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Harpsichord vs Pianoforte in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Archival Investigations

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Unlike other European capitals such as London, Vienna, Paris and Madrid, little is known about the initial use of the pianoforte in Rome.¹ Despite a progressive decline in music in the city during the eighteenth century, the problem deserves to be examined. Indeed, the court of Cardinal Ottoboni in Rome had a piano from June 1709 onward, the maker being Bartolomeo Cristofori (on whom new information has been discovered). Major musicians gravitated to the Cardinal's court, including Domenico Scarlatti, who showed a lively interest in the instrument during his subsequent stay in the Iberian Peninsula.² Throughout the eighteenth century other major keyboard-instrument composers were operating in Rome, such as Domenico Alberti—to whom the well-known “Alberti bass” is traditionally attributed and whose previously unknown contacts with the Ottoboni court have emerged—and Muzio Clementi. Furthermore, the first pianoforte to appear in England came from that very city towards 1752: as is well known, it was the *opus unicum* by an English amateur living in Rome, a certain “Father Wood.”

The present research, largely based on the surviving documentation, has been spurred on by such questions, to which may be added the one regarding the kinds of stringed keyboard instruments Mozart and Burney encountered during their stay in Rome (1770). Although, after Cardinal Ottoboni's instrument, other pianos appeared in private circles more or less simultaneously with some capitals of northern Europe, like London and Paris, in Rome its public acceptance and use was

1. On the other hand, its introduction at public concerts took place in 1763 in Vienna, in 1767 in London, in 1768 in Paris and Dublin; see Howard Schott, “Harpsichord to Piano-transition,” in *Piano an Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, ed. Robert Palmieri (New York: Routledge, 2003), 166–8, at 167. As far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned, see Stewart Pollens, “The Early Portuguese Piano,” *Early Music* 13 (1985): 18–27; Id., *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chapter 5 (“The Iberian Pianoforte”).

2. David Sutherland, “Domenico Scarlatti and the Florentine Piano,” *Early Music* 23 (1995): 243–56; Stewart Pollens, “The Pianoforte in the Performance of Scarlatti's Sonatas,” in *Domenico Scarlatti in España / Domenico Scarlatti in Spain*, ed. Luisa Morales (Almeria: Asociaciòn Cultural LEAL, 2009), 301–11.

considerably delayed in comparison. The first new pianoforte to appear in the city dates back to 1768, and is of historical significance in that it belonged to Prince Sigismondo Chigi who, in 1770, arranged a private "academy": the star of this *accademia di musica* was the fourteen-year-old Mozart, who, contrary to what has been assumed thus far, actually found a pianoforte in Rome. Nothing is known of its provenance, though provenance is known for the next one reported in Rome, since its owner—Donato Maria Antinori, a Grand Prior of the Order of Malta—had it shipped from England in 1772 (it also appears to be the first imported into Italy). Of the next, acquired in London in 1775 by the Marchioness Margherita Sparapani Gentili Boccapaduli, even the name of the maker is known: Americus Backers.

With such instruments and with other similar ones immediately afterwards—such as that of Cardinal Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi (c1775–78), also employed in private academies—the English demonstrated their rapid understanding of the great future of the prototype that about twenty years earlier had been sent them from Rome itself. Their pianofortes continued to be the only ones imported into the city until the turn of the century, thanks also to the Industrial Revolution, which had facilitated the introduction of major technological innovations. These included metal bracing bars, already found in a "grand" imported by Agostino Chigi in 1793 at least seven years prior to the first documentary evidence of this practice. In Rome, however, throughout the entire second half of the eighteenth century, the present research has identified just eight pianos, mostly employed—on the same occasion and with equal importance—together with the traditional harpsichords. In like manner, the first compositions "per cembalo o pianoforte" date back only to 1792, written moreover by a composer from Spain living in the city, Tommaso Sognèr. As compared to the previous century, by that time the art of harpsichord-making in Rome was in full decline, so that it is not to be wondered at that the first autochthonous pianofortes are indicated only in the last decade of the century by makers who were not local but, as earlier in England, came from the Germanic area: the brothers Biagio and Carlo Arnoldi (natives of Trent, then a province of Austria), Mattia Schumeyer, and Johann Michael Schöllý (both "tedeschi").³

Besides the two instruments that form the subject of the present study, documents discovered indicate the existence of true rarities, such as an

3. On these makers see Patrizio Barbieri, "Piano and Piano-Makers in Nineteenth-Century Papal Rome," *Studi Musicali* n. s. 6-2 (2015): Section 5 (forthcoming). In *D. 1807* appears the first "pianoforte romanesco," valued at just 30 *scudi*.

instrument comprising three spinets combined together, a five-keyboard harpsichord (probably Francesco Nigetti's *Cembalo onnicordo*), and a richly decorated folding harpsichord. Furthermore, in terms of the usual keyboard instruments, in the eighteenth century the ducal family Altemps is known to have possessed a 16' harpsichord that, as early as 1620, had silver strings in the bass, the first testimony in this connection known so far.

The evolutionary scenario mentioned above will be based largely on hitherto unpublished archival evidence that has emerged from sampling hundreds of inventories of assets belonging to persons of rank (nobles, cardinals, musicians, and theater managers), as well as from some family archives; no references have been found in eighteenth-century printed sources, however.⁴ This material will be dealt with in the following sections:

1. Cristofori's piano at the court of Cardinal Ottoboni
2. Late harpsichords and the transition to the piano
3. Mozart in Rome and Prince Sigismondo Chigi's piano (1768–70)
4. Imported English pianos and early metal bracing
5. Cardinal Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi's keyboard instruments: *spinetta d'Inghilterra a martellina*, folding harpsichord, and *cembalo di cinque tastature*
6. Late harpsichord- and early piano-compositions in Rome

Appendix. Harpsichords and pianos in Roman inventories: an archival survey

Abbreviations used:

- AC-36-173 (and similar) = Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Archivio Generale Urbano*, sez. 36, vol. 173.
- AS = Rome, Archivio di Stato.
- ASAC-370 (and similar) = Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Notai dell'Auditor Cameræ*, vol. 370.
- ASDrago-477 (and similar) = Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Del Drago*, vol. 477.
- ASRCA-604 (and similar) = Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Notai della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, vol. 604.

4. Like the *Diario di Roma*, the *Effemeridi letterarie di Roma*, and the *Tariffe* published by the Reverenda Camera Apostolica regarding duties on imported and exported musical instruments. Even the very comprehensive *Gabinetto armonico* by Filippo Bonanni (1722, 1776) makes no mention of the piano (see note 56). The first commercial indices published in Rome date to the following century.

- AV = Rome, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, parrocchia di.
- AVOttob-15 (and similar) = Rome, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, *Archivio Ottoboni*, vol. 15.
- BCAntin-921 (and similar) = Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Ms SMA 921 (the 54 mss of the *Archivio Donato Maria Antinori* are shelf marked SMA 899-952).
- D.1740 (and similar) = reference to the 1740 document published in the Appendix.
- inv. = inventory of goods.
- inv. q^m = inventory of goods of the late.
- IRcas = Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense.
- TNC-12-625 (and similar) = Roma, Archivio di Stato, *Trenta Notai Capitolini*, ufficio 12, vol. 625.
- VAChigi-2708 (and similar) = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, *Archivio Chigi*, vol. 2708.
- VAOttoboni-95 (and similar) = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, *Computisteria Ottoboni*, vol. 95.
- VARosp-128 (and similar) = Vatican City, Archivio Segreto, *Archivio Rospijiosi*, vol. 128.
- VSBoncomp-1421 (and similar) = Vatican City, Archivio Segreto, *Archivio Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, vol. 1421.

1. Cristofori's piano at the Court of Cardinal Ottoboni. This section will deal initially with the process by which the instrument reached the Cardinal's court in 1709. A restoration in 1736, unknown until now, effectively confirms that it was a pianoforte and provides proof that it was equipped with the first type of action invented by Bartolomeo Cristofori: consequently, at that time it was still in perfect working condition. The events concerning the dispersal of the Cardinal's rich collection of keyboard instruments (1740–52) will then be examined. Lastly, among the musicians in contact with this fruitful environment has emerged an as yet unpublished name, that of Domenico Alberti.

1.1. An exchange of gifts. In his *Diario di Roma*, on June 11, 1709, Francesco Valesio refers to several curious "differences" that marked the visit to the Medici court by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, accompanied by Andrea Adami da Bolsena and other persons of his retinue:⁵

5. Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 4, ed. Gaetana Scano (Milan: Longanesi, 1978), 288.

Alle 22 hore ritornò in questa città da Firenze il cardinale Ottoboni col principe don Antonio suo padre, seguito da calessi e strascini. Fu colà ricevuto con ogni dimostrazione d'onore dal granduca e datogli quarto in palazzo, havendo portato in dono al medesimo una spina della corona del Redentore in reliquiario d'oro di singolare lavoro. Ha bensì colà incontrati de' dissapori per haversi seco condotti in qualità di gentilhuomini il Bolsena, musico castrato, per maggiordomo (ed havendolo il gran principe invitato a cantare, lo regalò di sei fiaschi di vino, trattandolo da castrone ordinario) et il cavaliere Sciarp, già perucchiero al Corso et, havendolo voluto mandare per un'ambasciata al gran prencipe, questo non lo volle ammettere; anzi dalla prima sera lo fece mangiare al tinello con gl'aiutanti di camera.

At 22 hours [= 6 p.m., according to Roman daylight saving time] Cardinal Ottoboni returned to this city from Florence with his father, Prince Don Antonio, followed by gigs and *strascini*. There he was received with every mark of honour by the Grand Duke in one of the palace apartments, having brought as a gift for the same a thorn from the Redeemer's crown in a most exquisite gold reliquary. However, he was met with displeasure for having brought with him as his gentlemen Bolsena, *musico castrato*, as maggiordomo (the Grand Duke, having invited him to sing, presented him with six flasks of wine, treating him as a *castrato ordinario*) and Cavaliere Sciarp, a former hairdresser on Via del Corso and, having wished to send a message by him to the Grand Duke, the latter would not admit him, even making him eat in the *tinello* with the chamber servants from the very first evening.

Less than one week later, on June 17, the Cardinal wrote to Grand Duke Ferdinando: "Signor Francesco de Castris heard the special *cembalo* that Your Highness favoured me with and showed satisfaction for the great advantage which I received thanks to Your most esteemed consideration."⁶ The documents indicated in Section 1.2 confirm that the instrument was actually a pianoforte. The reasons for such a gift could

6. Leto Puliti, "Della vita del Ser.^{mo} Ferdinando dei Medici Granprincipe di Toscana e della origine del pianoforte [...]," *Atti dell'Accademia del R. Istituto musicale di Firenze* 12 (1874): 92–240, at 148: "Il Sig.^r Francesco di Castris ha sentito il raro Cembalo, che mi ha favorito V. A. et ha mostrata consolazione del gran vantaggio da mè riportato nella di Lei stimatissima gratia."

include (1) the desire to smooth over the “differences” mentioned by Valesio and (2) to reciprocate in an appropriate manner the Cardinal’s munificent gift, recalling that in 1709 Cristofori had completed only three pianofortes and that the only one to leave Florence was this one sent to Rome.⁷ The Francesco De Castris mentioned in the letter was a castrato who—despite being “the highest paid musician in the history of the Medici court”—following disputes of a diplomatic nature had been forced to leave Florence in 1703 and move to Rome, lodging at the Florentine Embassy (Palazzo Madama, now the seat of the Senate).⁸ Recently, it has been suggested that this instrument did not come from Florence but, at the behest of Ferdinando, had been given by De Castris himself.⁹ In this connection, in his will dated 1703, the soprano Carlo Antonio Zanardi had bequeathed the latter a “cimbalo” by Bartolomeo Cristofori, but it is not known whether it was actually handed over to him, owing to judicial proceedings that ended only in 1739.¹⁰ Recent investigations by Giuliana Montanari have ascertained that this latter instrument was not a pianoforte, as some initially suggested, but a harpsichord built by Cristofori.¹¹ From the above, as well as from the tenor of the Cardinal’s letter, it would seem that the Grand Duke’s gift actually came from Florence.

