<b>K. 31</b>	<b>K. 33v</b>	K 1
<b>8</b>	<b>K. 36</b>	<b>K. 9</b>	K. 10
9	<b>K. 29</b>	<b>K. 39</b>	K. 5
10	<b>K. 33</b>	<b>K. 36</b>	K. 6.
11	<b>K. 66</b>	<b>K. 37</b>	K. 20
12	<b>K. 68</b>	<b>K. 38 (Fine)</b>	K. 3
13	<b>K. 17</b>		K. 7
15	<b>K. 4</b>		K. 19
16	<b>K. 8v</b>		K. 95
17	<b>K. 32</b>		<b>K. 66</b>
<b>18</b>	<b>K. 36</b>		
19	<b>K. 37</b>		
20	<b>K. 38</b>		
21	<b>K. 39</b>		
blank			

**Table 2:** List of works in Paris-S and in parallel editions

<sup>9</sup> Hereafter, ‘Paris-S’ refers to the sonata booklet attributed to Copyist S, excluding Sonata K. 30. The table highlights in bold the Paris sonatas that appear in the editions.

<sup>10</sup> Only the first two volumes, *Choisies* and *Roseingrave*, are considered here, since the following two volumes, issued between 1740 and 1742, reprint the same sonatas that had previously appeared in Roseingrave’s 1739 edition. See Joel Leonard Sheveloff, *The Keyboard Music of Domenico Scarlatti: A Re-evaluation of the Present State of Knowledge in the Light of the Sources* (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970).

As shown in the table, the ‘Paris-S’ collection includes the twelve sonatas published in *Choisies* in 1737. In light of the title of this Parisian edition, *Pièces Choisies pour le clavecin ou l’orgue (Selected pieces for harpsichord or organ)*, it can be inferred that the editor made a selection of these twelve pieces chosen from a broader corpus of antographs. This more extensive collection could theoretically have served as the source or model for Paris-S. However, as will be seen later, this was not the case.

‘Paris-S’ does not exhibit the characteristics of a commissioned copy, as the pieces are neither numbered nor titled with their respective designations, such as Toccata or Sonata. Furthermore, it does not adhere to the organizational conventions observed in official copies, which typically begin on the verso of a folio and conclude each sonata on the following page, as exemplified by the primary source collections in Venice and Parma.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, it is reasonable to infer that the antigraph consisted of a collection of loose manuscripts. This assumption is reinforced by the duplication of Sonata K. 36 (see Table 4), a mistake unlikely to arise if the source had been a “closed” volume, carefully bound and organized, with an index cataloging all the works at the end.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, this hypothesis remains inconclusive, as the copyist might have intentionally reproduced the sonata to rectify errors present in the initial transcription (Sonata no. 8, ff. 202v-203r). For instance, in the second rendition (Sonata no. 18, ff. 212v-213r), a previously omitted measure was accurately inserted. In the first version (no. 8), the mistake was marked with a pointed cross, and the omitted measure was added at the bottom of the page, as illustrated in Figure 7:



<sup>11</sup> This page arrangement occurs randomly in this Parisian source, depending on the length of each sonata.

<sup>12</sup> This chance duplication is similar to that found in the Venice-1742, in which the sonata K. 52 is copied twice: it appears as *Sonata X/And. <sup>te</sup> M<sup>o</sup>*. (ff. 19v-21r) and again at the end of the volume as *Sonata LXI [no tempo]* (ff. 121v-123r). Foliation is taken from Sheveloff, *The Keyboard Music*, 10-12. See also Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, ‘Reconstruyendo las sonatas de Domenico Scarlatti: el Códice Venecia-42’, SEdeM (forthcoming).

