

Scarlatti in Sweden

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Domenico Scarlatti lived and worked in Portugal and Spain for some 38 years until his death in 1757, yet none of his keyboard sonatas was printed in Spain until Granados's 26 piano transcriptions were published in Barcelona in or about 1906. By a neat coincidence, that year saw the launch of Longo's complete edition in Italy. Until then, Scarlatti's international reputation had rested on a series of publishing initiatives elsewhere in Europe. This short article summarises the main outlines of that process before focusing on a country that has not hitherto featured in Scarlatti's reception history: Sweden.¹

Scarlatti was well over 50 before he published the first and only collection of sonatas in which we can be confident of his involvement: the *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (K1-K30), printed in London in 1738-9.² The *Essercizi* went on to become the single most popular collection of his keyboard works and ushered in a stream of publications that fuelled what Richard Newton called the English 'cult' of Scarlatti.³ By the end of the century, over 100 Scarlatti sonatas had been published in England for the first time.

But the French were not far behind, and may even have stolen a march. Running in parallel, and clearly in competition, were the six 'Boivin' editions —so called after their principal publisher Élisabeth Catherine Boivin— published in Paris between ?1737 and ?1751. Equally important, and perhaps even more pivotal in the context of this article, was the edition of the *Essercizi* that appeared in Amsterdam under the imprint of the Dutch publisher Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel in 1742. This edition seems to have acted as a bridgehead to central and northern Europe, securing Scarlatti a foothold in those centres that would go on to dominate his publication history throughout the nineteenth century: Vienna, Nuremberg and Leipzig.

Sweden has never featured in accounts of the spread of Scarlatti's reputation outside Spain. This is surprising, given the vibrancy of Swedish musical culture in the eighteenth century and the number of witnesses of Scarlatti sonatas, both manuscript and printed, held in at least six institutional repositories in Sweden:

- Härnösand (Murberget Läns museet Västernorrland, *S-HÄ*)
- Lund (Universitetsbiblioteket, *S-L*)
- Norrköping (Stadsbiblioteket, *S-N*)
- Skara (Gamla biblioteket, *S-SK*)
- Stockholm (Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket, *S-Skma*)
- Uppsala (Universitetsbiblioteket, Carolina Rediviva, *S-Uu*).⁴

¹ I am extremely grateful to the Rare Books Librarian at the Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket Stockholm, Marina Demina, and her colleagues, particularly Ragnar Köhlin, for their unfailing assistance and warm welcome during my visit to the library in September 2025. Thanks also to Jasper van der Klis and Trudi Darby for their careful reading and helpful suggestions.

² The *Essercizi* were first advertised for sale on 27 January 1738-9. This form of the date reflects both the old (Julian) legal and fiscal calendar, according to which the year began on 25 March, and the new (Gregorian) calendar that did not become the norm in England until 1752. See Barry Ife, 'Culture Wars or Cultural Diplomacy? The Politics of Scarlatti's *Essercizi*', in Marco Moiraghi (ed.) *"Cedere il passo al sogno". L'Esperienza Musicale di Emilia Fadini* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2020), 47-58.

³ Richard Newton, 'The English Cult of Domenico Scarlatti', *Music and Letters*, 20/2 (April 1939), 138-56.

⁴ RISM institutional sigla are given to assist with searching.

None of these resources has been referenced by any of the standard authorities —Kirkpatrick, Sheveloff, Boyd or Hail—⁵ in spite of the fact that Swedish institutions were early contributors to RISM. This came about because two leading Swedish music librarians, Gösta Morin and Cari Johansson, were among the leaders of the RISM project. They encouraged good buy-in from Swedish institutions from as early as 1954 and ensured that the cataloguing was done with the utmost care. The RISM card catalogue in what is now the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden (Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket) in Stockholm dates from the 1960s and can still be consulted in the library.

That the ‘Texting Scarlatti’ project was able to start work with some awareness of two of these repositories was due to a Spanish scholar who clearly did his homework online: Celestino Yáñez Navarro’s doctoral thesis, awarded in 2015, lists the two Lund MSS and five of the six Stockholm MSS in his catalogue of manuscript sources with sonatas by Scarlatti.⁶ These collections —to which we have given the sigla LUND ENGELHART, LUND WENSTER and STOCKHOLM 1-5— have since been collated and integrated into the work of the ‘Texting Scarlatti’ project, along with a sixth source, STOCKHOLM 6, that was drawn to our attention by the library staff in Stockholm.⁷

With their assistance, we have since cast the net more widely and have caught several more manuscript sources, particularly 23 in Skara, all with the same shelf mark: S-SK, 27. At the time of writing we have not yet been able to obtain copies of these witnesses, but, following close examination of the data in RISM, we believe that there are seven fascicles, containing the following sonatas:

- K11, K22
- K16
- K23, K27, K25
- K18, K9, K15, K12
- K39/24,⁸ K30, K28
- K13, K19, K10, K3
- K125, K126, K127, K131, K182, K179

Although 16/17 of these sonatas are from the *Essercizi*, six or seven are not. As our analysis of the entire corpus of over 3300 witnesses shows, the sonatas from the *Essercizi* are consistently the

⁵ Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, r. 1963); Joel Sheveloff, ‘The Keyboard Music of Domenico Scarlatti: A Re-Evaluation of the Present State of Knowledge in the Light of the Sources’, PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1970, and ‘Domenico Scarlatti: Tercentenary Frustrations [Part 1]’. *Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 399–436, [Part 2] *Musical Quarterly* 72 (1986): 90–118; Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti—Master of Music* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986); Christopher Hail (with Michael O’Connor), *Scarlatti Domenico: A New Look at the Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti for People Who Use Both Sides of Their Brain*. (Protean Press, 2017). This important resource is only available as an ebook. The website on which it is based is archived at:
<http://web.archive.org/web/20140911064422/http://mysite.verizon.net/chrishail/scarlatti/index.html>.

