

DOMENICO SCARLATTI IN SPAIN: AN INTRODUCTION

LUISA MORALES

Giuseppe Domenico Scarlatti was born in Naples on the 26th October 1685 and died in Madrid on the 23rd July 1757. Both cities, Naples and Madrid, were part of the Spanish Empire. Naples was the capital of the Kingdom of Naples, ruled by a Spanish viceroy from 1504 to 1707. Madrid, the capital of the Kingdom of Castile and the entire Spanish Empire. In purely eighteenth century terms, Scarlatti was a subject of the Spanish Crown right from his birth.

When the young Domenico was appointed organist at the Neapolitan Royal Chapel in 1701, Naples was one of the greatest cities in Europe, the third after London and Paris. For centuries Spanish artists and aristocracy of Spanish origin had been in attendance at the Court of Naples. The expression of imperial power was clear in the government system, architecture, and urban layout. A *quartieri spagnoli* district still exists today.¹ Certainly Spanish imperial culture and politics were nothing “new” to the mature Scarlatti when he arrived in Madrid.

We know nothing of Domenico’s political sympathies, nor to what extent they might influence his professional life and even determine the destination of his travels, at a time when the rivalry between the Austrias and the Bourbons for the Spanish succession (1701-1714) was at its height. But a few facts might help to paint the political landscape in which the Scarlattis evolved. In 1702, shortly after the Bourbon Felipe V landed in Naples, Domenico and his father Alessandro travelled to Florence where they paid a visit to Ferdinando de’ Medici. From 1703 to 1705, Domenico stayed in Naples at his former post of organist of the Royal Chapel, meanwhile his father stayed in Rome as Director of Santa Maria Maggiore. Domenico paid a second visit to Ferdinando de’ Medici in Florence in 1705. From then on, as far as we know today, Domenico would work mainly in Venice and Rome up to his appointment in 1719 as Master of the Royal Chapel at the Court of Lisbon. Alessandro Scarlatti, for his part, was appointed Chapel Master by the pro-Austrian viceroy of Naples Grimani from 1708 to 1718. In fact, two musicians of the “Scarlatti clan” were openly pro-Austrian: Francesco Scarlatti, Domenico’s uncle, and Emanuel Rincón

d'Astorga. The latter would, like Domenico, follow the route to Rome, Lisbon and Madrid.²

All the years that Domenico spent in Madrid were marked by the rivalry between England and Spain, because of the advantages obtained by the British in the Treaty of Utrecht, as a consequence of which, France's hegemony over continental Europe was ended. From then on, the idea of a balance of power became part of the international order. Under Fernando VI, ministers and diplomats from both sides frequented the Madrid Court: francophiles such as the Marqués de la Ensenada and supporters of the alliance with England such as José de Carvajal Lancaster. The fight between both ended in 1754 with the death of Carvajal and the fall of Ensenada, after which Richard Wall became the most powerful advisor to the Spanish King. The new pro-British politics were largely the merit of Sir Benjamin Keene, the British Ambassador to Madrid. Keene shared with Scarlatti a friend, Fernando de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Huéscar, definitely an anglophile,³ to whom is addressed the only letter written by Domenico Scarlatti still preserved today.⁴

We can paint a quite detailed picture of some aspects of Scarlatti's daily life in Madrid, at least in his later years, thanks to the inventory made after his death.⁵ Housed today at the Royal Palace in Madrid, Scarlatti's *Autos de inventario y Tasación de Vienes* has merited scarce attention by scholars. Nevertheless we believe it is a central concern as it places the man in his time, bearing on such fundamental issues as Scarlatti's material culture and standard of living, including his possessions and salary. In this sense, as we will see, Scarlatti is a clear exponent of the "consumer revolution" of the eighteenth century, where post mortem inventories –other than those of the aristocracy– show a marked improvement in the variety and quality of household furnishings and "luxury" items.⁶

The record of the inventory began on the 24th July 1757, the day after Domenico's death, by the *escribano* Roque de Galdames and Pedro de Castilla, the judge at the Queen's House (*Juez del Real Bureo y Casa de la Reina*). According to the practice of the time, the *inventario* is divided into different sections called *memorias* according to the kind of goods to be valued (jewellery, furniture, painting, etc.). Each section was valued by its corresponding expert (*tasador*). The *tasadores* were appointed on the 28th July. Diego Fernández being one of them.⁷

The total amount of Domenico's possessions was valued at 372,956 *reales de vellón*, distributed as show in Table 1. A close examination of the information provided by the *tasadores* allows us to "come in" and examine Scarlatti's home some 250 years later.