**Figure 7:** Sonata K. 36, no. 8 in Paris-S (f. 203r). Omitted measure added at the end of the piece.

However, this alternative hypothesis also appears unconvincing. Were this the case, the corrected sonata would most likely have been placed immediately after the original or at the end of the booklet, rather than several pages later, near the middle of the collection, occupying position no. 18.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that sonatas no. 18 to 21, which correspond to K. 36 to K. 39, are arranged in exactly the same order in both early editions, *Roseingrave* and *Choisies* (see Tables 2 and 3):<sup>13</sup>

Ordering in Choisies	Choisies, 1737 K numbering	Ordering in Roseingrave	Roseingrave, 1739 K numbering: I vol.
1	8v	1	8v
2	4	3	4
3	31	4	31
4	30	5	30
5	2	6	2
6	32	7	32
7	33v	8	33v
8	9	9	9
			<b>II vol.</b>
9	39	1	36
10	36	2	37
11	37	3	38
12	38	5	39

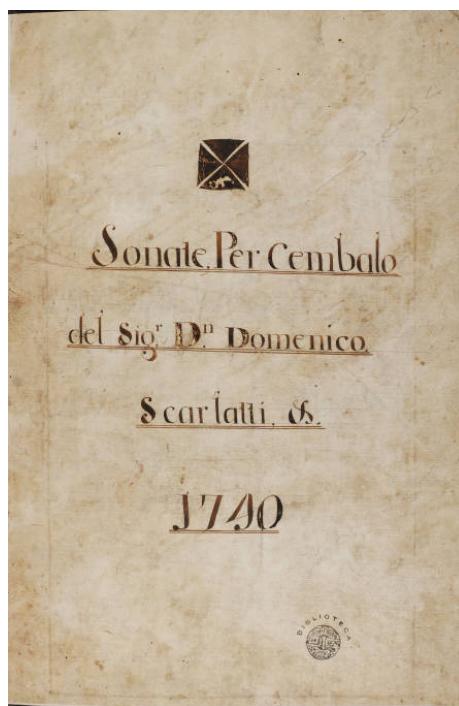
**Table 3:** Ordering of the Paris-S sonatas in *Choisies* and *Roseingrave*.

The sequence of the four sonatas is clearly preserved in both editions, although in *Roseingrave* it is interrupted by the insertion of a fugue by Alessandro between K. 38 and K. 39 (no. 4 of vol. II). Therefore, it seems evident that the editions derive from the same antigraph in which these four sonatas were copied in that order, from 36 to 39. The fact that in Paris-S the last sonata, K. 39, appears the first, suggests that in its antigraph these four sonatas constituted an independent gathering, and its order could vary depending on how it was folded; the first sonata could become the last, and vice-versa. This may explain the duplication of Sonata K. 36 in Paris-S, as it was likely incorporated from a separate booklet where the four sonatas were transmitted as a unified group. In sum, the ‘Paris-S’ collection appears to have assembled a mixture of drafts, loose sheets, and independent

<sup>13</sup> The second sonata in *Roseingrave*’s edition is K. 8, which follows K. 8v. Sheveloff numbers it as ‘1a’, a system he nevertheless retains when numbering these sonatas in the Boiv-1 edition (Sheveloff, *The Keyboard Music*, 129).

quires. This arrangement further underscores the idea that the collection lacked a systematic organizational purpose and was intended primarily for domestic use. It also corroborates the close relationship between the Paris-S antigraphs and the composer's original manuscripts, from which, as is well known, the Roseingrave edition was derived<sup>14</sup>.

To conclude this section, a final remark should be made concerning the heading used in the Paris-S collection. It does not occupy a separate cover page; rather, it imitates the stylistic conventions typically found on such covers, as evidenced by the use of the ampersand (&) at the end of the line (as shown at the beginning in Figure 2). This symbol functioned as a common abbreviation in front pages, allowing compilers to avoid enumerating all the titles adhering to the composer. A similar practice can be found on the cover of the *Orfeó* codex, which represents a second volume of Scarlatti's *Essercizi* sonatas. It is titled: *Sonate, Per Cembalo/ del Sig<sup>r</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Domenico./ Scarlatti, &./1740.*<sup>15</sup>



**Figure 8:** Title page of *Orfeó* codex. Centre de Documentació del *Orfeó* Català (MM 12VI17)

<sup>14</sup> Sheveloff, *The Keyboard Music*, 50.

<sup>15</sup> The volume is preserved at the Biblioteca del *Orfeó* Català: *E-Boc* MM 12-VI-17, Digitized at: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/MMautors/id/995> (accessed 7 february 2025). See Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, 'Una nuova fonte degli 'Essercizi' di Domenico Scarlatti: il manoscritto *Orfeó* Català (E-OC)', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012): 151–173.