⁶ Celestino Yáñez Navarro, ‘Nuevas aportaciones para el estudio de las sonatas de Domenico Scarlatti: los manuscritos del Archivo de Música de las catedrales de Zaragoza’. PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015.

⁷ Given that the number of collections studied by the ‘Texting Scarlatti’ project is well over 200, we have devised a new set of sigla that are more readily intelligible than any previously in use. They are printed in SMALL CAPS in the text and full details can be found on the project website from the end of October 2025.

⁸ Clefs and tempo markings suggest that this sonata may be K24 rather than K39 as indicated on RISM.

most popular in terms of witnesses per sonata. We will collate and integrate the 23 Skara items into our overall analysis just as soon as copies become available.

The Stockholm Collection

The most significant collection of Scarlatti materials in Sweden is, not surprisingly, in what is now the Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket in Stockholm. This is the successor body (est. 1981) to the Royal Music Academy Library (Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket) whose emblem, a lyre, and RISM siglum (*S-Skma*) it still enjoys. Other collections have been added to make this the national resource collection for the performing arts in Sweden. In addition to its collection of works by Domenico Scarlatti, the library also holds 13 items by his father Alessandro and 15 by his nephew Giuseppe.

The Stockholm library holds important materials on Scarlatti in both manuscript and printed form. It has 'first editions' of four of the principal early **printed** collections:

- BOIVIN 1: *Pieces choisies pour le clavecin ou l'orgue* (Paris: Boivin and Le Clerc, n.d. [?1737])
- ROSEINGRAVE: *XLII Suites de pieces pour le clavecin* (London: Benjamin Cooke, 1738/39) [volume 1 only]
- WITVOGEL: *XXX sonate per il clavicembalo...Opera prima* (Amsterdam: G.F. Witvogel, n.d. [1742])
- HAFFNER 1: *VI sonate per il cembalo solo* (Nürnberg: Haffner, n.d. [1754])

It also holds:

- AVISON XII: *Twelve Concerto's in Seven Parts* (Newcastle: Denson and Barber, 1744)
- CLEMENTI 4: volume 5 of the *Oeuvres complètes de Muzio Clementi* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. [?1804])

CLEMENTI 4 contains ten Scarlatti sonatas from the Kirkpatrick catalogue and two from our Kirkpatrick Supplement.⁹ This item can also be found in Lund and Nörrköping, and there are also copies of HAFFNER 1 in Skara, and WITVOGEL in Uppsala. It is noticeable that there are no copies of ESSERCIZI in Swedish institutions. This publication evidently did not travel well: more than half (7/13) of the extant copies are still in the UK, which underlines the crucial role played by Witvogel's 1742 re-issue in disseminating these thirty sonatas across Europe.

Stockholm's holdings of Scarlatti **manuscripts** are of particular interest on several fronts, and detailed descriptions of all six are given in the Annex to these notes. Four of the manuscripts, STOCKHOLM 1-4, are more or less complete copies of K1-K30. They bear eloquent testimony to the way that this collection acted as Scarlatti's calling card, but their interest extends much further. Three of them, STOCKHOLM 1, 3 and 4, have a direct association with a prominent contemporary figure and, although they are all, in a sense, hand-written substitutes for printed copies of the *Essercizi*, each one goes about the task in a different way, drawing on different exemplars. It would be easy to assume, at first glance, that each of these four manuscripts was a direct copy of either ESSERCIZI or WITVOGEL, but even a preliminary analysis of the variant readings they transmit reveals the likelihood of more than one intermediate stage in their compilation.

Thanks to a note on the pastedown of **STOCKHOLM 1** we know that this MS was copied by Erik Palmstedt during a visit to Rome in 1779 and 1780. Erik Palmstedt (1741-1803) was a professional architect, best known today for his work on the Stockholm Stock Exchange, but he also had a

⁹ See Barry Ife and Jasper van der Klis, 'Kirkpatrick Supplement of Attributed and Attributable Sonatas', in this issue of *Sounding Board*.

strong musical background. His father was a court musician, he received a musical education at school and he and his wife Hedvig would later hold regular musical salons at their house in Stockholm.

Palmstedt was appointed Stockholm's Deputy City Architect in 1773 and from 1778-1780 he travelled to France and Italy to study recent developments in architecture at first hand. It was in Rome that he copied the MS we call STOCKHOLM 1. Of the four 'Essercizi' MSS under review this is the one that most closely approximates to WITVOGEL, both textually (this MS has Witvogel's solution to the 6/4 bar in K24)¹⁰ and in presentation: the wording of the title page and its verso are taken almost word for word from the Amsterdam print. The calligraphy is very clear and elegant and there is no reason to suppose that Palmstedt—a man whose very profession was synonymous with precision—did not make this copy himself rather than commissioning a professional copyist. Palmstedt was a member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music and this MS was presented to the library by his son Carl, also a member, in 1866.



Figure 1: Title page of STOCKHOLM 1.

STOCKHOLM 3 is another copy of WITVOGEL (the exemplar is made explicit on the title page) but of a very different kind. This copy came to the KMA library from the collection of the Norwegian court jeweller and art collector, Christian Hammer (1818-1905), best known as the former owner of the 'Hammer Stradivarius' that sold at Christie's in May 2006 for \$3.54 million. It is extremely unlikely that he had a hand in compiling the MS himself. It purports to contain 30 sonatas but there are only 22 in its present state. That said, the MS itself appears to be complete: it is a single quire of 16 sheets (64 pages), the first sonata (K3) starts on the reverse of the title page and page [64] is blank, all of which suggests that there are no pages missing from the MS as we have it.

¹⁰ See Marco Moiraghi, 'Scarlatti and the Dissemination of Variants: the exemplar case of the "Essercizi"' in this issue of *Sounding Board*.