TABLE 1. Domenico Scarlatti's post mortem inventory (July-August 1757)

Section ^a	Valuation ^b	Valuer
Cabinetmaker	5,228	Joseph Garcia, <i>Maestro Ebanista</i>
Carpenter	5,930	Alvaro Garrido, <i>Maestro Carpintero</i>
Paintings	13,364	Juan Peña, <i>Pintor</i>
Chapel	1,077	
Mirrors and gilt	1,819	Antonio Rodriguez, <i>Dorador</i>
Clothes	15,639	Joseph Espina, <i>Maestro sastrer</i>
Household linen	6,629	Francisca Villalba, <i>Costurera</i>
Mattresses	3,049	Jose de Santa Maria, <i>Colchonero</i>
Coach and portable hand chair	5,140	Thomas Serrano, <i>Guarnicionero/Isidro Pérez, Maestro de coches</i>
<i>Clavicordio</i>	3,000	Diego Fernandez, <i>Clavicordiero</i>
Clocks	13,980	Joseph Antonio Lyarte, <i>Relojero</i>
Gold and silver	18,359	Antonio Cañeque, <i>Platero de oro y plata</i>
Ring	972	Joseph Serrano
Venera (badge)	36,207	Joseph Serrano
Silverware	26,373	Antonio Cañeque
Copper	2,489	Diego Alvarez, <i>Maestro Calderero</i>
Locksmith	628	Esteban Lozano, <i>Maestro Zerrajero</i>
Shotguns and blunderbusses	2,490	Juan de Zelada, <i>Maestro Armero</i>
Cash	64,912	
Loans	145,671	
TOTAL	372,956	

^a Three sections or *memorias* listed in fol. 334 of the inventory have since disappeared, corresponding to Scarlatti's compositions (13. *De todos los libros y papeles de sus obras*), books (14. *De sus libros varios*) and instruments (15. *De sus clavicordios y demas instrumentos*).

^b *Reales de vellón*.

SOURCE: Prepared by the author with data from AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 1-334.

In 1740 Scarlatti rented for 3,540 *reales* a year a whole building at number six, calle Leganitos, with a garden and rooms leading to calle Dos Amigos. Three months later he added two nearby houses to his estate.⁸

Domenico had 92 paintings at his home,⁹ a number which is not unusual in at least eleven other royal musicians' inventories.¹⁰ Amongst the most expensive were two *perspectivas de Roma*, valued at 750 *reales* each, four *marinas* (seascapes) valued at 600 *reales* each, and a portrait of a *Señora y Santa Catalina* (600 *reales*). Other paintings include hunting, battles, flowers, fruit, religious scenes (*Divino Pastor*, *Arca de Noé*, *Nacimientos*, *Diluvio Universal*, etc.), and rather curiously a portrait of Luther (*cabeza de Lutero*) valued at 60

reales. The *tasador* of the paintings was the painter Juan Peña. Peña did not specify the names of any of the painters in the *memoria*, although we know that there was a strong tendency among collectors in Madrid to acquire seventeenth century paintings. Jacomo Facco, violinist at the Madrid Royal Chapel owned a Rubens (valued at 240 *reales*) and a Titian (150 *reales*). Porreti, a cellist at the same institution, owned three El Greco and seven Riberas, valued at 1,000 *reales* each. Other collections, including those of Isabel de Farnesio and the King's counsellors, confirm this tendency.¹¹

The furniture at Scarlatti's house ranks above the paintings and certainly there are some luxury items: a *tocador de palosanto* (500 *reales*), a *buro de nogal* (300 *reales*), two *camas imperiales* valued at 150 and 400 respectively (a common bed being worth about 40-80 *reales*).¹²

Chairs and seats were abundant in musicians' inventories, indicating not only a certain economic ease but quite probably a penchant for organising *tertulias*. We find about thirty-five chairs in Facco's home,¹³ no less than 90 at Domenico's, including an expensive *canapé grande* (240 *reales*) and twelve *sillas de brazos de Inglaterra* (1,080 *reales*).¹⁴ Curtains of various colours and clothes, (*damasco carmesí, verdes de cañamo adamascado, listadas de color Amarillo, de Tafetan...*) were valued at more than 5,500 *reales*.¹⁵