An example of a title page adapted to serve as a first-page heading appears in a copy of *Fughe per organo e Sonate per il cembalo* by Fortunato Chelleri (1690–1757), in which the extensive title text from the printed edition is only partially abbreviated and concludes with the “&.” sign.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 9:** Manuscript copy of Chelleri sonatas, fragment of the first page. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6784, f. 142r

It is therefore reasonable to suspect that the brief phrase heading the Paris-S collection was an abbreviated form of the title that originally appeared on the cover of its now-lost antigraphs. What does seem certain is that the Paris-S manuscript was copied from a collection of loose sonatas and small gatherings, which were probably assembled under a single title page bearing this heading, perhaps in its complete form in the original source. It is unfortunate that a part of the text was omitted and replaced by the "&" symbol in Paris-S, as it likely referred to the position held by Scarlatti at the time and would have helped contextualize the origin of this copy.

### **A philological study of sonatas from ‘Paris-S’: the paratexts**

The study of the paratexts in the Paris-S collection offers valuable insights into its source, reinforcing its authenticity and pointing to its Italian origin, as demonstrated

<sup>16</sup> Full text from the manuscript is: *Sonatas for the harpsichord composed by Fortunato Kelleri Director of Music of His Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hassia Cassel dedicated to His Electoral Highness Clement Augustus Archbishop of Cologne & [sic].* This source is preserved at the Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, in a miscellaneous codex entitled: *Musique: recueil, XVIIIème siècle* (F-Pa Ms 6784). This section is in the hand of Copyist H. Digitized at S-L, Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket Engelhart 28, n° RISM: 990009469: <https://encl.pw/BmdRn> (accessed 1 July 2025).

below. Although Paris-S was produced in France, the paratexts offer little indication of direct French influence on the copyist. The titles that head each sonata are written in impeccable Italian (see Table 4)<sup>17</sup>, and the manuscript consistently preserves Italian terminology throughout. This strongly suggests that the Paris-S copy was based on an original text created by an Italian scribe. Elsewhere, the scribe responsible for Paris-S, referred to as Copyist S, is presumed to have been French, as his musical notation exhibits distinctive personal traits, such as his use of the *pincé* ornament instead of the Italian mordent on several occasions (Figure 10).



**Figure 10:** Paris-S, F-Pa ms 6785, f. 197v, mm. 11- 14 of Sonata No. 3 (K. 9).

The majority of the sonata headings are extremely concise, lacking a consistent naming criterion and omitting tempo indications, which also suggests that they derive from loose drafts. Nevertheless, some headings include highly valuable information, as they represent the only known documents explicitly mentioning the instrument for which every sonata were intended<sup>18</sup>.

Ordering	Sonata K numbering	Foliation	Heading
1	K. 80	ff. 196r	<i>Minuet</i>
2	K. 2	ff. 196v-197r	<i>Per Cimbalo</i>
3	K. 9	ff. 197v-198r	<i>Allegro</i>
4	K. 89-I	ff. 198v-199r	<i>Sonatina, per mandolino, e címbalo / Allegro</i>
5	K. 79	ff. 199v-200r	<i>Capriccio, per címbalo, o per órgano / Allegro / Allegro</i>
6	K. 11	ff. 200v-201r	<i>per címbalo</i>
7	K. 31	ff. 201v-202r	<i>per címbalo / Allegro</i>
8	K. 36	ff. 202v-203r	<i>per címbalo</i>
9	K. 29	ff. 203v-205r	<i>Sonata per címbalo</i>

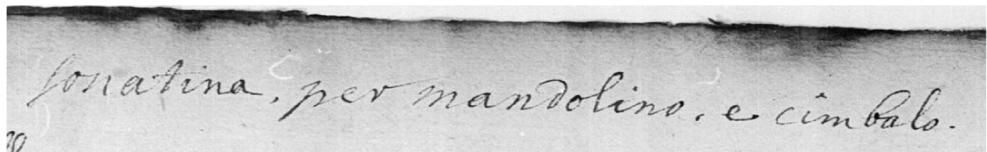
<sup>17</sup> In this respect it differs from the work of the copyist H, whose paratexts are written in French.