There is a note in Norwegian at the foot of the title page to the effect that sonatas 1 and 2 are to be found on separate sheets and another curious note at the top of page [23] (in the middle of K25), that says ‘this belongs to the Scarlatti sonatas’, implying that that sheet was mislaid at some point.

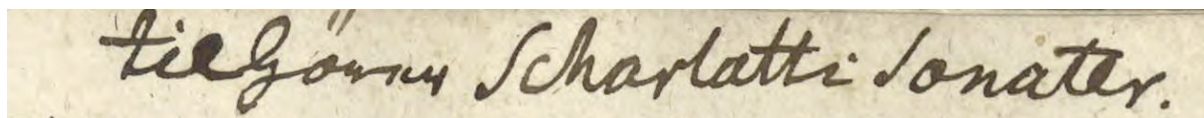


Figure 2: ‘belongs to the Scarlatti sonatas’.

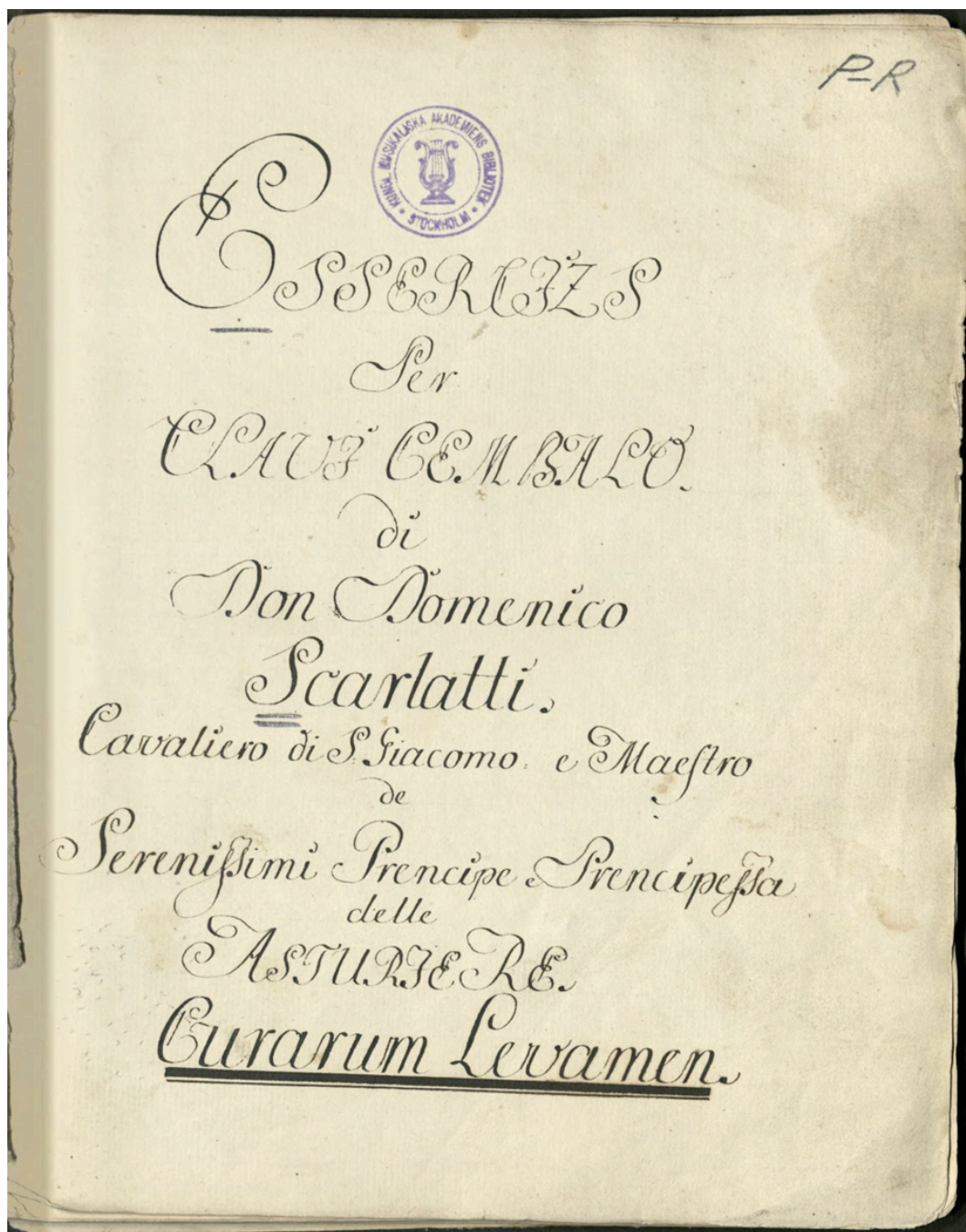
It seems clear that, in its present state, this MS has been through a complex process of compilation, possibly not modelled directly on the Amsterdam print but assembled from one or more intermediate witnesses on loose sheets now lost. What is more, the physical structure of this MS is complex and is described in full in the Annex. Briefly, the volume as we have it consists of two fascicles of eleven and five bifolia respectively, the smaller of which has been inserted into the larger, probably when the MS was bound. This resulted in the first page of K24 being separated from the rest by 20 pages, and the second page of K25 appearing 18 pages before the first!

Although they both derive ultimately from the same exemplar, STOCKHOLM 1 and 3 sit at opposite ends of a spectrum: an exquisite replica of a printed book at one end and a sprawling, scribbled, incomplete rag-bag at the other. Both types can be found throughout the Scarlatti corpus, with many others in between. But there is no doubt about the kinship of STOCKHOLM 3 with WITVOGEL because, like STOCKHOLM 1 it too has the Dutchman’s solution to the mystery 6/4 bar in K24.