Silver, copper and metal refer to the house items made of these materials but excluding jewellery, clocks and watches. Valued at almost twice that of the furniture, it included cutlery engraved with the name *Escarlatti*.¹⁶

The largest percentage of Scarlatti's possessions is made up of jewellery. The most expensive item being the *venera* (arms of Santiago badge) richly adorned with diamonds, sapphires and rubies valued at 36,207 *reales*.¹⁷

The clocks and watches alone come to 13,980 *reales*. Scarlatti seems to have had a fine collection - a total of six inventoried - including a pocket watch (*reloj de bolsillo*) by the celebrated inventor and clockmaker Georg Graham¹⁸ (1673-1751) valued at 3,300 *reales*, and a clock and watch by David Hubert (London, 1714-1747):

[...] A table clock by Dabid Hubertt (sic) with chiming quarters, the hour being repeated at each quarter, an olive root case with four cristal balls and gilded dials, valued by another clockmaker at three thousand *reales de vellon*.

[...] Another plain pocket watch, of a newly invented type by Geo Gram., with a gold chain and seal, valued by another clockmaker at three thousand and three hundred *reales de vellon*.¹⁹

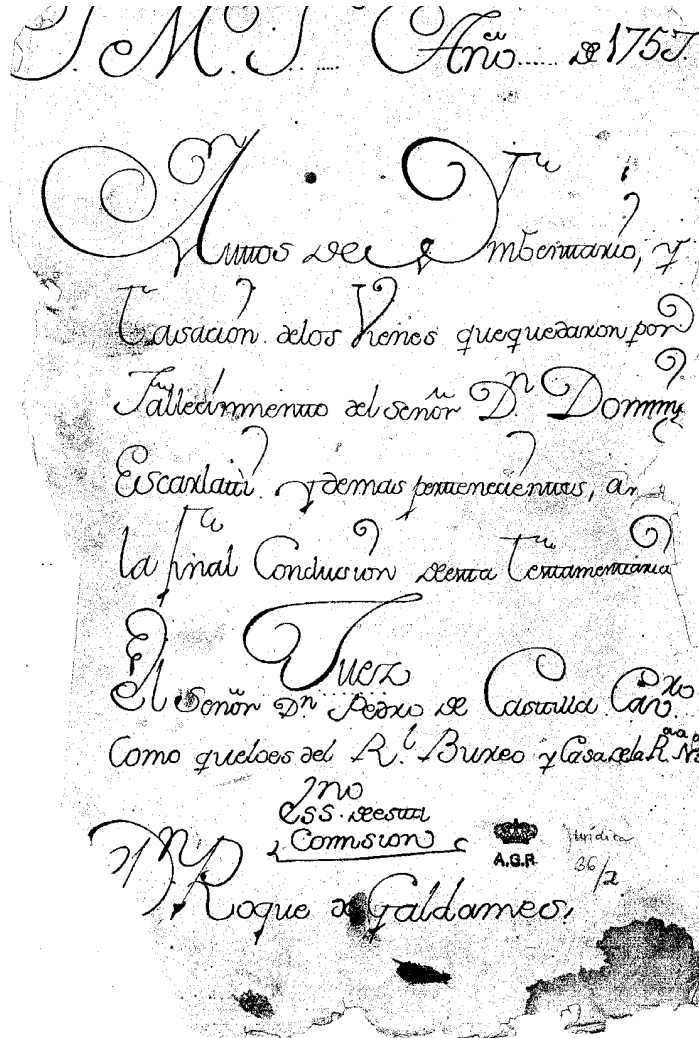


FIG. 1. Title page of Domenico Scarlatti's post mortem inventory (1757), AGP Sección Jurídica, Bureo Caja 36/2. Copyright Patrimonio Nacional

Scarlatti's clothes include such luxurious ones as *a casaca de terciopelo liso, oscuro, forrado, botones de oro* (400 reales)²⁰ and two *chupas* (coats), one of them valued at 600 reales:

[...] Two coats, one of them is made of gold tissue, lined with plain white satin, and the other a half coat of silver and gold, with plain satin lining, seleeves and back, as assessed by the Valuer. The first at six hundred reales and the second at three hundred and sixty [...]²¹