Francesco De Castris died in Rome October 29, 1724, aged 65.¹² Among the assets of greatest value listed in the crowded inventory immediately drafted there also appears “a two-register *cembalo* with its cover

7. According to the result of what appears to be an interview given by Cristofori to Scipione Maffei: Laura Och, “Bartolomeo Cristofori, Scipione Maffei e la prima descrizione del ‘gravicembalo col piano e forte,’ ” *Il Flauto Dolce* 14–15 (April–October 1986): 16–23, at 21; an interview then partially included in [Scipione Maffei,] “Nuova invenzione d’un gravicembalo col piano, e forte; aggiunte alcune considerazioni sopra gli strumenti musicali,” *Giornale de’ letterati d’Italia* 5 (1711): 144–59.

8. On the related events, see Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 437–47.

9. Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte*, 53.

10. Carlo Vitali, “Un cantante legrenziano e la sua biografia: Francesco De Castris, ‘musico politico,’ ” *Giovanni Legrenzi e la cappella ducale di San Marco*, eds. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 584.

11. According to her kind private communication dated September 26, 2014, anticipating a forthcoming article.

12. AV San Luigi dei Francesi, *Liber defunctorum* VI, f. 12v: “Anno Domini 1724 die vero dominicâ 29^a octobris Ill.^{m̄us} d. Franciscus de Castris florentinus, aetatis suae anno circiter 65 in communione Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae repentina casu correptus, et per duos dies loquelâ et sensibus destitutus, sacramentali absolutione donatus, et olei Sancti unctione roboratus animam Deo reddidit, cuius corpus in hanc Ecclesiam noctū delatum sequenti die sepultum ibidem fuit.”

and legs, *scudi* 30.-,” a description that at such an early period could also refer to a pianoforte.¹³ Nothing is known of the fate of this instrument, since it was inherited by one of his brothers (Bonifazio), resident at Rocca Secca (in the Roman Campagna), the family’s place of origin.¹⁴ A rapid search for it in the State Archives at Latina has produced no results.¹⁵

1.2. The 1736 restoration of the “cembalo a martellini.” Nothing is known about the tuning and maintenance work carried out by Emilio Ghenni, Filippo Testa, and Pietro Cremisi on Ottoboni’s instruments in 1709–10, the period in which Ferdinando’s gift arrived.¹⁶ A document dated February 24, 1736, which has so far escaped the attention of scholars, provides the sole explicit confirmation that the instrument coming from Florence was effectively a pianoforte. It comprises a list of works performed by Giovanni Antonio Alari on the Cardinal’s keyboard instruments (*D.1736*). Relating to the pianoforte:

For dismantling the whole keyboard and counter-keyboard of the *cembalo a martellini* and replacing it and for fitting, where the keys rest and where the counter-keyboard ends under the hammers, two layers of deer leather and one of cloth, and one above the counter-keyboard, where the extremity of the hammers terminates, and for replacing all the dampers with deer leather, which, having been previously of cloth, were unsuitable, and with the action of the keyboard remained stuck between the strings, *scudi* 3.-.

13. TNC-8-291, 29.10.1724, inv. q^m Francesco de’ Castris: “[f. 428v] Un cembalo a due registri con sua coperta, e piedi, scudi 30.-.” Beside two carriages, horses and silverware, the inventory for his apartment in Palazzo Madama also mentions the following documents, unfortunately not specified in detail (f. 390v): “Nel primo cassetone apertore tre fasci di diverse relazioni di diverse corti parte manoscritte, e parte stampate circa i successi in diversi anni, oratori, sonetti, opere musicali, et altre lettere di niun momento.”

14. TNC-8-291, f. 543r, 2.12.1724: division into equal shares of the assets of Francesco De Castris, “de Arce Sicca Terracinensis Diocesis,” between his two brothers, Bonifazio and Vincenzo. The total value of assets inherited amounted to about 5,800 *scudi*. The *cembalo* was assigned to Bonifazio, but we do not know whether he took it to Rocca Secca, where he lived. Indeed, he ordered the Abate Stefano Domenico Macci to sell several unspecified items (TNC-8-292, f. 48r, 27.1.1725). The said sale appears to have come into effect the following year, when Macci handed over 334 *scudi* to “Bonifazio de Castris, figlio del quondam Domenico di Rocca Secca diocesi di Terracina, hora di Piperno” (TNC-8-295, f. 115, 2.8.1726).

15. I wish to thank Eugenia Mosillo for her assistance during my research in the archive. On Bonifazio De Castris only four deeds, dated 1725, have come to light, providing however no clarification of the matter (Latina, Archivio di Stato, *Archivio Notarile Mandamentale di Priverno*, notaio Agostino Gabioli, vol. 607, fs. 49, 51, 54, 263).

16. VAOttoboni-60, *Giustificazioni dei pagamenti*, year 1710 (January, July, November).

This corresponds perfectly to the first type of action invented by Cristofori, of which there is no surviving example, the sole description known being the one provided by Scipione Maffei in his famous essay dated 1711 (fig. 1).¹⁷ The term “counter-keyboard” (*controtastiera*) designates Cristofori’s “second lever,” introduced to increase the kinetic energy transferred to the hammer. Also fully in line with the action is the reference (1) to replacing the cloth on the dampers with deer leather to avoid their being caught up in the strings immediately above them,¹⁸ and (2) to the “double layer” (deer leather and cloth) indicated in fig. 1, letter *D*. The document is also important because it relates generally to the first known restoration of a pianoforte.

In his mentioned 1711 article, Scipione Maffei reports that “several professionals” had criticised Cristofori’s new invention also

perchè è paruto loro, che la voce di tale strumento, come differente dall’ordinaria, sia troppo molle, e ottusa; ma questo è un sentimento, che si produce nel primo porvi su le mani per l’assuefazione, che abbiamo all’argentino degli altri gravecembali; [...] È stata altresì opposta eccezione di non avere questo strumento gran voce, e di non avere tutto il forte degli altri gravecembali.

because they deemed the sound of the said instrument, being unusual, too soft and dull; but such a feeling is the result of first experience, owing to our habit of [hearing] the silvery [sound] of other harpsichords; [...] Fault was also found in the instrument’s lack of loudness, at its not having the whole strength of other harpsichords.

That the sound level of the pianoforte in those times was weaker than that of the harpsichord was again remarked on in 1829. Indeed, in speaking of the piano, Giacinto Amati states:¹⁹

17. [Maffei,] “Nuova invenzione d’un gravicembalo col piano, e forte,” 148–53 and plate VI.

18. This “red cloth” (*panno rosso*) is, for example, mentioned as early as 1700, in the document containing the first description of Cristofori’s “stromento che fa il piano e il forte”; see Marco Di Pasquale, “Cent’anni di pianoforte alla Corte di Toscana: dall’invenzione di Bartolomeo Cristofori alla caduta del Regno d’Etruria,” *Il museo degli strumenti musicali del conservatorio “Luigi Cherubini”* [...], ed. Mirella Branca (Livorno: Sillabe, 1999), 56–79, at 56.

19. Giacinto Amati, *Ricerche storico-critiche-scientifiche sulle origini, scoperte, invenzioni e perfezionamenti fatti nelle lettere, nelle arti e nelle scienze* [...], vol. 3 (Milan: Pirrotta, 1829), 253.

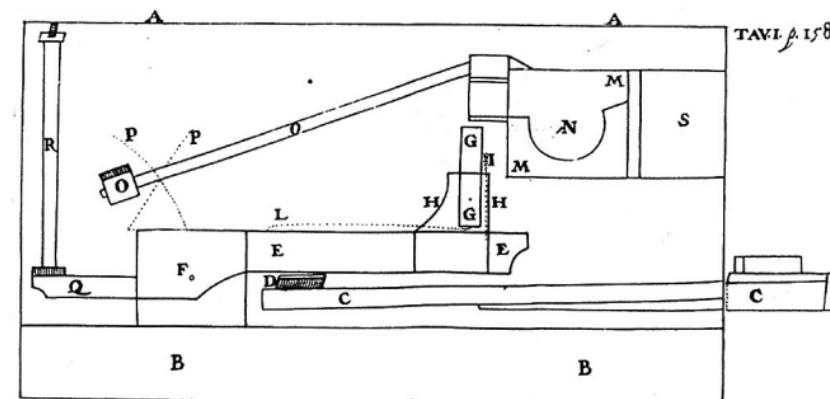


FIGURE 1. Early action of Cristofori's pianoforte (from [Maffei,] "Nuova invenzione," 1711, table between pp. 158–9). Of this action, document D.1736 refers to the following parts: A, string; B, key frame; C, key ("tastatura"); D, "two layers of deer leather and one of cloth;" E, lever ("contro tastatura"); F, pivot; O, hammer; Q, end of the lever, with "one layer" of cloth; R, damper, at the end of which Giovanni Antonio Alari replaced the original cloth with deer leather.

Non pertanto tutto non ha perduto ancora il merito suo il cembalo, il quale si usa alle volte per sonarvi il basso continuo nella esecuzione dei pezzi vocali a più voci, a motivo del forte suo suono.

Such observations are significant. Among the keyboard instruments inventoried in 1740 after the Cardinal's death, it is surprising to discover that the *cembalo a martellini*, restored just four years earlier, does not appear. On the other hand, one called the "mute cimbalo" is mentioned:²⁰

Un cimbalo d'ottava stesa à due registri, chiamato il cimbalo muto con cassa levatora, con sua copertina di corame con piedi à piramide di legno ingessati imbruniti mischi con filetti dorati stimato scudi 180.-.

Not all the merit of the harpsichord has been lost however, sometimes being used to play the *basso continuo* in performing pieces for several voices, owing to its strong sound.

A two-register cimbalo with *ottava stesa*, called the mute cimbalo, with ~~an extractable~~ case, with dressed leather cover, and pyramidal legs of darkened stuccoed wood with gilded ornaments, estimate *scudi* 180.-.

20. ASAC-1838, 5.3.1740, inv. q^m Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (the whole volume), f. 176v.

This inventory was first discovered and published in 1926 by Alberto Cametti; in it, the term *levat ora*, crossed out in the original text, was omitted.²¹ Such a deletion is important, however, because it emphasises that this is not an inner-outer-type instrument, i.e., with an extractable internal casing, a structure typical of most other harpsichords described in the inventory. In the light of this, it is highly probable that the instrument can be identified with the *cembalo a martellini* restored in 1736. The high estimate also indicates that, as can be deduced from the documents discussed below, the cost of such instruments, particularly those of the "grand" type, was on the average much higher than that of ordinary harpsichords. Furthermore, the one from Florence, considering the delicate diplomatic situation and the importance of the gift the Cardinal had given to the Grand Duke, probably must have had a particularly decorative casing, like the Cristofori pianoforte currently found in Leipzig.²² Ottoboni's instrument, on that occasion also recorded as a *cembalo muto*, was repaired in 1735 by Mattia Alari, the brother and collaborator of the already-mentioned Giovanni Antonio; as observed in a previous article, an examination of the related document leads to the conclusion that, in all probability, it can be identified as the *cembalo a martellini* in question.²³

As stated in the Introduction, in about 1752, a pianoforte made in Rome by a certain "Father Wood" arrived in England.²⁴ Charles Burney praised its sound, but noted, "the touch and mechanism were so imperfect that nothing quick could be executed upon it."²⁵ It is, therefore, probable that the maker, about whom nothing has emerged, copied Cristofori's heavy first action that, as we have seen, was the only one operating in Rome at that time.

21. Alberto Cametti, "I cembali del Cardinale Ottoboni," *Musica d'oggi* 8 (1926): 340.

22. Rosamond E.M. Harding, *The piano-forte – its history traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 2nd edn (Old Woking: Gresham Books, 1978), plate I, front p. 28 (Leipzig, Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, No. 170).

23. Patrizio Barbieri, "The Sordino: the Unsuspected Early Italian Tangent Piano 1577–1722," *Galpin Society Journal* 63 (2010): 49–60, at 58–9. The said document was published in Stefano La Via, "Il Cardinale Ottoboni e la Musica: Nuovi Documenti (1700–1740), Nuove Letture e Ipotesi," in *Intorno a Locatelli [...]*, vol. 1, ed. Albert Dunning (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 319–526, at 381–2.