<sup>18</sup> Usually the only reference appears on the title page if it is part of a volume, and it typically indicates 'for harpsichord.' The only case in which 'for harpsichord or organ' is specified is in the *Choisisies* edition. Except for some terms referring to the registration of the organ, in the authenticated sources close to Scarlatti (and therefore not adulterated by the copyist himself) this double indication is not found. See Sheveloff, *The Keyboard*, 325.

10	K. 33	ff. 205v-206r	<i>per cimbalo</i>
11	K. 66	ff. 206v-207r	<i>per cimbalo</i>
12	K. 68	ff. 207v-208r	<i>per cimbalo</i>
13	K. 17	ff. 208v-209r	<i>per cimbalo</i>
14	K. 30	ff. 209v-210r	--
15	K. 4	ff. 210v-211r	--
16	K. 8v	ff. 211v-212r	--
17	K. 32	ff. 212r	
18	K. 36	ff. 212v-213r	--
19	K. 37	ff. 213v-214r	--
20	K. 38	ff. 214v-215r	--
21	K. 39	ff. 215v-216r	--
blank	blank	ff. 216v-217r	

**Table 4:** Sonatas in Paris-S: Foliation and Titles.

Particularly noteworthy is the indication *sonatina per mandolino* at the beginning of the fourth sonata, K. 89-I, as illustrated in this image:



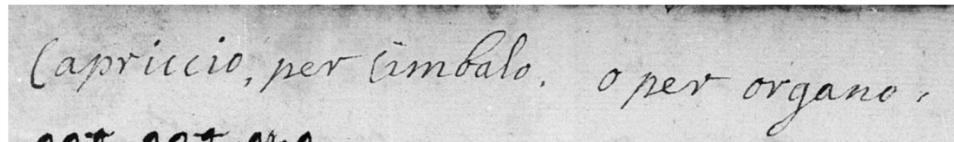
**Figure 11:** Head title of K. 89-I in Paris- S, F-Pa ms. 6785, f. 198v

The term *mandolino* is Italian, as is *sonatina*, which was also used in Italy during the same period to denote a small sonata. The cultivation of the *mandolino* in Italy since the seventeenth century – evolving from the earlier *mandorla* – was especially intense, transforming the instrument from the world of popular music into a thing favored in the refined courts of Europe. The association of this work with the *mandolino* appears to be deeply rooted in Italian culture, especially in Naples, where a notable affinity for the instrument developed.

The reference to the *mandolino* appears only in this sonata and exclusively in this source, as it is absent from the title of the same work – headed *Sonata LIV* – in the Venice-1742 copy. The copy under discussion gives us the original context for which the work was conceived. Had it been a later adaptation made after the sonata's reception in France during its circulation there, it would likely have been written in French. All evidence suggests that this was an indication taken from the Italian exemplar, closely tied to the Neapolitan tradition.

Another paratext that further confirms the Italian origin of the antigraph and its authoritative antiquity is the use of the term *Capriccio* as the heading for the fifth sonata (Figure 12). This is Sonata K. 79, which in the Venice-1742 codex is not designated as

such, but instead appears as *Sonata XLV / Allegrissimo* (f. 81v). However, *Capriccio* also appears heading of No. XXIII (Sonata K. 63; Figure 13a), in the Venetian codex, which is based on the oldest sources stemming from Scarlatti's early Italian period<sup>19</sup>. Finally, *Capriccio* is likewise used as the title for Sonata K. 76 in the Torino manuscript, a source also linked to Scarlatti's Italian period (Figure 13b)<sup>20</sup>.



**Figure 12:** Heading of the fifth sonata in Paris-S, K. 79, F-Pa 6785, f. 199v



**Figure 13a:** Sonata XXIII (K. 63) in Venice-1742. Biblioteca Marziana di Venezia, ms 9770.  
[www.internet.culturale.it](http://www.internet.culturale.it)

**Figure 13b:** Sonata K. 76 in the Torino manuscript (I-Tn F-G 394). Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino. Used with permission; reproduction is prohibited.