STOCKHOLM 4 is part of the Alströmer collection that came to the library after its surprise re-discovery in 1949. Patrick Alströmer (1733-1804), later Baron Alströmer, was an industrial chemist and mineralogist who was best known for his scientific and philanthropic work for community benefit. He founded the Royal Music Academy in 1771 and, with his brother Clas, built the first public theatre in Gothenberg in 1779. STOCKHOLM 4 originally contained all 30 of the sonatas in the *Essercizi* but now has only 27, of which two are truncated following the loss of 12 pages and damage to one other. There seems not to have been any form of title page or other description of the collection since the first sheet is intact, with the opening bars of K1 on the verso. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the sonatas in this manuscript derive from *ESSERCIZI* rather than *WITVOGEL*: bar 40 of K24 has six beats as it does in the original London print.

STOCKHOLM 2 also has the original London reading of bar 40 in K24, but that is not the only feature that these two MSS have in common. *ESSERCIZI* has many sonatas that require hand-crossing, a fashionable keyboard technique popularised by Rameau in pieces such as ‘Les trois mains’. Scarlatti was evidently rather pleased with the way he uses hand-crossing and points out in the preface that the letters D and M in the score indicate right and left. The engraved text of *ESSERCIZI* bristles with Ds and Ms, but neither STOCKHOLM 2 nor STOCKHOLM 4 can be bothered with them: of the 233 hand signs in K24 *ESSERCIZI*, STOCKHOLM 4 can only muster five, while STOCKHOLM 2 has the same five, plus one more, none of them where they might have been thought necessary (bars 57, 58 and 60). Textual critics would normally seize on this kind of evidence as demonstrating kinship between the two witnesses, and that may indeed be the case — further, more detailed work will be needed— but there can be no doubt about the remote origins of STOCKHOLM 2, as the somewhat garbled title page is clear that these pieces are ‘Essercizs’.¹¹

¹¹ There are two misreadings (‘clavicembalo’ for ‘gravicembalo’ and ‘ASTURIE RE’ for ‘Asturie &c.’) that could well be errors on the part of intermediate copyists.



3: Title page of STOCKHOLM 2.

It is often pointed out that the earliest printed books were designed to look like manuscripts, such was the prestige of a book that had been hand-copied in a professional scriptorium at great cost. But the Stockholm Scarlatti holdings include one item that appears to do the opposite: STOCKHOLM 5 is a manuscript copy of a printed book that is designed to look just like the original book. This is an incomplete copy of HAFFNER 1 (see the description in the Annex): six sonatas, none of them from the Essercizi, published by Johann Ulrich Haffner (1711-1767) in Nuremberg around 1757 and copied out with such extreme attention to detail as to constitute a reproduction or quasi-facsimile rather than a mere copy: a document that could very well pass for the real thing.

SONATA
I.
Vivace.
PER IL CEMBALO SOLO.

N^o LXXVII.
FINE
Si soli.

[Scarlatti, D.]
[Sonat. Pianos.]
SONATA
I.
Vivace.
PER IL CEMBALO SOLO.

FINE
Si soli.

Figure 4: first page of HAFFNER 1 (top) and STOCKHOLM 5 (bottom).

Whether made to order or offered for sale on spec, STOCKHOLM 5 is a prime example of ‘scribal publication’, a means of circulating a text within a defined social network as opposed to the general readership that publishers were trying to reach through the medium of print.¹²

Whatever the practical, economic or social reasons behind the production of the Stockholm MSS, the act of copying was, as ever, subject to an overriding principle of forensic science: that all contact involves transfer. WITVOGEL is a ‘very careful’ copy of ESSERCIZI (Sheveloff 1970, 121) and Palmstedt’s STOCKHOLM 1 is an equally careful copy of WITVOGEL. STOCKHOLM 5 is about as slavish a copy of HAFFNER 1 as it is possible to imagine. But none of those copies is identical to its exemplar. Look again, carefully, at Figure 4 and the copyist will be seen to have misjudged his casting off, and so had to lengthen the second system slightly to squeeze in bar 36, and even had to take bar 70 forward to the next system, all the while respecting absolutely every other detail of the calligraphy.

Traditional textual critics once regarded this process of transfer as one of degradation, one that is characterised by the progressive introduction of error, the elimination of which is the textual critic’s prime responsibility. It is undoubtedly true that copyists did make mistakes –copying out anything, let alone complex, multi-dimensional texts like musical scores can be tedious and attentions can wander. But manuscript transmission offered many benefits: the ability to copy just the pieces that were wanted, in just the order that was preferred; to annotate or adapt; to simplify or elaborate; to transpose or transcribe for different instruments. In short, manuscript offered the opportunity to personalise the repertoire within a practical, user-driven social circle.

We can see this at work in **STOCKHOLM 6**, a ‘Stycke Bok till Claver’ or personal keyboard anthology, compiled in the first decade of the nineteenth century (the cover reads 1807 and the title page 1803). The title page is signed, and possibly sealed, by A. Lundevall who may have been the musicologist of the same name but who is otherwise unknown. The album contains only one piece by Scarlatti, K10 in d minor, but it is in good company, immediately following the Air and Variations (‘The Harmonious Blacksmith’) in E major from the fifth of the ‘Eight Great Suites’ by Handel. But it also sits alongside many other composers whose reputation has not always stood the test of time (see Annex).

Beyond the keyboard

What emerges from this very preliminary survey of the six ‘Scarlatti’ manuscripts in the Swedish national collection in Stockholm is a very clear picture of a manuscript culture as a form of dialogue in which copyists and compilers engaged with music as raw material for creative adaptation rather than as static artistic objects. We should not forget that one of the very earliest examples of this approach in the case of Scarlatti was Charles Avison’s *Twelve Concerto’s in Seven Parts* of 1744, a copy of which can be found in the Stockholm library, as we have noted earlier. There is no doubt that Avison’s arrangements of Scarlatti sonatas for string orchestra were one of the key drivers of the Scarlatti cult in eighteenth-century England.