24. Daniel E. Taylor, "England - Piano industry," in *Piano: An Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn., ed. Robert Palmieri (New York: Routledge, 2003), 124.

25. Charles Burney, "Harpsichord," in Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or Universal Dictionary* (London, 1819), republished in Pollens, *The EarlyPianoforte*, 225.

1.3. The auction of the Cardinal's keyboard instruments. At his death (February 29, 1740), Ottoboni left enormous debts, an initial partial estimate amounting to 172,614.33 *scudi*; he had at least sixty creditors, but there was no keyboard-instrument maker among them.²⁶ His assets were immediately auctioned; of the musical instruments listed in the original inventory dated March 1640, only the most modest appeared in the following December: a *piccola spinetta* in bad repair that raised a miserable 1.50 *scudi*.²⁷ Seeing that the business was going to be a lengthy one, in January 1742 his remaining creditors came to an agreement with the Duchess Maria Giulia Boncompagni Ottoboni, the Cardinal's heir, valid for four months, that included (1) drafting an inventory of unsold assets, (2) collecting the assets at a depot controlled by both parties, which was actually a ground-floor room in Palazzo Palombara, and (3) selling the assets by mutual agreement.²⁸ The related inventory, filed with the Reverenda Camera Apostolica in February 1742, shows that almost all the other musical instruments—*cembalo muto* included—were still unsold.²⁹ On the expiry of the agreed four months, on July 2, 1742, the sum obtained amounted to 3,017.39 *scudi*; the document does not, however, provide any other information about the keyboard string instruments, of which there is no further trace.³⁰ It has been possible only to ascertain that the pianoforte is not indicated in the inventories of the assets of the

26. AVOttob-42, file “Scandaglio de creditori della ch. memoria del Card. Pietro Ottoboni fatto da me Felice Pagani già computista di detta ch. memoria senza pregiudizio di più vere somme e di altri conti di creditori che si devono appurare, e sono 60 creditori in totale.”

27. AVOttob-72, file “Denari ritratti delle robbe esistenti nelle due guardarobbe, Anno 1740,” 3. Also sold between June 28 and July 6 of that year are “il cembalo venuto da Ostia” (p. 14, sold for 10 *scudi*) and “a cabinet for an organ with wooden pipes, all broken” (p. 11, sold for 1.50 *scudi*). On the Cardinal's quilled keyboard instruments, besides Cametti's 1926 article, see also the recent research by Teresa Chirico, “Noticias inéditas sobre instrumentos de teclado, constructores y músicos en Roma, en la corte del príncipe Cardenal Pietro Ottoboni entre los años 1689 y 1719,” in *Domenico Scarlatti en España / Domenico Scarlatti in Spain*, ed. Luisa Morales (Almería: Asociaciòn Cultural LEAL, 2009), 143–59.

28. ASRCA-604, f. 115, 25.1.1742 (“conventions”); ASRCA-605, f. 428, 29.11.1742 (appointment of a new custodian for said room, in the “palazzo detto di Palombara”). The palace belonged to the Savelli Palombara family up to 1790; at the beginning of the twentieth century it was demolished to make room for the new façade of the Parliament building, in present-day “Piazza del Parlamento.”

29. ASRCA-604, f. 193, 28.2.1742 (inventory). See also AVOttob-78/3, containing a copy of sold and unsold assets, updated to July 2, 1742.

30. AVOttob-72, file “Denari ritratti [...],” 48, on July 2, 1742, the last date recorded.

Cardinal's heirs and some of his creditors, drafted later than 1742.³¹ So far no other news has emerged about the Ottoboni pianoforte or who purchased it, even though Bernardo Gaffi may be deemed the most probable, as is seen in Section 1.4.

Of the keyboard instruments, it has been possible to find information about the most costly item in the collection, i.e., the organ decorated with the Ottoboni arms which, in the inventory dated March 1740, had been valued at as much as 300 *scudi*; its twelve stops included two Principals, Vox Humana, Flauto, Cornetto, Voce puerile, and the single rows of pipes constituting the Ripieno.³² Still unsold in the 1742 inventory, in 1752 it is found among the assets left by Duke Zenobio Savelli Palombara, who had managed to purchase it at the auction at a lower price (280 *scudi*). From the related documentation it also appears that the Duke had fitted the organ with wheels to move it around more easily and had also transformed it into a barrel organ, with "six tunes that it plays just with the wind from the bellows."³³ He then left it in his will to the Marquis Massimiliano Savelli Palombara, who lived in the same Palazzo Palombara in which the auction of 1742 took place (*D.1752a*); the inventory of the Marquis's goods dated 1753, however, indicates only a two-register harpsichord, but not the organ (*D.1753*).

31. For the Boncompagni Ottoboni family, see *D.1751a.1780.1803*. Payments to creditors are recorded in dozens of different deeds by a number of different notaries, dated up 1748: none however contains any reference to musical instruments (except for a harpsichord lent to the Cardinal by Andrea Adami, see note 39). No musical instrument is included either in the inventory of goods left by Cardinal Pompeo Aldrovandi (ASAC-5285, fs.140-309, 18.3.1752), another of the said creditors, in whose palace the "conventions" cited in note 28 were drawn up and who, as early as June 1743 displayed "the most noble gilded carriage" that had belonged to his deceased colleague Ottoboni, purchased by him: *Diario di Roma*, no. 4032 (June 1743), 3.

32. Cametti, "I cembali," 340. The maker of the instrument is unknown, since the documents make a general mention of as many as three organs: (1) in August 1712 payment was made of "scudi 0.60 dati alli facchini che hanno portato accomodare l'organo che è venuto da Venetia" and "scudi 0.60 dati alli suddetti per riportarlo in Cancellaria il suddetto organo" (VAOttoboni-64, *Giustificazioni di spesa*, August 1712); (2) on February 13, 1736 Giovanni Corrado Verlè (Werle) received 56 *scudi* "per un organo venduto al Cardinale Ottoboni" (supporting documents for expenses in VAOttoboni-95, on that date; receipt in VAOttoboni-57, on that date); (3) in July 1737 158 *scudi* were paid "a Giuseppe Alari organaro per un organo fatto a sue spese e di altri lavori fatti" (VAOttoboni-97, at that date). The only item that by reason of cost seems to be excluded is (2).

33. *D.1752a.b*. My thanks to Jennifer Montagu for bringing this interesting document to my attention. Barrel-actioned must have been also the "automatic spinet" registered in the assets left by Cardinal Antonio Ruffo (*D.1753b*).

1.4. Ottoboni's musicians and the problem concerning Domenico Alberti. Section 1.1 discussed the pianoforte given by the Grand Duke that reached Rome in June 1709. On the basis of this date, it can be excluded from consideration of having been employed for the famous challenge that took place at the Palazzo della Cancelleria between Domenico Scarlatti and Handel, since the latter had certainly left Rome at the latest by March 1 of the same year.³⁴ On the other hand, it would have been known to Scarlatti, who remained in the Eternal City until 1719 and until 1714 was at the service of Maria Casimira Sobieski, Queen of Poland. It has not been possible to discover what instruments were available at her court, but it is known that—after moving to the Iberian Peninsula—Scarlatti had every chance of performing on the *cembalo a martellini*.³⁵

That Ottoboni had his pianoforte restored in 1736, changing dampers and deer leather, shows it had continued to be played. It was certainly known to both Tommaso Bernardo Gaffi and "Haim" (very probably Sebastiano) who, at a ceremony at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, the church that forms part of Palazzo della Cancelleria, in 1737 played first and second organ respectively.³⁶ It is not known what opinion was expressed on the pianoforte by the former, the favourite pupil of Bernardo Pasquini and one of the most acclaimed performers on the Roman scene; all that can be said is that he was very wealthy and, at his death in 1744, he left four valuable string keyboard instruments, two by Mondini and one by "Pesaro;" the fourth—whose maker's name is not indicated, albeit the most costly of the four (110 *scudi*)—was a "cembalo" and its summary description could very well be that of a *cembalo a martellini*.³⁷ At

34. For this date, see Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli documents on Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 244.

35. Sutherland, "Domenico Scarlatti and the Florentine piano," 245–9. On Scarlatti's activities at Maria Casimira's court and on the latter's close relations with Cardinal Ottoboni, see the recent study by Tommaso Manfredi, "Arcadia at Trinità dei Monti. The urban theatre of Maria Casimira and Alexander Sobieski in Rome," *Melbourne Art Journal* 13 (2014): 179–217, at 196–203.

36. VAOttoboni-97, *Giustificazioni*, August 1737. On Sebastiano Haim (Haym) see La Via, "Il Cardinale Ottoboni," 482. A "Pastorale per organo e cembalo"—by A. Sebastian Haim, who in the second half of the eighteenth century was working for Prince Pamphilj's family—has been published in *Archivio Doria Pamphilj – Musica per tastiera dei secoli XVII–XVIII, vol. I*, ed. Armando Carideo (Latina: Il Levante, 2007), 72–3.

37. The excerpt from the inventory of Gaffi's assets has been published in Patrizio Barbieri, "Cembalaro, organaro, chitarraro e costruttore di corde armoniche nella *Poly-anthea technica* di Pinaroli (1718–32)," *Recercare* 1 (1989):147. Of the four instruments, the two most costly ones are described as follows: "Un cimbalo del Prete ottava stesa a

his death, Gaffi nominated a certain Carlo Antonio Como as his universal heir, with the obligation of taking on his surname;³⁸ in the inventory of the assets of Carlo Antonio's heir, his nephew Filippo, the fourth instrument is still clearly identifiable (*D.1780a*).

Of the other musicians gravitating around the court, the castrato Andrea Adami da Bolsena—the one involved in the diplomatic incident mentioned in Section 1.1—owned a not-better-identified *cembalo* lent by him to the Cardinal, the return of which he immediately demanded after the latter's death.³⁹ Ottavio Pitoni, *maestro di cappella* occasionally employed by the Cardinal for services at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, owned two positive organs.⁴⁰ Giovanni Battista Costanzi, cellist and salaried *maestro di cappella* at the Palazzo, owned a not-better-identified *cembalo*;⁴¹ even less is known of his brother Augusto, also recorded in 1722–27 working for the Cardinal as cembalo player.⁴²

due registri cassa levatora con piedi intagliati color di noce et oro e con legivo dentro e sua fodera di corame, scudi 70.-; [...] Un cimbalo a due registri foderato di damasco cremisi bollettato con bollette dorate, e figurata la cassa di dentro con piedi di legno intagliato bianco, e sua coperta di corame, scudi 110.-."

38. TNC-10-17, f. 551, 11.2.1744, reading of the will of Tommaso Bernardo Gaffi; from this document, drafted with almost maniacal care, we also learn that Mondini's spinet mentioned in the inventory of his goods had two registers, and was left by him to a Ferdinando and a Giovanni Pellegrini (f. 573). Carlo Antonio Como died on October 24, 1769 leaving neither children nor will, so that his nephew Filippo was made his universal heir. The related inventory of assets includes an instrument generally mentioned as "un cimbalo," which is not given a valuation, being part of the goods assigned from Bernardo Gaffi as *fideicommisso*: TNC-10-539, f. 537, 24.10.1769.

39. It had already been indicated in 1730–35, in the accounts for a long series of tunings of instruments at the Cancelleria carried out by Simone Cremisi (VAOttoboni-95, *Giustificazioni*, January 1736). This was one of the *cembali* mentioned in the inventory of the Cardinal's goods, as stated in the demand for its return made by Andrea Adami (ASRCA-601, f. 538, 13.11.1640); in October 1742 the instrument must clearly have been sold, since it is replaced by 20.60 *scudi* paid to Giuseppe Maria Adami, "nipote" of the late Andrea (ASRCA-605, f. 322, 2.10.1742). The minute sum involved excludes any possibility of its being a pianoforte.

40. TNC-18-727, f. 236, 4.3.1743, inventory of the goods of the late Ottavio Pitoni. A payment of 40.60 *scudi*, made to him in 1726 for "the music at San Lorenzo in Damaso," is for example recorded in VAOttoboni-83, *Giustificazioni*, March 31, 1726.