TABLE 2. Valuation of the inventories of goods (in reales de vellón) of Domenico Scarlatti and three musicians at the Royal Chapel: Domingo Porreti (cellist), Jaime Facco (violinist) and José Pérez de la Torre (tenor), including the detail of music instruments

Name and date of the inventory	Domingo Porreti (1749)	Jaime Facco (1755)	Domenico Scarlatti (1757)	José Pérez de la Torre (1763)
Music Instruments	<i>clavicordio de camino</i> (travelling harpsichord), walnut stand, pine case, painted cotton cover: 1,500	<i>clavicordio de martillos</i> with paintings on the inside: 600	<i>clavicordio</i> : 3000 (more two <i>clavicordios</i> at Scarlatti's home were returned to the Queen)	A large <i>clavicordio de pluma</i> : 1,880
	a large cello by Antonio Stradivarius: 6,000	another <i>clavicordio</i> painted on the outside: 400		<i>clavicordio</i> from Flanders by Ruckers: 1,200
	another cello by Stradivarius: 2,800	another large <i>clavicordio</i> : 800		
		a spinet: 120		
		a violin: 20		
		another violin from Germany: 45		
SUBTOTAL	10,300	1,985	3,000	3,080
Books and papers about music	0	985	? (several music books were given back to the Queen)	3,139
Clocks and jewellery	78,250	12,983	69,518	1,680
Silverware and metals	2,813	12,675	29,490	5,678
Paintings	25,970	4,094	13,364	2,715
Furniture	27,744	3,234	14,054 ^a	9,668
Coaches	990	0	5,140	5,689
Clothes	15,010	1,216	15,639	4,464
Household linen	6,928	1,293	6,629	3,282
Cash	0	12,280	64,912	1,680
Others	0	20,611	5,539 (firearms)	999
TOTAL	168,005	71,356	227,085	42,074
Loans	0	108,455	145,671 (Dom António)	7,334
Debts	0	-1,396	0	0
TOTAL GENERAL	168,005	178,415	372,956	49,408

^a Sum of the following sections: Cabinetmaker, Carpenter, Chapel and Mirrors and gilt.

SOURCES: Prepared by the author with data from AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, (for Scarlatti); for the other musicians: N. Morales (2007).

Firearms were also present in Scarlatti's home. His inventory includes two shotguns (*escopetas*), one by Juan Frinz valued at 1,920 *reales* and the other by Agusttini (sic) Dubien (270 *reales*), plus two blunderbusses (*trabucos*) valued at 150 *reales* each.²²

One of the clearest signs of ease position was to own a coach. Besides several decorated saddles, Scarlatti owned a coach richly dressed on the inside (2,200 *reales*) and a French portable hand chair (*una silla de manos a la francesa*) valued at 1,700 *reales*:

[...] A coach decorated internally with silver-coloured cloth, adorned with golden silk, cords and handles, and roof fringes and curtains, as well as three glass windows, the body, of the colour of porcelain, and the under-gear painted green [...] A French and Spanish style Sedan chair, recently reupholstered with double taffeta, the colour of porcelain, with silk cording, three glass windows, lined outside with black goatskin. Regilded half canes, ironwork, poles and cords[...]²³

Among Scarlatti's colleagues owning a coach were Porretti and José Pérez de la Torre (see Table 2).

It is too bad that, what we might consider today to be the most interesting sections of the inventory, the *memorias* concerning Scarlatti's books and papers of his compositions (13. *De todos los libros y papeles de sus obras*), general books (14. *De sus libros varios*) and instruments (15. *De sus clavicordios y demas instrumentos*) have disappeared.²⁴

Nevertheless, a piece of information is to be found in fol. 102 of the inventory, followed by the valuation of Scarlatti's *clavicordio* signed by Diego Fernández:

[...] Inventory and Valuation of a *Clavicordio*, whereas although there were two more, the latter belonged to our lady the Queen together with their holder (?) and several books of music, and were transferred to Her Majesty by the authorised means which were communicated to all interested parties.