¹² ‘Scribal publication...was not a phenomenon restricted to single authors or periods, but an accepted and important medium for the transmission of texts during the seventeenth century, quite equal in terms of status to transmission in printed form...It might be conducted in the interests of the author, or of the stationer or master scrivener, or of the intending possessor.’ Harold Love, ‘Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1987), pp. 130-154, at page 147. Although this comment relates primarily to seventeenth-century literary texts, the much slower rate of development of music printing meant that scribal publication of music was common well into the nineteenth century.

We should also not overlook two MSS in Härnösand, previously mentioned but not yet discussed. These are two sets of arrangements of Scarlatti sonatas for two violins. We have not yet been able to obtain copies of them, but to judge from the evidence of the RISM catalogue, one set contains seven sonatas of which at least five are from the *Essercizi* (K2, K5, K7, K11 and K15) and the other set has three (K11, K10 and K2). Whether the duplicates are copies of the same arrangement or not remains to be seen.

But the presence of ten or more arrangements of Scarlatti sonatas for two violins in Härnösand brings us neatly back to Stockholm, for in Stockholm there are also two sets of Scarlatti sonatas arranged for two violins –or at least two stringed or other solo instruments– and these we have been able to study. They contain 6 and 22 sonatas respectively, all from the *Essercizi*, though not in the original numerical order:

- K18, K9, K10, K25, K16, K28
- K1, K2, K23, K19, K5, K7, K13, K9, K11, K12, K4, K27, K26, K15, K3, K6, K25, K16, K10, K22, K28, K14

The first collection is a loose bundle of unbound bifolia, copied by P. Brandt (†1768) with pages 1 and 2 on one side and 3 and four on the other, so that the whole sheet can be turned at the mid point of the piece. The order of the pieces may not, therefore, be significant. The sheets are kept in a brown paper folder with the stamp of the KMA library in the upper left-hand corner. The title is given as ‘Scarlatti / Sonate per / Due Violini’ but there is a comment in a later hand, lower left, to the effect that ‘Äro snarare Violin-Solos än Duetter’ [more likely violin solos (i.e. with basso continuo) than duets]. Some of the arrangements have the secondo part in the bass clef and go significantly below the range of a violin, so they could have been intended for any two suitable solo instruments.

The larger collection of 22 duos is another item from the Alströmer collection. The pieces are numbered 1-22 by the original copyist but the correspondence with the *Essercizi* is as listed above. The pieces are written on unbound bifolia, but in the standard keyboard disposition of two or four facing pages. What makes this collection particularly interesting is that the copyist has been identified by Bengtsson and Danielson¹³ as the hand of Anders Wesström (1720-1781), who studied with Tartini and went on to become one of the leading violin virtuosos of his age. The Rare Books Librarian of the Stockholm library has quite properly cautioned against concluding that it was Wesström who made these transcriptions, but the possibility remains that he did. Either way, these four sets of duets offer a fascinating insight not just into the extent of Scarlatti’s popularity in eighteenth-century Sweden but into the performance of his work in both domestic and public settings.

Conclusion

The Stockholm Scarlatti holdings constitute a fascinating microcosm of many of the issues that have arisen during our 30-month investigation of all extant eighteenth-century witnesses of Scarlatti’s keyboard sonatas. They offer compelling evidence of the extent and depth of penetration of Scarlatti’s work across Europe and, now, into Scandinavia. The quality of the collection, both in printed and manuscript form, and the central role of the KMA library and its successor body in collecting, preserving and curating this collection is outstanding, as was the

¹³ Ingmar Bengtsson and Ruben Danielson, *Handstilar och Notpikturer i Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Roman-Samling*. (Uppsala: Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia, 1955).

generosity and foresight of those individuals who either copied, had copied, or otherwise acquired these items and ensured that they were preserved for posterity.

The collection also bears witness to the complex relationship between printed and manuscript sources, and the persistence of manuscript culture well into the age of print. If anything, greater availability of printed music increased the circulation of manuscript texts rather than the opposite. The reasons are obvious. Until the revolution in printing technology in the 1860s, printed music was expensive and not always readily accessible. Those who could afford it tended to hoard it. The *Essercizi* were offered for sale on 27 January 1738-9 at a price of 2 guineas (two pounds and two shillings in pre-decimal currency). The Bank of England inflator makes that about £470 in today's money. It would take a brave music-lover to lend a book at that price. WITVOGEL may have been cheaper, but probably not by very much. It is hardly surprising that, as soon as he had access to WITVOGEL, Erik Palmstedt made a copy of it. Nowadays we might, with dubious legality, put it on the photocopier or the scanner, but he had to sit down and copy it out note by note. And, being an architect, he gave it a rather nice title page and a smart binding to make it a worthy acquisition for his library (Figure 1).

Annex

Detailed descriptions of the six manuscripts containing sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti in the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

STOCKHOLM 1 [RISM id 190020530]

Provenance: Erik Palmstedt (1741-1803) by succession to his son Carl Palmstedt (1785-1870) then by gift to the library of the Royal Music Academy [Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket] Stockholm in 1866 and thence to its successor body, the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm in 1981.

Description: manuscript copy of the *XXX Sonate per il clavicembalo* (K1-K30) published by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, Amsterdam, 1742. 46ff, 28 x 23 cms, single batch of good quality laid paper, no watermark, pre-ruled with a 1 cm rastrum, twelve staves per page. Pages numbered by copyist. Bound in marbled paper boards, one green silk bookmark and one pink.