Moreover, the Paris-S manuscript of K. 79 is inscribed also *per organo*, an important detail that is omitted in its parallel version in the Venetian codex. There, only the collective title *Sonate per cembalo* applies. A reference to the organ appears again on the title page of the *Choisis* edition, which explicitly designates performance on either harpsichord or organ (*pour clavecin ou l'orgue*). This is particularly noteworthy, as later editions make no mention of the organ<sup>21</sup>.

Finally, the terms used throughout the works to indicate a page turn also confirm the Italian origin of the Paris-S antigraph. The expression used is *Volti subito*, which

<sup>19</sup> See Joel Leonard Sheveloff, 'Domenico Scarlatti: Tercentenary Frustrations', *The Musical Quarterly*, 61/4 (1985): 399-436, at 416.

<sup>20</sup> This remains an issue yet to be fully explored, as noted by Sutcliffe, p. 72. See also Marco Moiraghi, 'Prefazione', in *Domenico Scarlatti. Sonate per clavicembalo*, vol. 10. *Essercizi per Gravicembalo*, ed. Marco Moiraghi and Emilia Fadini (Milano: Ricordi, 2021), XVII, where he dates it to around 1725.

<sup>21</sup> The title of the *Choisis* collection opens the possibility of performance on the organ. By contrast, the collection by Roseingrave published two years later refers only to the harpsichord: *XLII Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin en deux Volumes*. Three sonatas in the Venice and Parma collections are designated for the organ, K. 287, K. 288 and K. 328, but there are no others to be found in the sources.

appears consistently and correctly, without any alteration by the French copyist. This Italian reference is particularly significant, as in the early eighteenth century French copyists invariably employed expressions in their own language for such indications, such as *reprise*, *tournés vite*<sup>22</sup>, *tournés vite pour la reprise* or *suitte*.<sup>23</sup>

### Paris-S: copies of early sonatas

Two sonatas in the Paris-S collection – the first (K. 80) and the fourth (K. 89-I) – belong to the group of pieces written for solo instrument with continuo, including Sonatas K. 73, K. 77, K. 78, and K. 88 to K. 91.<sup>24</sup> The reference to continuo accompaniment is clear not only from the figured basses (which were also present in Venice-42) but now is explicitly indicated in this copy by the heading of K. 80: *per mandolino e cembalo*. Although presented as part of a multi-movement composition in the Venice codex, these two sonatas are conceived as independent pieces in the Paris-S manuscript.<sup>25</sup>

Table 5 below presents the parallel sources for the works in ‘Paris-S’, including manuscripts as well as early printed editions that circulated during the composer’s lifetime<sup>26</sup>.

Ordering in Paris-S K numbering	Venice-1742	Choises -Pièces 1737	Essercizi 1738	French mss sources	Roseingrave, I-II, 1739	Boivin 1 – 2, 1742	Other manuscript sources
<b>K. 80</b>	45/2				--	--	
<b>K. 2</b>	--	5	2		I:6	Boiv1:7	MorganNY:13;
<b>K. 9</b>	--	8	9	Roussel (f. 136v)	I:9	Boiv1:15	TO; Mü:45; MorganNY:7
<b>K. 89-I</b>	54/1	--			--		
<b>K. 79</b>	45/1	--			--		
<b>K. 11</b>	18	--	11	Roussel (f. 73r)	II:6	Boiv2:15.	MorganNY:16;

<sup>22</sup> *Tournés vite* is an archaic imperative expression derived from the verb *tournez*. Louis Jambou demonstrated that French expressions such as *Tournez* or *Suivez* were progressively replaced by Italian terms like *Volti subito*, reflecting the fashion for things Italian. See Louis Jambou, ‘Cantatas solísticas de Valls y compositores anónimos. Identidad y ruptura estilística. Apuntes para un estudio’, *Revista de Musicología*, 18, nº 1/2 (1995): 291–325, at 294; and Pedrero-Encabo, ‘D.º Domingo Scarlatti: la recepción de fuentes manuscritas españolas de Scarlatti en París’, in *Au-delà des Pyrénées: Dix siècles de musique entre France et Espagne*, ed. Diego C., Nomnick, Y. and Dufourcet, M-B. (Bourdeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bourdeaux, 2023), 133–155.