On the same day and in the presence the same people, a *Clavicordio* was entered into the Inventory of the deceased, and, being present Don Diego Fernandez, by profession a *Clavicordista*, the said Judge required him to swear by God our Lord, making the sign of the cross as required by Law. Who, having so done, as required, and having offered to apply properly and faithfully his profession, and having admitted taking care of the before-mentioned *Clavicordio*, values it at three thousand *reales de vellon*, which valuation he affirms to have been made properly and faithfully and ratifies and signs, declaring himself to be forty-six years old, or thereabouts, which I certify. Don Diego Joseph Fernandez.²⁵

Then, Scarlatti had at home at least three *clavicordios*. Two belonged to Queen Maria Bárbara and were given back to her after Scarlatti's death. The third belonged to Scarlatti and was valued by Diego Fernández at 3,000 reales. The record says that Scarlatti's *clavicordio* was acquired during his second marriage, therefore, between 1740 and 1742 and prior to his death.²⁶

The document gives no description of the three *clavicordios*, nor of its makers nor even whether these three *clavicordios* were “*de pluma*” or “*de piano*”, that is, harpsichords or fortepianos. When comparing with other inventories of the same period, we are strongly inclined to think that all three instruments were harpsichords, as it seems to be a tendency in similar documents to write “*clavicordio de piano*” or “*clavicordio de martillos*” when referring to a fortepiano and “*clavicordio*” or “*clavicordio de plumas*” to refer to a harpsichord. This is confirmed by the Ruckers mentioned in Pérez de la Torres' inventory as “*clavicordio de Flandes*” (see Table 2) and by the bills and receipts presented by Diego Fernández to several clients, including Queen Maria Bárbara, between 1743 and 1775.²⁷

Considering the prices of the *clavicordios* owned by other musicians (see Table 2) and the cost of those made by Diego Fernández for the Queen, the price of Scarlatti's own *clavicordio* seems to suggest a rather valuable instrument. In fact, Pérez de la Torre's Ruckers was valued at 1,200 *reales* and his large harpsichord at 1,880 *reales*; Porreti's *clavicordio de camino* (travelling harpsichord) was valued at 1,500 *reales*. Facco's *clavicordios* range from 400 to 600 *reales*, including a *clavicordio de martillos*. Of the harpsichords built by Diego Fernández for Queen Maria Bárbara, one made in 1749 cost 2,100 *reales* and two harpsichords built in 1757 for Aranjuez and El Escorial, 4,800 *reales* each.

The *inventario* gives a detailed account of the allowances (*pensiones*) that Domenico received from both the Spanish and Portuguese royal families.²⁸ From September 29, 1753 Scarlatti received from the King Fernando VI of Spain an annual *pension* of 500 *dobloones de oro* (33,344 *reales*). One month later, on October 9, 1753, Queen Maria Bárbara granted Scarlatti a pension of 2,196 *pesos* (29,019 *reales*). Both allowances were granted to Scarlatti's heirs after his death. Since 1739, the Infante Dom António de Portugal granted Scarlatti an annual allowance of 47,119 *reis*, (10,039 Spanish *reales*) an amount that Scarlatti did not receive from 1742 to July 1757. The inventory states that the Infante's debt to Scarlatti amounted to 145,671 *reales* and 5 *maravedies*.²⁹ After Domenico's death, the King of Portugal granted a sum of 4,183 *reales* a year to each of Scarlatti's children.³⁰ Documents at the Madrid Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, show that Scarlatti's heirs complained up to 1778 about the debt that the Portuguese Crown owed them.³¹

TABLE 3. Domenico Scarlatti's annual salary compared with some musicians at the Royal Chapel

Musicians	Employment	Annual salary (reales de vellón)
Domenico Scarlatti	Maria Bárbara's <i>Maestro de Clave</i>	62,363 ^a
Francisco Courcelle	Royal Chapel Master	38,340 ^b
Domingo Porreti	Cellist	30,117 ^b
Sebastián Albero	Organist	11,029 ^b
José de Nebra	Organist	11,029 ^b
Jacome Facco	Violinist	7,720 ^b

^a Sum of the annual allowances (*pensiones*) that Scarlatti received from Fernando VI and Maria Bárbara from 1752 up to the time of his death on 23/7/1757. We have omitted the allowance by Dom António de Portugal (10,039 reales) because Scarlatti did not in fact receive it for fifteen years, from 1742 to the time of his death.

^b 1747 accounts

SOURCES: Prepared by the author with data from AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 104 (for Scarlatti); for the other musicians: N. Morales (2007), p. 497.