Front pastedown: shelf mark 'P-R' in pencil, letter 'V' in later red ink or crayon, (librarians'?) notes in pencil 'Professor, K. Arkitekten Eric Palmstedt [+1803] / har afskrifvit dessa sonater under en vistelse / i Rom 1779 och 80 / Gåfva till Akad. af sonen, Carl Palmstedt, 1866. / -h-' [Royal Architect Professor Eric Palmstedt [†1803] / copied these sonatas during his visit / to Rome in 1779 and 80 / Donated to the Academy by his son Carl Palmstedt in 1866. / -h-]

Flyleaf: shelf mark 'P-R' in pencil as above, library stamp bottom centre 'KUNGL[iga] MUSIKALISKA AKADEMIENS BIBLIOTEK STOCKHOLM' [Library of the Royal Music Academy Stockholm]. Reverse blank.

Title page: librarian's note in pencil '[Sonat. Piano-.]'; 'XXX Sonate / Per il / Clavicembalo / da / Dom: Scharlatti / Opera Prima' in elaborate cartouche of musical instruments; (librarian's) note in pencil at foot 'Samma som 30 Sonate...Witvogel [1742]' [Same as 30 Sonatas...Witvogel [1742]].

Reverse of title: near-literal transcription of the preface to the reader which first appeared in the *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (1738-39) and was reprinted by Witvogel in his edition: 'Lettore / Non aspettarti, ò Dilettante ò / Professor che tu sia, in questi componimenti / il profondo intendimento dell'Arte, per ad / destrarti alla franchezza sul Clavicembalo. / Ne vista d'Interesse, ne mira d'Ambitione, / ma Ubedienza mossemi a publicarli. Forse ti / saranno aggradevoli, e piu volentieri allora / ubidirò ad altri comandi di compiacerti in / piu facile e variato stile: Monstrati dunque / più umano, che critico, et si accresserai le proprie / Dilettationi. Per accenarti la disposizione delle mani, avvisoti che dalla D. vien indicata la Dritta, e dalla / M. la Mancha; vive felice.'

Facing page: blank apart from KMA library stamp bottom centre as above. Pagination begins on verso to allow standard disposition on two or four facing pages throughout.

Rear pastedown: date in pencil '19 Nov 1758', of dubious authenticity and significance.

Copyist: single (professional?) hand, most likely that of the architect Erik Palmstedt himself.

Comments: close copy of Witvogel in a very elegant hand with few errors or corrections other than the occasional clarification of note names written above or below, some contemporary, some later. Oddly, the preface omits the key phrase 'ma bensi lo scherzo ingegnoso', presumably by accident. The cartouche on the title page could conceivably be a reminiscence of the garland on the title page of the London edition of the *Essercizi*.

Contents:

No	Pages	K	No	Pages	K
Sonata I	1-2	1	Sonata XVI	37-40	16
Sonata II	3-4	2	Sonata XVII	41-42	17
Sonata III	5-6	3	Sonata XVIII	43-46	18
Sonata IV	7-8	4	Sonata XIX	47-48	19
Sonata V	9-10	5	Sonata XX	49-50	20
Sonata VI	11-12	6	Sonata XXI	51-54	21
Sonata VII	13-16	7	Sonata XXII	55-56	22
Sonata VIII	17-18	8	Sonata XXIII	57-60	23
Sonata IX	19-20	9	Sonata XXIV	61-64	24
Sonata X	21-22	10	Sonata XXV	65-68	25
Sonata XI	23-24	11	Sonata XXVI	69-72	26
Sonata XII	25-28	12	Sonata XXVII	73-76	27
Sonata XIII	29-32	13	Sonata XXVIII	77-80	28
Sonata XIV	33-34	14	Sonata XXIX	81-84	29
Sonata XV	35-36	15	Sonata XXX	85-88	30

STOCKHOLM 2 [RISM id 190020561]

Provenance: from the library of the Royal Music Academy [Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket] to its successor body, the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm in 1981.

Description: manuscript copy of the *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* (K1-K30) published in London, 1738-9. 56 ff, 26 x 21 cms, single batch of laid paper, no watermark, pre-ruled with a 1cm rastrum, ten staves per page throughout. Pages numbered by copyist. Bound in mid-dark brown paper cover, binding in poor state of repair.

Front cover: library label in top lh corner 'P-R / Scarlatti, D., / Essercizi... / K[ungliga]. M[usikaliska]. A[kademiens]. Title: 'Scarlattis / XXX Sonater'. KMA library stamp bottom centre. Inside cover, top lh corner, shelf mark I3949.

Title page: top rh corner shelf mark in pencil 'P-R'; top centre KMA library stamp; title 'Essercizs / per / Clavicembalo / di / Don Domenico / Scarlatti / Cavaliero di S. Giacomo e Maestro / de / Serenissimi Prencipe e Principessa / delle / Asturie Re / Curarum Levamen', copied from the title page of ESSERCIZI but without the laterally-inverted harpsichord and the garland.

Reverse title and facing page: blank. Pagination begins on verso to allow standard disposition on two or four facing pages throughout.

Copyist: single (amateur?) hand throughout. Very sparing use of rests and hand signs (six only in K24!). Pen trials on p 46. Occasional corrections, eg M cancelled on p 63 (K19, bar 3), but otherwise a largely faithful but rather inelegant copy of ESSERCIZI.

Comments: the title page is a transcription of the title page of ESSERCIZI but with a redundant extra plural 's' and a misreading of 'Asturie' (see above). Like STOCKHOLM 4, this MS has very few hand signs and retains the original reading of the 6/4 bar in K24.

Contents:

No	Pages	K	No	Pages	K
Sonata I	1-2	1	Sonata XVI	51-54	16
Sonata II	3-4	2	Sonata XVII	55-58	17
Sonata III	5-8	3	Sonata XVIII	59-62	18
Sonata IV	9-12	4	Sonata XIX	63-66	19
Sonata V	13-16	5	Sonata XX	67-70	20
Sonata VI	17-20	6	Sonata XXI	71-74	21
Sonata VII	21-24	7	Sonata XXII	75-78	22
Sonata VIII	25-26	8	Sonata XXIII	79-82	23
Sonata IX	27-28	9	Sonata XXIV	83-86	24
Sonata X	29-32	10	Sonata XXV	87-90	25
Sonata XI	33-34	11	Sonata XXVI	91-94	26
Sonata XII	35-38	12	Sonata XXVII	95-98	27
Sonata XIII	39-42	13	Sonata XXVIII	99-102	28
Sonata XIV	43-46	14	Sonata XXIX	103-106	29
Sonata XV	47-50	15	Sonata XXX	107-110	30

STOCKHOLM 3 [RISM id 190020592]

Provenance: Christian Hammer (1818-1905) to the library of the Royal Music Academy [Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket] Stockholm, thence to its successor body, the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm in 1981.