<sup>23</sup> These expressions can be seen in the French manuscript Paris-Arsenal (F-Pa Ms 6784). This source was first described by Sheveloff, *The Keyboard Music*, 97–100, and has recently been studied by Águeda Pedrero-Encabo, ‘En torno a la difusión temprana de sonatas de Domenico Scarlatti: Los manuscritos Roussel (F-Pa Ms. 6784)’, *Revista de Musicología*, 40/2 (2019): 571–614.

<sup>24</sup> Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti: Master of Music* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986), 147.

<sup>25</sup> Venice-1742 clearly indicates the Minuet as the second movement of Sonata XLV (Sheveloff, *The Keyboard*, 11). Kirkpatrick, however, numbered the Minuet independently.

<sup>26</sup> Abbreviations are listed at the Appendix.

<b>K. 31</b>	57	3		Roussel (f.132v)	I:4	Boiv1:5	WiG:12,56;
<b>K. 36</b>	--	10			II:1	Boiv2:1	WiG:15
<b>K. 29</b>	--	--/ 6	29	Roussel (f.128v)	I:14	Boiv1:12	MorganNY:9;
<b>K. 33</b>	43	[K 33v]:7			[K 33v]:8	[K 33v] Boiv1:18	
<b>K. 66</b>	28	--/ 17		Roussel	--	--	E-Va (ff. 21v- 22r)
<b>K. 68</b>	30	--			--	--	Worgan: 40; E- Zac 2:10; E-Zac 3:38;
<b>K. 17</b>	33	--	17	Roussel (f. 74v); Paris-5(f. 186v)	II:12	Boiv2:12	E-Zac 3:31; Mü:43; Barcelona: 37;
<b>K. 4</b>	--	2	4	Paris-5 (f. 184v)	I:3	Boiv1:3	
<b>K. 8v</b>	--	1	--		I:1	Boiv1:1	
<b>K. 32</b>	--	6	--		I:7	Boiv1:16	
<b>K. 37</b>	41	11	--		II:2	Boiv2:14	
<b>K. 38</b>	27	12	--		II:3	Boiv2:10	--
<b>K. 39</b>	--	9	--		II:5	Boiv2:2	--

**Table 5:** Sources of the sonatas from Paris-S

As shown in Table 5, the works collected in ‘Paris-S’ appear exclusively in the first editions or in the early codex Venice-1742.<sup>27</sup> From this it can be deduced that most of these pieces ceased to circulate together with sonatas that were copied or published later, a fact that supports their classification as early works. This is the case regarding the sonatas that were only recorded in Venice-1742: K. 80, K. 89-I and K. 79; or those that only appear in the early editions *Choisies* and *Roseingrave* (both clearly connected).<sup>28</sup> K. 8v, K. 32 and K. 39, which were not included when Venice-1742 was compiled. The presence of several sonatas in Venice-1742 that had already figured in the early *Choisies* and *Pièces* confirms their early origins: K. 31, K. 36, K. 37 and K. 38.

Sonata K. 33 appears in Paris-S with the same text as Venice-1742. The abbreviated version designated K. 33v is that found in *Choisies* and its parallel, *Roseingrave*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Venice-1742 famously includes some of Scarlatti’s earliest sonatas, such as the sonatas for *basso continuo* or those consisting of several movements (*sonate da camera*).

<sup>28</sup> See Jean Duron, ‘La recepción de la obra de Domenico Scarlatti en Francia’, in *Sevilla y corte. Las artes y el Lustro Real (1729–1733)*, ed. Nicolás Morales and Fernando Quiles García (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010), pp. 377–383, at p. 320.

<sup>29</sup> This is another reason why this copy could not have come from the first published collections.