41. Which then, in 1786, his wife Apollonia bequeathed to Sante Pascoli, *maestro di cappella* at the Chiesa Nuova; see Alberto Cametti, "G.B. Costanzi, violoncellista e compositore," *Musica d'oggi* 6 (1924): 3–6, 39–43, at 41 (present shelf-mark of the will: TNC-37-476, f. 19, 10.1.1786, see f. 21r). In 1777 Sante Pascoli is indicated as a *cembalo*-player for the Marchesa Boccapaduli, who had purchased a pianoforte from Backers in the previous year (Section 4.2).

42. La Via, "Il Cardinale Ottoboni," 484.

These men certainly belonged to the Palazzo della Cancelleria circle. With regard to musicians operating in other areas, Eva Badura-Skoda suggests it is “highly plausible” that both Domenico Alberti (*c*1713–1746) and Francesco Durante (1684–1755) developed their innovative technique on the pianoforte.⁴³ From about 1736, Alberti was at the service of the Marquis Giovanni Carlo Molinari.⁴⁴ During the present research, it has been ascertained that the Molinari in question (Milan 1715–Brussels 1763) can be identified with the one who, from as early as 1724, was in close contact with Cardinal Ottoboni; indeed, in that year, the extremely young Marquis was granted the abbey of Chiaravalle (near Milan).⁴⁵ Molinari, who in the meantime had followed an ecclesiastical career, in about 1737–40 must have been an habitué of Ottoboni’s court, since in March 1740—having temporarily moved back to his native Milan—several items of his furniture are recorded at Palazzo della Cancelleria, inventoried together with those of the deceased Cardinal, including “a short two-register *cembalo* with extractable case,” which was most probably a harpsichord.⁴⁶ Although explicit confirmation is lacking, Domenico Alberti must certainly have been familiar with Ottoboni’s pianoforte, which was at that time in perfect condition. Still at the service of Molinari, who in the meantime had been promoted *Monsignore*, Alberti died in Rome on October 14, 1746, at the age of thirty-three (according to the parish registers).⁴⁷ In speaking of Roman harpsichord

43. Eva Badura-Skoda, “Clementi e il ‘cimbalo con piano e forte,’” in *Muzio Clementi. Studies and prospects*, eds Roberto Illiano, Luca Sala and Massimiliano Sala (Bologna: UT Orpheus, 2002), 254.

44. Michael Talbot, “Alberti, Domenico,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 303.

45. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 4, 540, 567.

46. Cametti, “I cembali,” 340–41 (“un cembalo corto a due registri con cassa levatorta”). The other furniture included a chest of drawers, a prayer-stool and a small table, of which the keys of the drawers were with the “Illustrissimo Signor Abate Molinari,” in Milan; it is stated that the said small table, like the other furniture, had been “brought by him to where they are now” (ASAC-1838, fs. 127r-133r, 5.3.1740).

47. AV San Marco, *Liber defunctorum* 3, f. 158v: “Die 15 octobris 1746. / III.^{m̄us} D. Dominicus Alberti Venetus aetatis suae annorum circiter 33 receptis Ecclesiae sacramentis animae commendatione munitus et in articulo suae mortis adjutus heri in Communione S. M. E. animam Deo reddidit, et hodie in hac Ecclesia sepultus fuit.” Again in the early months of the same year Alberti was recorded as being in the same parish, in the suite of Monsignor Molinari, together with a certain Gio. Valentini, Antonio Scysher (or Schefer, of about forty years) and various servants (AV San Marco, *Status animarum*, 1746, f. 53v).

players, but extending his opinion to all Italian composers for the instrument, Charles Burney provides evidence that his new *galant* idiom—which probably had developed during his stay in Rome—was still in full fashion in 1770: “It seems as if Alberti was always to be pillaged or imitated in every modern harpsichord lesson.”⁴⁸ Again in connection with his purported use of the pianoforte, it has not been possible to carry out investigations on the instruments owned by Molinari after 1740, since his brilliant ecclesiastical career bore him rapidly away from Rome to Brussels, where he died in 1763 as Apostolic Nunzio.⁴⁹

2. Late harpsichords and the transition to the piano. The archival research on which this study is based is greatly hindered by the decline of music in eighteenth-century Rome. Particularly in the second half of the century, this led to a general rarity of musical instruments cited in the documentation, often limited—where present at all—to the usual two-register harpsichords.⁵⁰ Unlike the previous century, workshop inventories of keyboard string instrument makers are wholly absent, which would have provided certain indications about the spread of the pianoforte during the century; after the inventories of Filippo Fabri (1691) and Giacomo Ridolfi (1700), the next one encountered is that of Domenico Petrelli (1821).⁵¹ As seen in Section 4 also, this decline occurred parallel to the general weakening of the Italian economic situation, which—after the Cinquecento, by some termed the “golden century”—became progressively manifest and then worsened decisively in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵²

48. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* [...] (London: Becket, 1771), 288.

49. On his ecclesiastical career, see *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi* [...], vol. 6 (1730–1799) (Padova: Il Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1958), 191.

50. Some three-register harpsichords, however, are still present: *D.1714.1737.1738* (two), *1742a.c.1743b.1748.1752b.1753c.1757.1763.1766.1785.1788*. On the situation in earlier times, see Barbieri, “Harpsichords and spinets in late Baroque Rome,” *Early Music* 11 (2012): 55–72.

51. Patrizio Barbieri, “I cembalari della Roma di Bernardo Pasquini: un censimento, con aggiornamenti sui loro strumenti,” in *Pasquini Symposium. Atti*, ed. Armando Carideo (Trento: Giunta della Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2012), pp. 139–53, at 143–4 (Fabri) and 148–9 (Ridolfi); (Barbieri, “Piano and piano-makers in nineteenth-century Papal Rome,” Section 8 [Petrelli]). Even in the workshop of the organ-builder Giovanni Battista Testa, who owned a three-register harpsichord, no tools for tuning or repairing quilled keyboard instruments are present (*D.1753c*).

52. Renata Ago, *Il gusto delle cose. Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli, 2006), 122.

2.1. Questions of terminology. In Rome, the term *cembalo a martellini* is the first to be used for the pianoforte (G. A. Alari, 1736). It is also used by Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli who, in his *Polyanthea technica* (1718–32), says, speaking of *cembali*: “They are also made with *martellini* and, instead of quills, are touched by small *martellini* made of wood or of cardboard lined with leather, so that their harmony is quite different from quills.”⁵³ The expression “*cembalo a martellino*” or “*a martello*” is again used in 1769, referring to an instrument of the Chigi family (see Section 3). Starting from the third quarter of the century, various other terms are used, many of which contain an explicit reference to England, the main source for such instruments at that time (*D.1772a.1783.1786.1790a.1793a.1797.1809.1811a*). From this period on, in several fortunate cases the harpsichord is identified using the term *cembalo a penna* (“quilled cembalo”: *D.1785b.1800.1809a.1825*). As Badura-Skoda notes for Italy in general, in Rome the term “pianoforte” appears rather late (in *D.1775*, at least according to the documentation discovered).⁵⁴ It should also be noted that, again in Rome, the expression “forte-piano” is never used, although it is found in particular in Viennese editions of music published at the turn of the century (see, for example, those mentioned in Section 6).

It has been pointed out that even some of the *cembali* generically recorded as such by the junk dealers who drew up the inventories may well have been pianos.⁵⁵ In such cases, whether or not it is a harpsichord is often revealed by decisive details in the related description, such as particular “baroque”-style decorations and more especially the price of the instrument. As can be deduced from the documents relating to the eighteenth century published in the Appendix, for ordinary harpsichords the average price was lower, often much lower, than that of a pianoforte of the same quality. Indeed, the average price for harpsichords was from 5 to 20 scudi, whereas for pianos it was more than 50, even for the so-called “table” type. This latter fact delayed the spread of *cembali a martellini* in a city that, already financially weak by its very nature, was, in the eighteenth century, going through an economic

53. Original text in Barbieri, “Cembalaro, organaro,” 139–40.

54. Badura-Skoda, “Clementi,” 250–51 (which points out that, in Germany on the other hand, the said term was already in use in about 1730).

55. See, for example, Badura-Skoda, “Clementi,” 252. I wish to thank Denzil Wright for providing me with valuable information on Italian pianos of the period, particularly on their casework and compass.

depression. Their restricted spread is also confirmed by the fact that Filippo Bonanni's *Gabinetto armonico*, which describes even the most insignificant musical instrument, does not mention the pianoforte even in its 1776 revised edition.⁵⁶

2.2. Typical eighteenth-century Roman harpsichords. From a technical point of view, the harpsichord in this period is not substantially different from the previous century, in marked contrast with what was happening in England, for example. Its external aspect is different, however, often featuring a pearl-gray lacquered "smooth case" with gold or silver finishings (*D.1748.1753a.1762.1765.1767.1775a,d.1783.1790a.1791.1792.a*). Pursuing a tradition already reported at least as early as the middle of the previous century, they were sometimes decorated with *figure all'indiana* (*D.1710.1736b*);⁵⁷ starting from the second third of the century, these were replaced by chinoiseries (*D.1737d.1746.1752d.1755.1794a*).

The spread of the pianoforte was also further delayed by the conservative noble Roman families who were often reluctant to get rid of their ancestral harpsichords, in some cases made by famous makers such as Girolamo Zenti and Giuseppe Mondini.⁵⁸ Such instruments were sometimes richly painted by artists including Gaspare Dughet Poussin (*D.1753a.1788b*), Giovanni Ghisolfi (*D.1744b*), Tintoretto (*D.1743a*, by whom only the painted lid is registered) and Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1740, Ottoboni inventory). A reference to a harpsichord belonging to Marquis Costaguti makes a point of remarking that it was decorated with "a battle, the work of Monsù Enrico Vespez Fiammingo, even though the

56. Filippo Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico pieno d'istromenti sonori [. . .]* (Rome: Placho, 1722); Id., *Descrizione degli strumenti armonici d'ogni genere [. . .], seconda edizione riveduta, corretta, ed accresciuta dall'abate Giacinto Ceruti* (Rome: Monaldini, 1776).

57. A harpsichord and a spinet "rabescati all'indiana" are, for example, reported at Florence in 1666, as belonging to Carlo de Medici; see Giuliana Montanari, "Strumenti a corde a tastiera della guardaroba medicea nel XVII secolo, II: 1650–1670," *Informazione organistica* 21 (2009): 189–232, at 201.

58. *D.1743.1769.1794a*. Cardinal Ottoboni and Bernardo Gaffi also owned instruments by Mondini; we have seen that the latter also owned one by Domenico da Pesaro. In *D.1760* the name of a thus far unknown maker emerges, on a spinet bearing the inscription "Blasij Amati a Gates MDCXXXVII." In the inventory of Prince Alessandro Ruspoli, dealing with his possessions in Rome and Vignanello, are listed seven quilled keyboard instruments (*D.1779*): one of them—completely carved and gilded, and valued as much as 100 *scudi*—could be the same as the splendid harpsichord depicted by Sebastiano Ceccarini in his *Allegory of five senses* (1745), on which see Barbieri, "Harpsichords and spinets," fig. 1 and note 2.

book entitled *Sinopsi* says it is painted by Guido Reni" (*D.1753a*). Famous in this connection were the two at Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi:

1. The first, decorated with paintings by Ludovico Gimignani (1643–97), was made at some time between 1682 and 1697 (it is no longer at the palace, having been sold at auction in 1932).⁵⁹ As long as 330 cm and provided with the *ottava stesa*, it was in all probability of the type then known as *all'ottava bassa*, i.e., based on a 16' register. In a so-far-ignored inventory dated 1769 (*D.1769*) it is called *del Prete*, i.e., the work of the Abbot Giuseppe Mondini (1658–1719), the best-quoted maker operating in Rome at the turn of the century.
2. The second, whose maker is unknown, is deemed to have been made between 1725 and 1730.⁶⁰ Although very similar to the first in construction and decoration, in the already-mentioned inventory *D.1769* it is valued at just 50 *scudi*, as compared with 100 for the former.⁶¹ Still kept at the palace, a rapid survey has confirmed that the term *ottava stesa*, explicitly mentioned in the document, in Rome designated the compass *GG, AA, BB-flat, BB-c''* (in line with what is read in Pinaroli's contemporary *Polyanthea*).⁶² It is an inner-outer two-register harpsichord (2×8'), with Pythagorean scaling extended at the bottom to the last 2–3 keys; accidental keys white, the others black.⁶³

59. Ettore Sestieri, *Catalogo della raccolta di quadri, sculture, arazzi, oggetti d'arte e ammobiliamento che arredava l'appartamento di S. E. il principe Don Gerolamo Rospigliosi [. . .]* (Rome: Casa di vendita Guido Tavazzi, 1932), 109–10, no. 566 ("spinetta Rospigliosi"), with photographic illustrations (plates 50, 51, 52); Gemma Di Domenico Cortese, "Profilo di Ludovico Gimignani," *Commentari. Rivista di critica e storia dell'arte* 24–4 (1963): 234–65, at 259 (who managed to view the instrument belonging to private parties); Daniela De Castro, *Il palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi e la Galleria Pallavicini* (Rome: Allemandi, 1999), 278, 292.