Description: manuscript collection of 22 of the sonatas from *XXX Sonate per il clavicembalo* (K1-K30) published by Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, Amsterdam, 1742 (see Contents). 16 sheets heavy-duty paper, no watermark, folded into a single quire and bound into purple speckled paper cover, 32 x 19.5 cm. Pre-ruled with a 1 cm rastrum, fourteen staves per page, unpaginated. The physical structure of this MS is complex – see Comments below.

Front cover: label top lh edge, wrapped around onto reverse of cover: ‘30 Sonate da Dome / nico Scarlatti’, either in error or indicating that some items, previously included and possibly laid in, have been lost.

Inside cover: library label top lh corner; ‘P-R / Scarlatti, D., / [Sonat, Piano-.] 30 Sonate / per il Cembalo... / K[ungliga]. M[usikaliska]. A[kademiens].’ Remaining lower half of torn ex libris showing three horses towing a chariot, with the legends: (left) ‘Bibl. Hammer Stockholm’, (right) ‘En avant, toujours en avant!’, thought to be the ex libris of the Norwegian court jeweller and art collector Christian Hammer (1818-1905), former owner of the Hammer Stradivarius that sold at Christie’s in May 2006 for \$3.54 million.

Title page: ‘No 9 / 30 Sonate / per il Cembalo / dedicate / alla Sacra Real Maesta di Giovanni / quinto, il giusto Re di Portogallo. / d’Algarve, del Brasile etc etc etc / da / Don Domenico Scarlatti, / cavaliere di S. Giacomo, e Maestro / de Serenissimi Principe e Principessa / delle Asturie etc / Opera Prima / Messo e dato a Luce / per / Gerhardo Friderico Witvogel / adesso stampate a spece / di Giovanni Covens / a Amsterdam / No. 73.’ Further note in Norwegian at foot of page, presumably in the hand of Christian Hammer: ‘Sonaterne 1 og 2 fines på andre lösu papirer’ [Sonatas 1 and 2 are found on other loose sheets]. Text begins on reverse title (p [2]) to allow standard disposition throughout. There is a note in Norwegian at the top of page [23], in the middle of K25: ‘tilhörer Scharlatti sonater’ [belongs to the Scarlatti sonatas] implying that at some point this sheet had been mislaid.

Copyist: single (amateur?) copyist, rather inelegant hand, unlikely to be that of Hammer himself.

Comments: the title page is a rather scribbled transcription of Witvogel (although the word ‘junior’ is omitted after ‘Covens’), but the order of the sonatas, and the fact that eight of them are missing (K2, K5, K7, K9, K10, K11, K13, and K21), would suggest that this collection is not directly modelled on the Amsterdam print but has been assembled from one or more intermediate witnesses, now lost. The copyist comments at the foot of the title page that sonatas 1 and 2 are to be found on loose sheets, but it is unlikely that these two sonatas were K1 (or K2?), as K1 appears at the very end of this set. The binding of the 16 sheets into a single quire and the fact that the first sonata starts on the reverse of the title page and page [64] is blank, suggest that there are no pages missing and that other sonatas, now lost, would have been laid in.

However, as the table of contents below makes clear, the MS in fact consists of two fascicles [A and B], the second of which was assembled in at least two phases. Fascicle A consists of the eleven

outer sheets (22ff, pages [1] to [22] and [43] to [64]) that contain K3, K6, K8, K16, K18, K20, K23, K24, K26, K27, K28, K29 and K1 in that order. Fascicle B consists of the five inner sheets (10ff, pages [23] to [42]) that contain K25 (pages [42] and [23] in that order), K4, K12, K14, K15, K17, K19, K22 and K30. Fascicle B evidently began life with K25 written on one side of a single sheet of paper. This sheet was then reversed to form the outer sheet of fascicle B, resulting in the two pages of K25 being in the reverse order (ff21v and 12r, pages [42] and [23]). At some stage, fascicle B was mislaid, recovered and the note 'tilhörer Scharlatti sonater' [belongs to the Scarlatti sonatas] was written at the top of what was then the first page of this bundle (now page [23]). Fascicle B was then inserted into fascicle A, between pages [22] and [43], which resulted in the first page of K24 (now on page [22]) being separated from the other three (now on pages [43] to [45]) and the two pages of K25 being in the reverse order, 18 pages apart. The error may have been compounded by the fact that K24 and K25 have the same key signature of three sharps.

Contents:

[Pages]		K	[Pages]		K
1	Title		30-31	Allegro Sonata 15	15
2-3	Presto Sonata 3	3	32-33	Presto Sonata 17	17
4-5	Allegro Sonata 6 ^{ta} (5 crossed out)	6	34-35	Allegro Sonata 19	19
6-7	Allegro Sonata 8	8	36-37	Allegro Sonata 22	22
8-11	Presto Sonata 16	16	38-41	Fuga Moderato Sonata 30	30
12-15	Presto Sonata 18	18	42	Allegro Sonata 25 (page 1)	25
16-17	Presto Sonata 20	20	43-45	[Presto Sonata 24] (pages 2-4)	24
18-21	Allegro Sonata 23	23	46-49	Presto Sonata 26	26
22	Presto Sonata 24 (page 1)	24	50-53	Allegro Sonata 27	27
23	[Allegro Sonata 25] (page 2)	25	54-57	Presto Sonata 28	28
24-25	Allegro Sonata quarta	4	58-61	Presto Sonata 29	29
26-27	Presto Sonata 12	12	62-63	Allegro Sonata Prima	1
28-29	Presto Sonata 14	14	64	Blank	

STOCKHOLM 4 [RISM id 190020615]

Provenance: from the collection of Patrick Alströmer (1733-1804) to the library of the Royal Music Academy [Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket] Stockholm in 1949, thence to its successor body, the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm in 1981.