TABLE 4. A sample of valuations of inventories of goods contemporary with Domenico Scarlatti's

Deceased's name and year of the inventory	Employment	Total Valuation (reales de vellón)
Blas de Beaumont (1758) ^a	Surgeon to Fernando VI	1,205,742
Mauro d'Alay (1757) ^a	Violinist to Isabel de Farnesio	465,682
Domenico Scarlatti (1757) ^b	<i>Maestro de clave</i> to Maria Bárbara	372,956
Miguel Marin Truq (1764) ^c	Field Marshall/Engineer	261,831
Jaime Facco (1755) ^a	Violinist at the Royal Chapel	178,415
Tomás de la Rosa (1763) ^a	<i>Claves</i> tuner and repairer to Isabel de Farnesio	8,839

SOURCES: Prepared by the author with data from: ^a N. Morales (2008), p. 309; ^b AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2;

^c Martine Galland-Seguela (2004).

Scarlatti's salary was higher than most of his colleagues at the Madrid Court (see Table 3) as he received the amount of 62,363 *reales* a year at least (not counting the Portuguese Crown's debt!). The organists at the Royal Chapel, Sebastián Albero and José de Nebra, each received a fee of 11,029 *reales*; the Chapel Master, Francisco Courcelle, 38,340; the cellist Domingo Porreti, 30,117; the violinist Jacome Facco 7,720.³² Without doubt, Scarlatti was part of the élite.³³

Comparing Scarlatti's inventory to those of his colleagues, Domenico appears well placed. With a total of 372,956 *reales*, he is far from 99,122 *reales*, the average of the post mortem inventories of Royal musicians, even if there were some other exceptions such as Mauro d'Alay, violinist to Isabel de Farnesio (465,682 *reales*, see Table 4).

Nevertheless, Scarlatti's wealth was well below that of other higher Royal positions. Blas de Beaumont, the king's surgeon (*cirujano*) had at his death a fortune valued at 1,205,742 *reales*; Isidro de la Cueva y Benavides, Marqués de Bedmar, counsellor and a member of the Spanish aristocracy, 6,826,208 *reales*.³⁴

None of Scarlatti's possessions listed in his huge inventory seems to have survived, with one outstanding exception: Scarlatti's music. Some of the master's creations may be lost for ever, lots of information missed, starting with the author's manuscripts of the sonatas. But, little by little, scholars illuminate different aspects of this impressive corpus: chronology, analysis of the form, performance practices, instruments, etc. This book intends to be one more step in painting the musical landscape in which Scarlatti evolved, focusing especially on two main subjects: the keyboard instruments he might have known and the analysis and performance of the sonatas.

The articles that follow are a selection of the papers presented at the 7th and 8th "Diego Fernández" International Symposium of Spanish Keyboard Music, FIMTE, in Mojácar and Garrucha (Almería) in October 2006 and 2007, respectively. Both symposia were devoted to Domenico Scarlatti, his Neapolitan and Portuguese antecedents in a celebration of the 250th anniversary of his death.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the institutions and individuals who, by their continuous support, make possible the existence of FIMTE. A special word of appreciation is due to all the contributors for their commitment. My heartfelt thanks to Colin Whiteley of Quicksilver Translations for his improvements to the English texts, to Ismael Sahun for his advice on the edition of this book and to Grant O'Brien, Francesco Nocerino and Federico Acitores for answering my questions on Italian documents. Finally, to all the institutions, libraries and individuals who have kindly granted permission to reproduce illustrations of material in their collections or under copyright.

This publication has been made possible with the support of the Spanish Agency of International Cooperation.

Some notes on editorial criteria. The words "*clavicordio*" and "*clave*" in eighteenth century Spain meant a stringed keyboard instrument other than the clavichord which was called "*monacordio*". The expression "*clave de pluma*"

or “*clavicordio de pluma*” was often used to designate the harpsichord, as well as “*clave de martillos*” or “*clavicordio de martillos*” for the fortepiano. Thus, we have preserved these original Spanish words, when appearing in the documents, with no English translation.

Pitch notation: c¹ (Do³) corresponds to the Middle C on the harpsichord, followed by c² (Do⁴), c³ (Do⁵) in the treble and c (Do²), C (Do), CC (Do₁) in the bass.