60. De Castro, *Il palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi*, 324; the volume also gives the length (275 cm) and provides photographic reproductions. The latter can also be found, together with those of its "twin" instrument, in Giancarlo Sestieri, *Repertorio della pittura romana della fine del Seicento e del Settecento*, vol. 2 (Torino: Allemandi, 1994), plates 508–510 ("ottava alta") and 511–512 ("ottava bassa").

61. The 100 *scudi* also appear in *D.1752d*. Such quotations could however vary, even by a great deal. In the 1784 inventory, the two instruments are for example valued at 20 and 50 *scudi*, respectively (*D.1784*).

62. Barbieri, "Cembalaro," 136, where Pinaroli states that the said octave comprised 54 keys, also including *GG*[#], which is not present on the Pallavicini instrument.

63. I wish to thank Luisa Capaccioli, of the palace administration, for having facilitated my survey on November 17, 2014.

2.3. Clavicytherium and compound harpsichord-spinet instruments. A type of harpsichord that seems to have become obsolescent is the one popularly called *in piedi* (standing), i.e., the clavicytherium. Indeed, inventories belonging to the second half of the century contain only one, “with its table stand, with a pearl-grey case decorated in gold” (*D.1783*). Sometimes the special structure of such instruments made them the objects of highly original casing, like the one recorded at Palazzo Odescalchi in 1700:⁶⁴

Vi è un gran' cembalo con cassa, e piedi tutto dorato, oltre un altro minore in piedi di bell'inventione, la cassa del quale tutta dipinta di fiori al naturale hā per piede un albero delicatamente lavorato, e tutto messo à oro.

There is a large harpsichord, its case and legs all gilded, as well as a smaller standing one of good make, its casing entirely painted with natural-looking flowers and its foot a tree, delicately carved and all of gold.

The clavicytherium, as compared to ordinary harpsichords, was on occasion preferred, owing to the better diffusion of its sound, as stated by Pinaroli in his *Polyanthea technica*. Proof of this is found in 1700 when the Philippine fathers of the Chiesa Nuova in Rome requested Giuseppe Mondini to replace their two-register harpsichord with a three-register clavicytherium.⁶⁵ Mondini was a well-known maker of such instruments, erroneously also reputed to be their inventor.⁶⁶ Indirect evidence of this is also provided by Fr. Teodorico Pedrini (Fermo 1671–Peking 1746), a missionary in China and master of music at the Imperial Court. In a letter to Rome in 1711, he requests his superiors to send to him in Peking, among other items,⁶⁷

64. Antonio Bassani, *Viaggio a Roma della S.^a R.^{le} M.^{ta} di Maria Casimira regina di Polonia [. . .]* (Rome: D.A. Ercole, 1700), 194.

65. Arnaldo Morelli, “Storia della cembalaria e tipologia della documentazione. Alcuni esempi,” in *Fiori Musicologici. Studi in onore di Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini [. . .]*, ed. François Seydoux (Bologna: Pàtron, 2001), 392–3.

66. Barbieri, “Cembalaro,” 139.

67. A kind private communication by Gabriele Tarsetti on July 3, 2007. See also *Teodorico Pedrini*, ed. Centro Studi Teodorico Pedrini, Fermo, http://www.conservatorio.net/cms/testi.php?id_rub=129370569800000&id_testo=133136599473108 (accessed December 14, 2014). A clavicytherium was actually sent to the Imperial Court, although it is not known whether Mondini was the maker. Nothing at all is known about the “cembalo piccolo di nuova foggia”: it could be assumed to be a folding harpsichord (“cembalo piegatore”) whose invention Pinaroli attributes to Mondini, the maker operating at the church of S. Agnese in Agone, still today the private chapel of the princely Pamphilj family.

qualche cimbalo buono, uno grande, e l'altro piccolo di nuova foggia. Qualcheduno di quelli fatti da un Prete del Signor Principe Pamfilio in S. Agnese, che stanno in piedi come un organo, non sarebbe cattivo, essendo ben dipinto, e dorato.

Another instrument that had fallen into disuse comprised three spinets or harpsichords with the keyboards arranged so they could be played simultaneously by three people. In 1793, one of these is still recorded as belonging to the princely Chigi family, probably the same one they owned in 1666 and never, however, mentioned in the tuner's accounts for the eighteenth century (*D.1793a*). A simpler version of this type of instrument, similarly fallen into disuse, was the one combining a harpsichord with a single spinet, such as the one owned in 1656 by Duke Giordano Orsini, mentioned only up to 1676.⁶⁸

2.4. Piano vs harpsichord. Going on to the *accademie di musica* that many noble families used to arrange, starting at least from 1769 the Chigi academies employed not only the harpsichord but also their own *cembalo a martelletto* (see Section 3). Other families, even at a much later date, however, had only quilled keyboard instruments at their disposal.⁶⁹

Discussing Cristofori's piano, in 1711 Scipione Maffei reports that it was ideal "for accompanying a singer," but only if used as a "chamber instrument": the intensity of its sound—still fairly limited—made it unsuitable for large halls.⁷⁰ So, probably the pianos were not used in the theater,

a few good harpsichords, a large one and the other small of the new type. One of those made by a [certain] priest of Prince Pamfilio at S. Agnese, which stand like an organ, wouldn't be bad, being well-painted and gilded.

68. TNC-9-354, 27.3.1656, inv. q^{1m} Duke Paolo Giordano Orsini: "[f. 263r] Un cimbalo a coda da tre registri, scudi 25.-; [f. 294v] Un cimbalo con una spinettina guarnita di taffetano con passamano d'oro usato assai e guasto, scudi 10.-" (f. 326r-v lists the enormous debts left by the Duke, amounting to almost 300,000 scudi, which heavily mortgaged the future of this illustrious family). On such kinds of instrument, also to be found at the Florentine court, see Barbieri, "Harpsichords and spinets in late Baroque Rome," 60.

69. *D.1781.1785*. A further example is that of the Marquis Giuseppe Rondanini, whose wife, during the period 1786–92, paid a monthly fee to the then-famous *maestro di cappella* Giovanni Cavi and the violinist Raimondo Gibellini (Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Archivio Capranica*, vols. 83–835, *Giustificazioni di spesa*). The palace had only one three-register harpsichord, regularly tuned by Nicola Palazzi, who in 1788 also restored it (*Idem*, vol. 831, *Giustificazione* no. 323, 23.7.1788).

70. [Maffei,] "Nuova invenzione," 146–7.

albeit documentary proof is lacking, since as a rule the managers hired the keyboard instruments needed for the season.⁷¹ In this connection, the inventories of goods left by two nobles who were theater managers at the Teatro Argentina are interesting: Angelo Gabrielli owned as many as three harpsichords (*D.1775b*) and Girolamo Teodoli, who was also the architect of the theater, had just one, but provided with three registers (*D.1766*).

Section 3 notes that, in 1768–71 with the Chigi family, pianoforte and harpsichord were treated with the same importance. In Rome, the co-existence of the two instruments is again recorded in 1811, at the palace of Marquis Girolamo Muti Papazzurri (*D.1811a*), in which year his son Raffaele was also present. In 1821 the latter went on to found the Accademia Filarmonica Romana, and himself became an appreciated composer.⁷² The presence of quilled keyboard instruments, albeit increasingly sporadic and in bad repair, continued to be recorded in Roman houses nearly up to mid-century (*D.1816–1847*).

3. Mozart in Rome and Prince Sigismondo Chigi's piano (1768–70). The aim of this section is to ascertain what musicians and keyboard instruments the fourteen-year-old Mozart encountered in Rome, during his 1770 stay.⁷³ Contrary to what has been hitherto believed, he not only encountered harpsichords, but also a piano.

3.1. Mozart and Prince Chigi's academies. According to a 1806 memoir, in his early trip to France, the seven-year-old Wolfgang "gave a performance on the piano-forte" at the Court of Versailles, but when he stayed in

71. See e. g. the complete inventory of the Teatro Argentina drafted in 1747, which contains no musical instrument, not even in the rehearsal room: TNC-25-594, f. 93, 25.9.1747 (the theatre then belonged to Duke Filippo Sforza Cesarini). We also know that at the Teatro Valle, in January and March 1754, Mattia Alari was paid for the hire and tuning of the "cembali": AS, *Camerale III*, B. 2138, folding "Roma. Teatro Valle 1754."

72. Alberto De Angelis, *La musica a Roma nel secolo XIX* (Rome: Bardi, 1935), 20. In the inventory of goods left by him in 1858 no musical instrument is recorded, being only mentioned "a quantity of musical scores belonging to the Deceased," not better specified, and many papers dealing with legal disputes (ASAC-36-173, unnumbered pages, 24.3.1858, inv. q^m Marquis Raffaele Muti Papazzurri).

73. For reliable general references to Mozart's stay, see Rudolph Angermüller, *Mozarts Reisen in Italien* (Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 1994), 84–96; Alberto Basso, *I Mozart in Italia [. . .]* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2006), 72–9; *Tutte le lettere di Mozart. L'epistolario completo della famiglia Mozart 1755–1791*, vol. 1, ed. Marco Murara (Varese: Zecchini, 2011), 314–27, 345–9.

Rome in 1770, "he gave a great musical academy, at which he played his own compositions on the harpsichord, since, to the young player's regret, the piano-forte was not yet in use there."⁷⁴ The document continues, saying that, despite this fact, he played with such skill as to make the superstitious Roman audience believe that "in that shining ring on his finger, some invisible magical virtue must be hidden," so that Wolfgang decided to take it off to convince them of their mistake. Again, in Rome a little more than sixty years earlier, the same story had occurred with the young Handel: in his case, the presumed magical virtues had, however, been attributed to the fact that, unexpectedly asked to play the harpsichord during an informal gathering, he kept his hat pressed between his elbow and body during the performance (and, in order to demonstrate that his dexterity did not depend on it, he at once decided to remove it).⁷⁵

Today, such information must be partly rectified. First and foremost, the matter of the ring appears to have occurred not in Rome, but during a performance in Naples at the Conservatorio della Pietà, albeit in the same year.⁷⁶ As far as Versailles is concerned, moreover, although he had most certainly been in contact with the pianoforte previously, it was on the harpsichord that he performed at the French court.⁷⁷ More importantly, on the occasion of his first Roman *accademia*, he actually did find a

74. Giuseppe Antonio Guattani (ed.), *Memorie encyclopediche romane sulle belle arti, antichità etc.*, vol. 1 (Rome: Salomon, 1806), 107–12, at 108–9 (in Rome "egli diede una grande accademia, in cui fece sentire le sue proprie composizioni sul gravicembalo, non essendovi, con rincrescimento del giovine suonatore, ancora in uso i piano-forti. Nientemeno egli suonò collo stesso trasporto ed entusiasmo con cui creava le sue composizioni [...]"). Guattani premises that the said pages reproduce the article "Alcune memorie intorno la vita e agli studi del celebre compositore Mozart," *Nouvelles politico-letterarie di Mantova*, 4.1.1806, rubrica "Varietà letterarie."

75. Ursula Kirkendale, "Orgelspiel im Lateran und andere Erinnerungen an Händel. Ein unbeachteter Bericht in *Voyage historique* von 1737," *Die Musikforschung* 41 (1988): 1–9, at 3.