Sonata K. 66 was also circulation from an early period: it was included at the end of *Pièces* (1737), after Sonata K. 95.<sup>30</sup> It only appears in the Roussel manuscripts,<sup>31</sup> in Venice-1742 and in a manuscript copy from the second half of the Eighteenth century discovered several decades ago in Spain.<sup>32</sup>

Sonata K. 68 circulated solely through direct contact with the composer's autographs, as evidenced by the sources that preserve it: Venice-1742; the Worgan manuscript, owned from 1746 by Sebastián de Albero, organist of the Royal Chapel; and two of the Zaragoza volumes copied at court by José Alaguero, the main Scarlatti scribe and copyist of the Royal Chamber.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, it is worth mentioning the sonatas also published in the *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* (London, 1738): K. 2, K. 4, K. 9, K. 11, K. 17, and K. 29. Of these, Sonatas K. 2 and K. 9 appear in the first *Choisies* collection, while K. 11 and K. 29 are included in its contemporary *Pièces* volume.

The most striking case is that of Sonata-essercizio K. 17, absent from the earliest French editions but present in Venice-1742. The following examples highlights the similarities between the two versions of this sonata, particularly in their use of continuous writing:<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 14:** Sonata K. 17, Venice-1742, see mm. 12-13 and mm. 16-17.

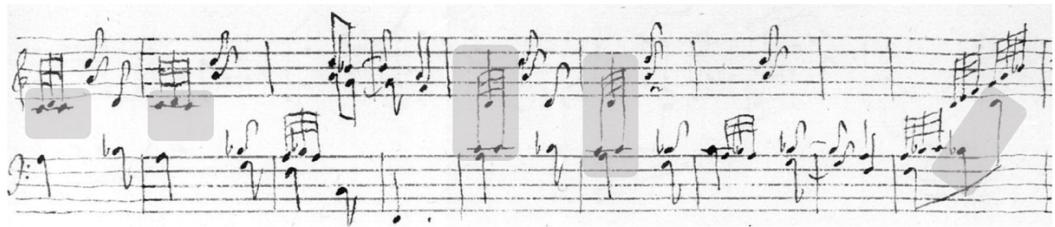
<sup>30</sup> Although Sheveloff suspected that both sonatas were taken from the second printing of *Pièces* (Sheveloff, *The Keyboard*, 133), in one of the copies of the first printing preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Res. F. 284) both sonatas are included.

<sup>31</sup> The Roussel manuscripts constitute a part of what Sheveloff described as the Paris-Ms. Arsenal manuscript (Sheveloff, *The Keyboard*, 97-100).

<sup>32</sup> This copy was located by Antonio Baciero in the archive of the Cathedral of Valladolid, shelf-marked E-Va Caja 119 ms.19 (ff. 21v-22r). See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 190.

<sup>33</sup> Pedrero-Encabo, 'En torno a la difusión', 209.

<sup>34</sup> On the concept of continuous writing in Scarlatti see *ibid*, 605.



**Figure 15:** Sonata K 17, Paris-S, see mm. 12-13 and mm. 16-17.

This similarity regarding how each copyist chose to write – either using separate staves or continuous writing –, is evident when comparing mm. 12–13 and 16–17 in both sources. It seems highly unlikely that such complete uniformity was produced independently by each copyist. This suggests that both copies were derived, either directly or indirectly, from the same antigraph, originating from the same source, namely the composer himself.

## Conclusions

The present study reveals the importance of this new source that transmits a collection of 20 early sonatas by Scarlatti, whose reception in Paris apparently occurred before dissemination in print. The study of the watermarks shows that the copy was made in France, on paper dated between 1710 and 1731. Paratextual references such as the page turning (*volti subito*) indicate that the copy was made from an antigraph written by an Italian copyist. The headings of some sonatas contain information relevant to their historical performance practice (for solo and *basso continuo* or with mandolino and organ) and also reflect the fact that its antigraph came from the composer's Italian environment (*mandolino; capriccio*). The philological analysis of the musical text confirms the proximity of this copy to the composer's antigraphs, through the similarities it presents with older texts such as those which served as a model to the codex Venice-1742 and *Choisies*.

This new source offers a different selection of works from those known so far, in which the sonatas for harpsichord are mixed with others for solo and continuo (K. 80, K. 89-I) and with the sonata K. 79 also indicated expressly for organ. It reflects a different historical interpretative practice, both in terms of instrumental sonority and in the consideration of sonatas as independent works.