Luisa Morales

Garrucha - Almería, February 2009

NOTES

- ¹ The workshops of the harpsichord makers had been concentrated in this part of the city since the 16th century, see F. Nocerino, “Instrumentos y *Cembalari* en Nápoles durante el período español” in this volume. For a complete study of the circulation of ideas, art and power symbols in the various viceregal courts, see, *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española: América e Italia*, Francesca Cantù (ed.), Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Sevilla, 1-4 junio 2005, collana Studi e ricerche. Università di Roma Tre, 17, 2008. This introduction is from the book on Scarlatti by L. Morales in progress.
- ² See: Andrea Sommer-Mathis, “Nuevos documentos sobre la circulación de músicos a principios del siglo XVIII” *ARTIGRAMA* 12, 1996-7, pp. 45-78, here 58-63; Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti: Two Lives in One*, NY 2006.
- ³ Fernando de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Huéscar (1714-1778) was the son of the 9th Conte di Galve, an exiled pro-Austrian. The Duke cooperated with Wall and Keene to induce the King Fernando VI to dismiss Ensenada. Richard Wall wrote a famous unconventional letter announcing to Keene the downfall of Ensenada, dated July 20 1754. The record says: “The thing is done, my Dear Keene, by the grace of God, the King, Queen and my Brave Duke...” See Richard Lodge (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B.*, 1st edition Cambridge 1933, London: Impala, 2007, p.38. See too: Jane Clark “Principles of Liberty and Property” in L. Morales (ed.), *Five Centuries of Spanish Keyboard Music*, Almería 2007, pp. 283-288. Clark suggests that Scarlatti was João V’s agent in Spain.
- ⁴ Serguei N. Prozhoguin, “Rilegendo la lettera di Domenico Scarlatti”, in M. Sala-W. Sutcliffe (eds.), *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures: Essays to Commemorate the 250th Anniversary of His Death* (Ad Parnassum Studies), Bologna 2007, pp. 69-154.
- ⁵ *Autos de Inventario y Tasacion de los Vienes que quedaron por fallecimiento del señor Don Domingo Escarlatti y demas pertenecientes a la final conclusion de esta Testamentaria*, AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2. The first notice of this document was given by M. T. Fernández Tafaya, “Memoria con las últimas voluntades de Domenico Scarlatti, músico de cámara de la reina María Bárbara de Braganza”, *Revista de Musicología* XXI 1, 1998, pp. 155-68.
- ⁶ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, eds. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, London 1983.
- ⁷ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 41-42.
- ⁸ Nicolás Morales, *L’artiste de Cour dans l’Espagne du XVIIIe siècle. Étude de la communauté des musiciens au service de Philippe V (1700-1746)*, Madrid 2007, p. 298.
- ⁹ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 48-51
- ¹⁰ N. Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
- ¹¹ See Andrés Sánchez López, *La pintura de bodegones y floreros en España en el siglo XVIII*, Memoria para optar al grado de doctor, Universidad Complutense, Madrid 2006, pp. 21, 45-47, and N. Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
- ¹² AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 51-55
- ¹³ (N. Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