76. *Mozart in Italia*, eds Guglielmo Barblan and Andrea Della Corte (Milan: Ricordi, 1956), 245.

77. Howard Schott, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756–1791)," in *The harpsichord and clavichord. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Igor Kipnis (New York: Routledge, 2007), 340–41, at 341 (on Versailles). As far as his previous contacts with the pianoforte are concerned, in note 1 we saw that the earliest recorded recitals in Vienna and London on this instrument are recorded in 1763: thus, during the tour of 1764–65 in London, most probably Wolfgang became acquainted with it. Anyway, the earliest account of his performing on the piano was written by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart in 1775: W. Richard Shindle, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus," in *Piano an Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, ed. Robert Palmieri (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 241–7, at 243–4.

pianoforte: at the palace of Sigismondo Chigi, the prince who was a patron of the arts and sciences, there was a *cembalo a martellino* from as early as 1768, the first recorded in Rome after the one belonging to Cardinal Ottoboni. This instrument, “repaired” by Gioacchino Martelli in 1769, until 1771 is recorded as being tuned every month by a certain Michele Saccone.⁷⁸ In the very same palace on the highly central Piazza Colonna and in the very same years, a monthly tuning was carried out—but in this case by a different maker, Nicola Palazzi—on the harpsichord, apparently a two-keyboard one, belonging to the very young wife of Sigismondo, Princess Flaminia Odescalchi Chigi (1750–1771). As ancillary information, it is interesting to note that in the same palace as early as 1767, the existence is recorded of a “swivel chair with three legs,” placed beside a *cembalo*: this is the second documented report of a chair similar to the ordinary three-leg swivel stools that stood in front of the piano in every drawing room from the following century onwards.⁷⁹

These two instruments were evidently employed at the *academies* organised every Friday evening at the Prince’s palace on Piazza Colonna; the *maestro al cembalo* was Giuseppe Lafaggi (La Fage, Lafage, Lafagi,

78. D.1769–70. My research on this matter has been greatly facilitated by Luigi Cacciaglia, of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, whom I wish to thank. Of Gioacchino Martelli (c1732–1791) we know only that years earlier he had restored, for the considerable sum of 280 *scudi*, the famous *Galleria armonica* of Marquis Verospi: Patrizio Barbieri, “Michele Todini’s *galleria armonica*: its hitherto unknown history,” *Early Music* 30 (2002): 565–82, at 577. He died on December 6, 1791, aged about 59, and was buried at S. Luigi dei Francesi “peractas solemnies exequias” (AV S. Luigi dei Francesi, *Liber mortuorum* 17, f. 129v); he left as his universal heir his wife, Maria Pangalli (TNC-9-1054, f. 86, 3.12.1791: the will, which also cites the future Cardinal Rusconi as “suo degnissimo padrone”). About the biography of Michele Saccone, a maker whom we shall encounter below, nothing else is known.

79. D.1767. The first documented report of swivel chairs most likely used for string keyboard instruments is to be found, as early as 1628, in a hitherto unnoticed account of the famous Oratorio del Ss. Crocifisso di S. Marcello (Rome), where also Girolamo Frescobaldi was engaged as a harpsichord player: “Per un regale, una spinetta, una cassa di noce, et una sedia da girare, scudi 75.-” (For a regal, a spinet, a walnut case, and a swivel chair, *scudi* 75.-): Vatican City, Archivio Segreto, *Archivio Crocifisso di S. Marcello*, vol. F.XIX.20, on May 7, 1628; Id., vol. F.XIX.26, on March 1640 (1.20 *scudi* paid to Frescobaldi for playing the harpsichord at an oratorio). During the survey mentioned in note 63 it was noticed that the three-legged chair beside the Pallavicini harpsichord, dated to around the mid-eighteenth century, was also a swivel type (photo in Daniela De Castro, “Schede,” in De Castro, *Il palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi*, 326, no. 25). Another “*sedia giratoria*” is registered in AC-57-44, f. 1213, 9.10.1781, inv. q^m Giovanni Quartironi. For similar, nineteenth century, chairs, see Barbieri, “Pianos and piano-makers,” Section 6.1.

Laface), also in charge of selecting the music, which included those by Florian Leopold Gassmann, a composer working in Vienna, whose operas were also very well-known in Italy.⁸⁰ It was at one of these academies—on April 20, Good Friday—that Wolfgang performed, with such excellence that one of the guests, the Baron Matthias Dominicus Sainte-Odile, in a letter sent the day after even defined him as “a true marvel of Nature;” even the Cardinal Secretary of State Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini, who had explicitly requested the Prince to arrange the academy in Wolfgang’s honor, wrote that “the said youth is extraordinary.”⁸¹ Although it is not known what instruments he employed on this occasion, one may assume that—even if only for obvious diplomatic reasons—he would have used both Sigismondo’s pianoforte and the harpsichord of his wife, the Princess: further evidence that at that time, in some aristocratic circles, both instruments co-existed with the same importance, as has already been seen at the Ottoboni court.⁸² The situation—even in his small, and with reversed roles—is reminiscent of the *Guerre des coins* (War of the corners) that occurred in Paris a few years earlier: in the *coin du roi* of the opera-house gathered the supporters of the French music, while in the *coin de la reine* grouped the faction of the new Italian opera.

Besides other important personages—such as the above-mentioned Cardinal Pallavicini, and Charles Edward Stuart, the pretender to the throne of England—Wolfgang made the acquaintance of several of the

80. *D.1770*. In his last years Lafaggi (*c1702–1782*) was living in an apartment near the church of S. Luigi dei Francesi; in 1779, at the same floor, is registered Raimondo Gibellini (aged 32) with his family (a “violin player” we already met in note 69): AV S. Agostino, *Status animarum*, years 1776–81. Lafaggi died on February 19, 1782 (AV S. Agostino, *Liber mortuorum* 3, f. 298). From his will, we learn that he also gave music lessons at the Collegio Clementino; he left 50 *scudi* to the wife of the already-mentioned Raimondo Gibellini (TNC-33-628, f. 482, 19.2.1782: reading of the will). Lafaggi did not own a pianoforte, but only a two-register pearl-gray harpsichord with gilded ornamentation: *D.1782*.

81. Angermüller, *Mozarts Reisen in Italien*, 93; Bassi, *I Mozart in Italia*, 73. Very probably, the reception took place in the palace’s brand new *Salone d’oro*, decorated between 1765 and 1767 for the occasion of Sigismondo’s marriage with Maria Flaminia Odescalchi (*Tutte le lettere di Mozart*, 320). Considering the importance of the event, it is surprising to learn that the contemporary documents of the VACChigi that have come down to us make no mention of it.

82. The same thing also occurred, for example, at the court of Ferdinando de’ Medici in Florence, at the Spanish court (Queen Maria Barbara and Domenico Scarlatti) and at the Prussian (King Frederick the Great and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach), as noted by Michael Latcham, “Pianos and harpsichords for Their Majesties,” *Early Music* 36 (2008): 359–96, at 359–60.

musicians accustomed to performing at these gatherings, like the violinist Eligio Celestini, the already-mentioned Lafaggi, and a *musico* whom the documents call simply "Cristofari," "Cristofani," or "Cristofori."⁸³ This character can be identified as Carlo De Cristofori, soprano, who, in that very year 1770 was elected *cantore* for the Cappella del Papa, i.e., the Sistine Chapel;⁸⁴ as well as being an excellent singer, a few months later appreciated also by Charles Burney, this musician was also one of the few to have access to the score of the famous *Miserere* by Gregorio Allegri, since it was he who checked against the original the correctness of the transcription that Wolfgang had made by ear, after hearing it live just twice.⁸⁵ On that occasion, the Mozarts also met Antonio Aurisicchio, the *maestro di cappella* who was actually in contact with the Chigi family, since in June 1771 he was paid by Sigismondo for the *messa funebre cantata in musica* performed at S. Maria del Popolo for the funeral of his wife, Flaminia.⁸⁶

83. All these personages are cited in the notes made by Leopold Mozart, as people met in Rome: Basso, *I Mozart in Italia*, 199, 536. In VACChigi Cristofani (Cristofari) is present at all the "academies" in 1770, including the one on 28 April, indicated in particular as the highest paid singer (VACChigi-1820, *Giustificazioni*, No. 99). As far as "Sig." Celestini sonatore di violino" is concerned, in VACChigi-2710 (p. 60) a payment of 20.50 *scudi* is recorded as being made to him on December 27, 1770, by Sigismondo.

84. My thanks to Giancarlo Rostirolla for this information. Again at St. Peter's Basilica, between 1760-94 he also sang in the Cappella Giulia: Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Musica e musicisti nella Basilica di San Pietro. Cinque secoli di storia della Cappella Giulia*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Edizioni Capitolo Vaticano, 2014), 595-7, 599-600, 619, 634.

85. Burney, *The present state of music*, 259-60, 287: "The Roman performers from whom I received the greatest pleasure, were, in the vocal, Signor Cristofero, of the Pope's chapel, for voice and high finishing [...]." Carlo De Cristofori, born in Novara about 1738, in his last years was living near the church of S. Maria in Vallicella, with a servant (AV S. Stefano in Piscinula, *Status animarum*, year 1802). He died on February 24, 1803 (Id., *Liber defunctorum* 13, f. 107r): "Carolus De Cristofori Cantor Capellae Pontificiae annorum 65 confessus, Sanctissimo Viatico roboratus, olei Sancti unctione libutus, et Apostolica Benedictione, et anima commendatione per me adjutus animam Deo reddidit hora 4½; ejus cadaver ex sua testamentaria dispositione ad templum S. Mariae in Vallicella die sequenti translatum, expositum, et tumulatum fuit cum capsula in sepulchro Cantorum Pontificiorum." The reading of his will is recorded on February 25, 1803, in the presence of the deceased; it names as his "heir-trustee" Padre Giuseppe Andosilla, "Preposito della Veneranda Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma," with its headquarters at S. Maria in Vallicella (TNC-10-638, f. 279, 25.2.1803). On the *Miserere*, see *Mozart in Italia*, 232.

86. VACChigi-2705: 39.12½ *scudi* paid to him on May 22, 1771. The instruments owned by this musician are unknown, since the inventory of goods left by him mentions only cash, amounting to 992.75 *scudi*: TNC-29-448, 3-4.9.1781 (will and inventory, respectively). This personage also appears in Leopold's travel notes (mentioned in note 83).

Wolfgang was only just in time to take part in these academies; from June 1771—following Flaminia’s death in childbirth, at only twenty-one—such entertainments ceased entirely. In that same month are recorded the last payments for the tuning both of the Princess’s *cembalo a penne* (by Nicola Palazzi) and of the Prince’s *cembalo a martelli* (by Michele Saccone).⁸⁷ Afflicted by the death of his wife who had borne him three children, Sigismondo withdrew immediately afterwards to Lucca; in his last years, as a result of serious clashes with the Papal court, he moved to Padua, where he died in 1793.⁸⁸ Of music, keyboard instruments included, the documents of the Chigi archive make no further mention, except that in 1792 his son Agostino purchased a new *cembalo coda pianoforte* (see Section 4.3).

3.2. The last academies, and Duke Altemps 16' harpsichord with “silver strings” in the bass. April 26 finds Wolfgang at Palazzo Barberini, invited by Cornelia Costanza, the last direct heir of a house that had been foremost as a sponsor of music during the previous century. What instruments he played on this occasion is not known; however, in 1790 the Princess owned at least one *cembalo*, an instrument about which no details are given.⁸⁹ It should be noted that, on that day, the *Giornale dell’anno 1770* admiringly speaks of the “consummate accomplishment” of the young musician, the sole contemporary testimony in a journal concerning his stay in Rome.⁹⁰

On April 28, Wolfgang performed at the “Ambassador of Malta’s.” Here, too, little is known. All that has emerged is that at the Roman residence of Donato Maria Antinori—Grand Prior of Capua, of the

87. VACChigi-2710, respectively p. 81 (July 11, 1771, payments for the “last” academy) and p. 78 (June 2 and 11, 1771, four scudi each for tunings over the past four months).