Description: manuscript collection of 27 of the *Essercizi* (see contents), though originally containing all 30 sonatas. 48ff in its present condition (96 pages), of which the first leaf is torn, with the loss of approximately one bar of music on page 2, and pages 3-15 are missing. Page numbers are in the copyist's original hand apart from p2 which is in modern pencil. Page 2 contains 16 and a half bars of K1 and page 16 has the final 13 bars of K5. Ready-made book of medium-quality paper bound into marbled paper boards, 29 x 22.5 cms. Pre-ruled with an 8mm rastrum, ten staves per page, standard disposition throughout.

Front pastedown: top lh corner, letter 'V' in red ink, otherwise blank. Page [1], top lh corner 'D. Scarlatti' in pencil, otherwise blank. Watermark on rear pastedown not able to be identified.

Copyist: single (amateur?) copyist apart from the final unnumbered page [111], consisting of simple exercises for a solo instrument and a minuet.

Comments: Patrick Alströmer, later Baron Alströmer from 1778, was an industrial chemist and mineralogist and founder of the Royal Music Academy in 1771. His collection only came to light in the middle of the twentieth century when it was accessioned into the KMA library. Little else is known about this item.

Contents (Scarlatti items only):

No		Pages	K	No		Pages	K
1	Sonata 1ma	2	1	15	Sonata XVIII Presto	59-62	18
2	[end of sonata 5]	16	5	16	Sonata XIX Allegro	63-66	19
3	Sonata VI Allegro	17-20	6	17	Sonata XX Presto	67-70	20
4	Sonata VII Presto	21-24	7	18	Sonata XXI	71-74	21
5	Sonata VIII allegro	25-26	8	19	Sonata XXII	75-78	22
6	Sonata IX Allegro	27-2[8]	9	20	Sonata XXIII	79-82	23
7	Sonata X Presto	29-32	10	21	Sonata XXIV	83-86	24
8	Sonata XI	33-34	11	22	Sonata XXV	87-90	25
9	Sonata XII Presto	35-38	12	23	Sonata XXVI	91-94	26
10	Sonata XIII Presto	39-42	13	24	Sonata XXVII	95-98	27
11	Sonata XIV Presto	43-46	14	25	Sonata XXVIII	99-102	28
12	Sonata XV	47-50	15	26	Sonata XXIX Presto	103-106	29
13	Sonata XVI Presto	51-54	16	27	Sonata XXX Fuga Moderato	107-110	30
14	Sonata XVII Presto	55-58	17				

STOCKHOLM 5 [RISM id 190020671]

Provenance: from the library of the Royal Music Academy [Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket] Stockholm to its successor body, the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm in 1981.

Description: partial manuscript copy of *VI Sonate per il Cembalo solo composte dal Signore don Domenico Scarlatti* [i.e. Haffner 1, c. 1757], see Contents. Single unbound quire of 4ff (8 pages) in its present condition, but presumably lacking an outer bifolium that would have made up the 12 pages of Haffner's printed album. Ready-made booklet, 25.5 x 36.5 cms, pre-ruled throughout with a 9mm rastrum, twelve staves per page. Severe water staining to bottom half of pages resulting in some loss of material. Extremely fragile.

Copyist: a single, very elegant (professional?) hand has produced a virtual facsimile of HAFFNER 1.

Comments: at first glance, this manuscript looks identical to HAFFNER 1. Aside from omitting the page numbers and the volume number [LXXVII] at the foot of each page, the copyist has for the

most part respected the *mise en page* of the printed edition and the number of complete variant matches with HAFFNER 1 as against ESSERCIZI is exceptionally high. It seems likely that this manuscript was commissioned by a collector who was either unable to obtain a printed edition or unable to afford one.

Contents

No	[Pages]	K
[Title page]	[missing]	
Sonata Ima Vivace	3	125
Sonata Ilda Allegro	4-5	126
Sonata Illza Allegro	6-7	127
Sonata IVta Allegro	8-9	131
Sonata Vta Allegro	10 incomplete	183
[Sonata VIsta Allegro]	[11-12 missing]	[179]

STOCKHOLM 6 [RISM id 190004266]

Provenance: A. Lundevall, compiled either 1803 or 1807 (see below), to the Musikmuseet, Stockholm (S-Sm, now the Scenkonstmuseet) thence to the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden [Musik- och teaterbiblioteket], Stockholm.

Description: manuscript album of assorted works for keyboard, paper 31.5 x 20 cms; 23 unnumbered folios (numbered by library staff in pencil at foot of the page), bound into a light-brown paper wrapper with a single bifolium laid in at the end.

Cover: Stycke Bok / för / Claver / an^o 1807.

Inside cover: shelf mark 42/43/9449 in top lh corner.

Title page: shelf mark as above; Stycke Bok till Claver / Anno 1803 / flourish / A. Lundevall; wax seal bottom rh corner.

Copyist: single (amateur?) hand except for final bifolium.

Contents: assorted works for keyboard and operatic arias by Alberti, Handel (the 'Harmonious Blacksmith' air and variations), Agrell, Knölcke, Wagenseil, Galuppi, Zellbell, Johnsen, Uttini, Filtz, Homauer, Locatelli, Just and Anonymous. On f4r-v there is a 'Sonata Dell. Signor Schalati' (K10) in d, 3/8 (34+39 bars).