Finally, this source broadens our understanding of the early dissemination and manuscript transmission of Scarlatti's sonatas throughout Europe. The Paris-S collection provides compelling evidence of the earliest reception of Scarlatti's sonatas in Paris, and confirms the authenticity of its own sources, derived from Scarlatti's lost autographs.

## Appendix:

Abbreviations of cited manuscripts (alphabetical order):

Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, E-Bbc ms M 1964.

BO: Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca de la Musica, Bologna, I-BO KK FF232.

E-Va: Valladolid manuscript, E-V c. 119 ms 19.

E-Zac2, E-Zac3 y E-Zac4: Archivo de Música de las Catedrales de Zaragoza. Fuente 2: E-Zac B-2 ms 31 (<https://goo.su/StBLnw>); Fuente 3 (*Libro 1º*): E-Zac B-2 ms 32) y Fuente 4 (*Libro 2º*): E-Zac B-2 ms 2.

Orfeó: *Sonate, Per Cembalo del Sig'. Dn. Domenico Scarlatti, & 1740*. Centre de Documentació del Orfeó Català, E-Boc MM 12-VI-17: <https://goo.su/Qq4gTB>.

MorganNY: Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, US-NYpl Cary 703 Record ID: 316355:

<https://goo.su/YOLx>.

Mü: Münster-V, Volume V of the Münster Collection. Diözesanbibliothek, Santinische Handschriften, Münster, D-MÜp Sant Hs 3968.

Paris-5 and Paris-3: Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, F-Pa ms 6784, loose sheets.

Paris-S: *Toccate per cimbalo. Del Signor Domenico Scarlatti*. Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, F-Pa ms 6785 (ff. 196r-216r).

Roussel: *Sonata per il cimbalo*. Bibliothèque national de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, F-Pa ms 6784, loose sheets.

TO: Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Foà-Giordano, I-Tn ms 394.

Venice-42: *Sonate Per Cembalo del Cavaliere Dn Domenico Scarlatti 1742*. Biblioteca nazionale Marciana di Venecia, I: Vnm, ms 9770: <https://goo.su/1SDpe>.

WiG: Volume G of Wien collection. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien, A-Wgm MSS VII 28011: G.

Worgan: *LIBRO DE XLIV SONATAS MODERNAS PARA CLAVICORDIO, COMPUESTAS POR EL SEÑOR D. DOMINGO SCARLATTI, CABALLERO DEL ORDEN DE SANTIAGO, Y MAESTRO DE LOS REYES CATÓLICOS, D. FERNANDO VI. Y DOÑA MARIA BARBARA*. British Library, London, GB-LBl Add MS 31553.

Abbreviations of cited early editions (chronological order):

*Choisies*: Scarlatti, Domenico. *Pièces Choisies pour le clavecin ou l'orgue. Opera Prima*. París: Boivin, [1737]. RISM S 1196. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, F-Pn VM<sup>7</sup>-1903: <https://goo.su/7MQHa>.

*Pièces*: Scarlatti, Domenico. *Pièces pour le clavecin*. París, Boivin [1737]. RISM S 1197. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, F-Pn RES F-842: <https://goo.su/v7ZyB>.

*Essercizi*: Scarlatti, Domenico. *Essercizi per gravicembalo*. Londres: B. Fortier, 1738-9. RISM S 1189.

Roseingrave: Scarlatti, Domenico. *XLII Suites de Pièces*, ed. de Roseingrave. Londres: Cooke, 1739. RISM S 1190. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, F-Pn AC P-3464: <https://goo.su/iOEEt>.

Boiv1: Scarlatti, Domenico. *Pièces pour le clavecin, 1<sup>er</sup> volumen*, París: Boivin [1740]. RISM S 1198. Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca de la Musica, I-BO KK 94://goo.su/JdBz5lyhttps://goo.su/JdBz5ly.

Boiv2: Scarlatti, Domenico. *Pièces pour le clavecin, Deuxième volumen*. París: Boivin, 1742. RISM S 1199. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, F-Pn VM<sup>7</sup>-1904: <https://goo.su/E0Rzn>.