88. On the related events, see Ugo Frittelli, *Albero genealogico della nobil Famiglia Chigi patrizia senese* (Siena: Lazzari, 1922), 142–4; Antonio Fiori, “Chigi, Sigismondo,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 24 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1980), 755–58.

89. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Archivio Barberini, Computisteria*, vol. 606, p. 127, no. 264: “Dati scudi al Sig.^r Pietro Barba cembalista 10 moneta, sono in conto di scudi 20.- [...] somma concordata delli lavori dal medesimo fatti nel passato anno 1790 ad’un nostro cembalo [...]. Li 2 marzo 1791, scudi 10.-.” On the death of the Princess, no musical instrument is recorded however in the inventory of goods in her apartments, located in the family palace on Via Quattro Fontane: ASAC-568, fs. 210r-570r, 12.12.1797.

90. Rcas, Ms. 3821, f. 229v (*Giornale dell’anno 1770*, on “Thursday, April 26”).

Order of Malta—there were two quilled keyboard instruments and in 1772 he purchased a *cembolo d'Inghilterra a martelletti con piano e forte* (see in Section 4.1).⁹¹

The next day, April 29, the fourteen-year-old musician took part in the penultimate important Roman academy of his for which there is any information, at the palace of the Duke Giuseppe Maria Altemps, on Piazza Sant'Apollinare. As in the two previous cases, the instruments he played on this occasion are unknown, since the palace inventory drafted in 1713 indicates two two-register harpsichords, one based on 16' and the other on 8', whereas the 1790 inventory mentions only a short-octave harpsichord of the inner-outer type, richly carved and with mother-of-pearl keys, valued however at just 8 *scudi*.⁹² Of these, the 16' instrument is the same *cembalo all'ottava bassa* already registered in the 1620 inventory of the same family, valued as much as 100 *scudi*; the document reports that its bass strings were “of silver,” unfortunately, without specifying whether these strings were of solid silver or already of the overspun type.⁹³ Although harpsichords with gold or silver strings are mentioned as early as the year 1600, it is important to remark that this is the first explicit evidence of the use of a high-density metal to make bass stringing easier. The next such evidence concerns the 1623 *chitarrone* by Alessandro Piccinini.⁹⁴

In 1770, therefore, Duke Altemps possessed only quilled keyboards. It is known, however, that the gathering had been organized by the “Duca

91. It is also possible that the “academy” was sponsored by Giuseppe Santarelli, the chaplain of the Order of Malta and *maestro* of the Papal Chapel. No related information has however emerged from the Order’s historical archives, the research having been kindly undertaken by the archivist, Valeria Leonardi, whom I also wish to thank for further useful information.

92. *D.1713* and *D.1790*. The two 1713 harpsichords are richly decorated, and also inlaid; the first is as long as 14 Roman *palmi* (about 313–349 cm), while the second is just 8 *palmi*. Again, in 1713 a positive organ is also indicated, perhaps the same listed in the 1620 inventory mentioned in note 93.

93. TNC-9-142, 10.11.1620, inventory of the goods of Pietro Altemps, kept in his villa in Frascati (Rome): “[f. 80v] Un organo in foggia di tavolino longo palmi 12 e largo palmi 4 indorato e dipinto, a quattro registri, scudi 150.-; Un regalo [A regal] con sua cassa dipinto di nero con tastature di avolio, scudi 25.-; [f. 82r-v] Un cimbalo all’ottava basso longo palmi 14 incirca con suoi piedi intagliati con strambecchi verde et oro con le corde grosse d’argento a doi registri con la tastatura d’avolio et ebbano, scudi 100.-.”

94. On this last instrument see Patrizio Barbieri, “Gold- and Silver-stringed Musical Instruments: Modern Physics vs Aristotelianism in the Scientific Revolution,” *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, 36 (2010): 118–54, at 121.

di Bracciano," who may be identified with Livio II Odescalchi, Flaminia Chigi's father; consequently, it cannot be excluded that the Chigi pianoforte was brought for the occasion from their own palace, where the Duke was present on April 20, on the occasion of the above-mentioned academy.⁹⁵ During his stay in Rome, Wolfgang was also able to meet the already-mentioned Cardinal Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini and Cardinal Andrea Negroni, who both played a major role in his obtaining the coveted Cross of the Order of the Golden Spur; no musical instrument is mentioned among the assets left by these prelates in their opulent residences.⁹⁶

By way of a conclusion, a single observation: in the abundant letters relating to their Roman trip, the two Mozarts are prodigal with details about food, the clothes they wore, letters of recommendation, sundry personages, their movements, and minor episodes. It is consequently amazing that the important academies in which they took part are mentioned only fleetingly, with no reference to the incredible pomp and wealth of works of art in the palaces where these gatherings were arranged, nor—unlike Charles Burney a few months later—to the quality of the music and the musical instruments they encountered.

4. Imported English pianos and early metal bracing. During the forty-year period running roughly from 1770 to 1810, English pianos enjoyed an absolute monopoly in Rome. This was thanks to the Industrial Revolution, which had facilitated not only the use of new materials but also the introduction of substantial technical innovations, as for example, metal bracing. This Revolution, together with the expansion of the colonial empire, resulted in an upsurge in pro-capita production that, as late as about 1750, was still at a lower level than that of central and northern Italy.⁹⁷

4.1. Early piano imports into Italy. In December 1772, Donato Maria Antinori, Grand Prior of the Order of Malta, paid the company "Pica, Tofani e Compagni" the sum of 86 *scudi* for "a cembalo a martelletti from

95. On his presence, see Basso, *I Mozart in Italia*, 622. Baldassarre II Odescalchi, the son of Livio II and thus the brother of Flaminia, also enjoyed the title of "Duca di Bracciano," which does not however contradict the above hypothesis.

96. TNC-9-872, fs. 472-659, 28.2.1785, inv. q^m Cardinal Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini; TNC-31-731, f. 277, 4.1.1789, inv. q^m Cardinal Andrea Negroni.

97. Ago, *Il gusto delle cose*, 122.

England with *piano e forte*, with spare strings suitable for the said instrument" (this latter instruction implies that the strings required could not yet be acquired in Rome).⁹⁸ Messrs. "Pica, Tofani, & C." were the most qualified Roman producers of gut strings for musical instruments, strings—Roman ones in general—then deemed the best in Europe. Because they were also exported to England, this could be the reason for the company's role in the operation.⁹⁹ The third known pianoforte to appear in Rome could be considered, on a general level, to be the first imported into Italy since the provenance of the Chigi piano is unknown; the second is the one made by the Englishman Backers, which was also imported into Rome in 1775 (see Section 4.2).¹⁰⁰

At his palace near Piazza Pasquino, Antinori also kept a "large harpsichord *in ottava stesa*" and a spinet; these two instruments are found in the inventory of his goods left in 1786, a document that does not, however, reveal the makers (*D.1786*). In 1778–79 the tuner of the *cimbalo Inglese*, also known as the *cimbaletto Inglese*, was Michele Saccone who maintained the pianoforte at Palazzo Chigi; in 1779 this maker received 13 *scudi* from Antinori for replacing the sound-board on the instrument.¹⁰¹ Starting right from the date of its purchase, the instrument decisively reinvigorated a musical activity that had been languishing until then; pianoforte and harpsichord, as already seen in other cases, seem to have been used simultaneously.¹⁰² With regard to the musicians employed, few names are given; the only one that appears consistently over

98. *D.1772a*. I wish to thank Susanna Panetta of the Biblioteca Corsiniana for her fruitful assistance during my research on the *Archivio D.M. Antinori*. An idea of the value of the *scudo* at that time is given by the fact that the monthly wages of each of the Antinori staff ranged from 4 to 10 *scudi* (BCAntin-931).

99. On this company, see Patrizio Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers 1550–2005," *Studi Musicali* 35 (2006): 3–128, at 67.

100. So far, the first evidence relating to the import of pianos into Italy was going back to 1781, and concerned instruments from the German area for sale in Milan: Luca Aversano, "L'importazione in Italia di fortepiani austriaci e tedeschi tra la fine del Settecento e i primi anni dell'Ottocento," in *La cultura del fortepiano -Die Kultur des Hammerklaviers 1770–1830*, ed. Richard Bösel (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2009), 1–12, at 5.

101. BCAntin-927, *Giustificazioni*, March and September 1778; ASAntin-928, *Giustificazioni*, May 1779: "Io sottoscritto hò ricevuto dall'Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Gran Priore Antinori per le mano del S.^r Domenico Vannini scudi tredici moneta per avere fatto di nuovo il fondo del cembalo a martellina, chiamandomi con ciò contento, e sodisfatto. In fede questo di 10 Maggio 1779, scudi 13.- moneta. / Io Michele Saccone."

102. The "accordatura dei due cembali" is indeed often mentioned; see, for example, BCAntin-927 (May 1778) and BCAntin-928 (December 1779).

several years is that of the cellist Girolamo Geraldì, paid monthly from 1773 to 1775.¹⁰³

4.2. *Americus Backers' piano of Marchioness Sparapani Boccapaduli.* In Rome, in January 1775 appeared "a small *piano e forte*" by Americus Backers, one of the so-called "Twelve Apostles" then operating in England. The instrument had been sent from London for the Marchesa Margherita Sparapani Gentili Boccapaduli, whose salon was one of the most prestigious in Rome.¹⁰⁴ The documentation concerning the purchase bears witness to the complexity of the operation. The pianoforte finally reached what was then Rome's port at Ripa Grande after two sea journeys: London–Leghorn and Leghorn–Rome. The cost of transport, storage, and three customs fees accounted for almost 20% of the purchase price: Backers was paid 16 guineas and the total price was 92.07 Roman *scudi*.¹⁰⁵ In the same year, 1775, the instrument is recorded as being maintained by Nicola Palazzi who, in 1769, was encountered on the repair of the Chigi harpsichord.¹⁰⁶ For certain, it was exhibited at music

103. BCAntin-922-923-924; BCAntin-927 (December 1778). Other names appear every now and again, such as: "il musico Borghesino" (BCAntin-922, 20.3.1773); "Gioannelli," "Lorenzini musico," "maestro Lorazi," and "Memmo violoncello," with "De Rossi copista" (BCAntin-929, 12.3.1780, vocal and instrumental performance with three violins and one viola, besides the "cembalo"). In September 1784 we also find 13.30 *scudi* paid "to the players, i.e. three violins, a viola, a cello, two trumpets at *baiocchi* 30 each, and *baiocchi* 50 to the conductor," as well as 50 *baiocchi* (= 0.50 *scudi*) "for tuning the *cembalo*" (BCAntin-933).

104. D.1775. On this maker, see Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, "Backers, Americus (fl. 1763 – d. 1778)," in *Piano an Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, ed. Robert Palmieri (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 38. The Backers name was sometimes attached to instruments that he did not make, since the popularity of his name drove the price up: see Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 114f. On the Marchioness, see Isabella Colucci, "Il salotto e le collezioni della Marchesa Boccapaduli," *Quaderni Storici* 116 (2/2004): 449–93.

105. The same document cited in D.1775—pointed out to me by Mario Bevilacqua, whom I wish to thank—contains the detailed expenses for transporting the instrument: ASDrago-477.