- ¹⁴ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 43
- ¹⁵ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 72-3
- ¹⁶ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 83r
- ¹⁷ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 109-110r
- ¹⁸ George Graham, clock and instrument maker, inventor of the mercurial pendulum, was considered one of the greatest instrument makers of his day. He made various astronomical instruments, and contributed significantly to the advancement of precision timekeeping.
- ¹⁹ “[...] Un Relox de sobremesa, su autor Dabid Hubertt con quartos de musica, y a cada quarto repite la ora, Caja de Raiz de olibo Con quatro Bolas de Cristal y los Broches Dorados, el que tasa otro Relojero en tres mil r(eale)s de v(ello)n.[...] Otro de volsillo liso de oro, de nueva Ymbención, su autor Geo Gram., con su Cadena de oro y sello, el que tasa otro Relojero en tres mil y trescientos reales de vellon”, AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 78v
- ²⁰ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 66v-67r
- ²¹ “[...] Dos Chupas, una de Tisu de oro, forrada en Raso liso blanco, y la otra media chupa de Plata y oro, con forro de Raso liso, mangas y espaldas de lo mismo, las que tasa el Tasador. La primera en seiscientos r(eale)s, y la Segunda en Trescientos y Sesenta [...]”, AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 67r
- ²² AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols. 96-7
- ²³ “[...] Un coche vestido por dentro de paño, color de Plata, con su seda de color de oro, Trenzas y agarraderos, y Fleco del Texado y Cortinas, con sus tres vidrios, la Caxa, es de color de Porcelana, y el Juego de color verde [...] Una silla de manos a la Francesa, y a la española, cubierta de nuevo toda por dentro, con sus cortinas de Tafetán Doblete, Color Porcelana, su Cordoneria de seda correspondiente Con sus tres crystales, cubierta por afuera de Cordoban negro. Sus medias Cañas doradas de nuevo, Herraje, varas y cordones[...]”, AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 95-96r
- ²⁴ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 334
- ²⁵ “Imbentario y Thasazion de un Clavicordio, pues aunque havia otros dos, Estos como que heran dela Reina nuestra señora y su continente (ç) con barios Libros de Musica, se pasaron a S M por el autorizado medio que consta a todos los interesados. En el mismo día y Con la propia asistencia se puso por Imbentario un Clavicordio propio de dicho difunto, y hallandose presente Don Diego Fernandez de Profesion Clavicordista, dicho Sr. Juez le reclamo Juramento por Dios n(uest)ro Señor y a una señal de Cruz en forma de Derecho. Y haviendole hecho, según se requiere, y ofrecido usar vien y Fiellmente su profesion, Haviendo Reconocido, Como el Cuidado el mencionado Clavicordio, le ttassa y aprecia, En Tres mil r(eale)s de vellon en cui tasación, que asegura va hecha vien y Fiellmente Se Afirma y Ratifica y lo Firmo Declarando ser de hedad de q(uaren)ta y siete años poco mas o menos... lo qual Certifico. Don Diego Joseph Fernandez”. AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 102.
- ²⁶ Because of Scarlatti’s two marriages, the provenance of the items is often stated in the inventory. Domenico’s clavicordio was inherited by Scarlatti’s daughter Bárbara who was 14 years old at the time.
- ²⁷ See: Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, “Diego Fernández -harpsichord maker to the Spanish royal family from 1722 to 1775- and his nephew Julián Fernández”, GSJ XXXVIII, 1985, pp. 35-47 and “Diego Fernández Caparrós y sus instrumentos” in Luisa Morales (ed.), *Claves y Pianos Españoles: Interpretación y repertorio hasta 1830*, Almería 2003, pp. 101-6
- ²⁸ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols 104-107
- ²⁹ “Lo primero haver quedado a favor de esta testamentaria, como credito de ella, ciento cuarenta y cinco mill seiscientos y on Reales y seis mrs. de vellon, que se deben de la pension annual que el Serenisimo Señor Ynfante Don Antonio de Portugal, con signo al difunto, de cuatrocientos mil Reis en cada un ano, que al respecto de diez mill y treinta y nueve rs. Moneda de España, importa dicha Cantidad, y es adeudada desde el ano de mill setecientos quarenta y dos, asta el dia veintte tres de Jullio proximo, en que fallecio dicho Dn Domingo”. AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fol. 104.
- ³⁰ AGP, Sección Jurídica. Bureo. Caja 36/2, fols 107-8
- ³¹ Several documents at the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Madrid (AHPM) refer to the Portuguese Crown’s debt with the Scarlattis. The two earliest dated 22/3/1748 (AHPM, tomo 16343, fol. 60) and 9/7/1754 (AHPM, tomo 16347, fol. 254) signed by Domenico Scarlatti himself are followed by three more by his heirs, the last dated 5-2-1778 and signed by Bárbara Scarlatti’s widower,

Eugenio Cachurro, see: Jaime Tortella, *24 documentos sobre Scarlatti en el Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid*, Madrid 2008, pp. 88-91, 116-9, 208-21, 250-7.

³² Facco had other source of revenue, as he was appointed harpsichord teacher to Prince Luis in 1720 and later music teacher to Prince Carlos (later Carlos III) in 1729, though his inventory shows that his rank was not comparable to Scarlatti's.

³³ The average wage of a labourer was 2,56 reales a day in 1752 (Gonzalo Anes, *El Antiguo Régimen: Los Borbones, Historia de España* Alfaguara IV, Madrid 1979, p. 95); the musician José Antonio Morotti was paid 6 reales a day as *maestro de musica* by the Benavente's noble house between 1749-1751.

³⁴ N. Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 309