106. ASDrago-477, Receipt for *scudi* 6.60, dated July 8, 1775, for the first six months of the year; others follow, up to June 1777. It is likely that it was his contact with an instrument capable of graduating both *piano* and *forte* that inspired Nicola Palazzi to build a clavichord, an instrument that, at least from the end of the sixteenth century, was wholly unknown in Rome, and was much cheaper to make than a pianoforte; this clavichord, still kept at the Royal Academy of Music in London, bears the inscription: "Nicola Palazzi Romano fece 1776," see Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440 to 1840* (London: Reeves, 1956), 83.

performances again in 1775, among which are mentioned as many as “six Trios” by Joseph Schuster (of which only one, dated about 1768, is extant) and a “sinfonia” by Paisiello, as also at those of the Carnival of 1777, in which the “*cembalo*-player” Santi Pascoli took part, along with the violinists Pietro Ugar, Joseph Kempff, Giuseppe Banchieri, and Giovanni Cavallini, and singers and other musicians.¹⁰⁷

4.3. Early metal bracing: the Chigis’ second piano. Sigismondo Chigi owned a pianoforte at least as early as 1768 (see Section 3), but after 1772 he ceased having anything to do with music. Only in 1792 would his son Agostino purchase a second *cembalo coda piano-forte*, costing as much as 215 *scudi* (*D.1792b*). Antinori’s *cimbaletto Inglese* and the “small” Backers belonging to Marchesa Boccapaduli, both costing less than half of that sum, must therefore have been “table” models. As had his father, Agostino organized musical academies only in the very first years after this purchase.¹⁰⁸ This new instrument is evidently the one that, in the palace inventory drafted on the death of Sigismondo, is described as follows (*D.1793a*): “A *cembalo* with walnut legs and case, English-style, with iron cross-bars beneath, with ebony and ivory keyboard, with metal plaque and lock, and its key.” It is important to note that this is a pianoforte reinforced with metal bracing bars, which is at least seven years before any known documentation for the same, consisting of English patent 2345, presented in 1799 by Joseph Smith, concerning both table and grand pianos.¹⁰⁹

4.4. The monopoly of English pianos. After the instruments dealt with so far, from the archive documentation brought to light one notes that, until 1809, all the foreign pianos indicated in Rome are English (as, for example, the one used until 1790 by Cardinal Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi, see Section 5).¹¹⁰ The sole exception is a table piano manufactured at

107. ASDrago-477, “List of expenses [...] from January through June 1775;” “Income and expenditure, January–December 1777.” This latter bundle also contains payments dated February 13, 1777 to musicians and copyists for the “Commedia alla villa [at Porta S. Lorenzo] nello scorso Carnevale” and for the other subsequent musical performances. On Santi Pascoli, see also note 41 above.

108. See, for example, the “academy” on February 23, 1794, which saw the then-famous Giovanni Cavi leading an orchestra of 22 persons including, beside the strings, even an English horn (VACigli-2712, conto no. 11).

109. Harding, *The Piano-forte*, 199.

110. *D.1772a.1783.1786.1790a.1793a.1797.1809*. We should always bear in mind that these dates mostly coincide with the death of the owner. To these, we should add the “excellent” piano sent in 1802 by Muzio Clementi from his London factory to his

Zweibrücken by Matthias Christian Baumann, presented in 1795 by the well-known Milanese man of letters Alessandro Verri as a gift to said Marchesa Boccapaduli, with whom he was living.¹¹¹

Evidence of the great reputation enjoyed by these English instruments is provided in 1784 by the *Gazzetta toscana*, an absolutely non-suspect source, being the official gazette of the Kingdom of Etruria, the state that had at that time become a prefecture of Vienna, the city that was competing with London in this sector. It advertised the *cembali detti pianoforti* of a local maker (Giuseppe Zannetti) as being “in no way inferior to those from England.”¹¹² The situation is reversed only after the Congress of Vienna (1815), with English instruments practically disappearing in Italy in favour of Austrian ones. The first witness in this regard comes from the inventory of goods left in 1821 by the same Marchesa Boccapaduli (*D.1821*), which contains a not-better-specified “table piano” (probably the one by Backers) and a grand “from Germany” (a term which then mostly signified “from Vienna”).

For reasons already explained in previous articles (see note 113), Italian pianos met with little success. As far as Rome in particular is concerned, the only names appearing at the turn of the century are the already-mentioned brothers Biagio and Carlo Arnoldi who, however, soon had to cease their activity as makers, overwhelmed by Viennese competition.¹¹³

5. Cardinal Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi’s keyboard instruments: *spinetta d’Inghilterra a martellina*, folding harpsichord, and *cembalo di cinque tastature*. Thus far totally neglected are the musical activities of Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi (1743–90), a cardinal who filled major posts in the papal administration. Besides sponsoring musical “academies” and

niece Maria Felice, resident in Rome: Mariateresa Dellaborra, “Clementi e i viaggi in Italia (1804–1808),” in *Muzio Clementi. Studies and prospects*, ed. Roberto Illiano, Luca Scala and Massimiliano Sala (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2002), 13–50, at 14.

111. Marina Pieretti, “Margherita Sparapani Boccapaduli. Ritratto di una gentildonna romana (1735–1820),” *Rivista storica del Lazio* 8–9 (2000–2001): 81–137, 161–70, at 116; Ala Botti Caselli, “Il fortepiano nella letteratura del tempo. Appunti per un’indagine comparata,” *La cultura del fortepiano–Die Kultur des Hammerklaviers 1770–1830*, ed. Richard Bösel (Bologna: UtOrpheus, 2009), 31–87, at 37. Alessandro Verri lived with the Marchesa from his arrival in Rome (1767) until he died (1816).

112. Franco Baggiani, *Regesto di notizie organarie tratte dalla Gazzetta toscana (1766–1865)* (Pisa: Pacini, 1987), 27.

113. Patrizio Barbieri, “The Italian Piano: Laborious Industrial Growth 1810–2010,” *Studi Musicali* n.s. 4 (2013): 145–202; Id., “Piano and piano-makers in nineteenth-century Papal Rome,” Sections 1–2.

several opera performances, archive documents reveal that he also owned a set of rather interesting keyboard instruments.

5.1. The piano and the folding harpsichord. An examination of the family archives reveals this eminent prelate's lively interest in the musical sphere, until now unnoticed (1743–90).¹¹⁴ His apprenticeship in this sector is mentioned in 1762–66, when his harpsichord teacher was Guglielmo Bruni and, subsequently, the “celebrated *Maestro di cappella*” Pietro Crispi who, in 1770, was also appreciated by Burney as “a good performer on that instrument.”¹¹⁵ In these years, in parallel, one finds regular tuning activities by Giovanni, Giuseppe, and Lorenzo Alari, generically referred to *cembalo* and *spinetta*.¹¹⁶ Ignazio's musical education was also assisted by several academies arranged in his “room”—mostly performances of fashionable arias, like the ones by Davide Perez—to which were added those organised every Friday evening in the house of Crispi himself.¹¹⁷

In 1766, having completed his law studies, Ignazio moved to Bologna, as vice-legate to the province. There, in tandem with his intense administrative activities, he continued to cultivate his musical interests, especially in the field of the opera.¹¹⁸ On March 26, 1770, he was also present at

114. On his ecclesiastical career, see Umberto Coldagelli, “Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Ignazio,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 11 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1969), 712–9.

115. Burney, *The Present State*, 259, 288.

116. VSBoncomp-1424-1425-1426, *Giustificazioni* year 1762; VSBoncomp-1427-1428-1429-1430, *Giust.* year 1763 (Bruni); VSBoncomp-1431-1432, *Giust.* year 1764 (Crispi); VSBoncomp-1433-1434, *Giust.* year 1765 (Crispi). The said Alari were descendants of the same family of makers that looked after the keyboard instruments of Cardinal Ottoboni.

117. For the music at the Boncompagni palace, see VSBoncomp-1427 (January 1763) and VSBoncomp-1428 (August 18, 1763), in which the copyist Francesco Tosti receives 4.15 scudi “per ricognizione di Natale prossimo passato e agosto corrente in occasione di alcuna musica prestata all'Ecc.^{m°} Sig.^r Don Ignazio [...]: Non vi piacque ingiusti Dei di Perez, parte e basso e due violini, fogli 1; Canzonette francesc; Disse ch'è l'idol mio; Deh tacete il vostro affanno; Dir non posso o sposo amato.” For the Crispi “academies,” see Burney, *The Present State*, 259.

118. In the “Diario consuntivo” of his expenses during his entire stay at Bologna, in 1770–71 he records payments made, for example, for “noble foreigners come for the musical opera Orfeo, for which many very elegant dinners were arranged with numerous guests” (reference to the opera *Orfeo ed Euridice* by Gluck, performed at the Teatro Nuovo in the Spring of 1771); the same can be said for “l'opera Demofonte” performed, again in the Spring of the same year, at the Formigliari theatre, on which occasion he had the opportunity to receive “rincipe [Sigismondo] Chigi” (*Il Demofonte*, with

the famous *accademia* held by Mozart at the palazzo of Field Marshal Gian Luca Pallavicini.¹¹⁹ In 1775, on the occasion of being nominated cardinal, his family granted him various assets from Rome, including an inner-outer harpsichord valued at 120 *scudi* and a “noble spinet, paid 150 *scudi*.¹²⁰ An inventory of his goods at the Legation Headquarters in Bologna—drafted in 1778, on his promotion as legate at the end of the previous year—lists the following instruments:¹²¹

Un piccolo clavicembalo, che si snoda in tre parti, con suo piede, e custodia colorata; [...] Una spinetta d’Inghilterra, e suo piede.	A small harpsichord, folding in three sections, with its stand and coloured box; [...] A spinet from England, and its stand.
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It is possible that the pianoforte here cited as a “spinet” can be identified with the “spinet” already mentioned in 1775, considering the high price “paid” for it, decidedly unusual for an ordinary spinet and even higher than that of the inner-outer harpsichord. These instruments were regularly tuned by a certain Violi.¹²² On the occasion of his “solemn entry” into the legation headquarters, on January 18, 1778, the Teatro Nuovo performed *l’opera in musica Alceste*, the expenses for which the Cardinal contributed personally besides putting up many guests from outside Bologna.¹²³ Academies were also held in this building, at one of which the singers Pozzi and Rubinelli took part.¹²⁴

music “di varj e celebri autori”); this latter opera was dedicated to his chief, the legate Cardinal Antonio Colonna Branciforti (VSBoncomp-1963, “Diario consuntivo spese Bologna”); for the chronological references to these performances, see Claudio Sartori, *Catalogo unico dei libretti italiani a stampa fino all’anno 1800* [Cuneo, 1990–94], at the entry. As early as 1768 we also find payments “al Macini cembalista” and to the *mastro di cappella* Giovanni Zanotti (VSBoncomp-1965, fasc. “Bilancetto dell’esatto e speso [...] in Bologna,” June 30 and July 14, 1768 respectively).

119. *Mozart in Italia*, 81. Among the 150 invited was also Padre Giambattista Martini.

120. D.1775a. The harpsichord is the one given to him by his family in 1765, on completion of his studies: “Un cembalo nobile con sopracassa imbrunita perla, ed oro, e argento a rabbesi, con suoi piedi simili” (VSBoncomp-630/28, f. 546v, year 1765).

121. VSBoncomp-821, int. 10, f. 19, year 1778.

122. See, for example, VSBoncomp-1964, int. 37, p. 44, 28.12.1783; in the file of accounts for 1779 is also recorded the “repair of the case and leg of the harpsichord, inlay and gilding of its keys.”

123. VSBoncomp-1963, “Diario consuntivo” and “Ristretto spese anno 1778,” also relating to the “score of the opera *Alceste*, copying of music [...] tuning of harpsichords.” The reference is to Gluck’s opera *Alceste*.

124. VSBoncomp-1964, int. 19 (September 1782).

On the occasion of his nomination as Secretary of State, in 1785 Boncompagni returned to Rome, taking his musical instruments with him.¹²⁵ There, from 1786 to 1789, the pianoforte was tuned regularly by Pietro Barbi, who in 1788 also did some repair work on it.¹²⁶ The inventory of goods drafted at his death on August 3, 1790 includes, beside the *pianoforte d'Inghilterra con pedali mezzano*, also the folding harpsichord mentioned above (*D.1790a*) which, in a later inventory, is described as follows:¹²⁷

Una spinetta con cassa colorita perla con intagli a rabbesi di oro piedi a zampa intagliati dorati tassatura di ebano, ed avorio a due registri da piegarsi in tre pezzi con copertina di corame, e custodia di cordovano rosso, scudi 30.-.

A spinet with a pearl-gray case, with gilded arabesque inlay, inlaid and gilded feet, ebony and ivory keyboard, with two registers, folding in three, with a leather cover and box of red Cordoba leather, scudi 30.-.

It must have been a still more elaborate model of the typical *cembalo piegatore*, its invention attributed by Pinaroli to Giuseppe Mondini, that already appears in Rome in an inventory dated 1713.¹²⁸

5.2. The five-keyboard harpsichord. Besides such instruments, also mentioned is "a harpsichord with five keyboards of ivory and black ebony with its monochord, scudi 40" (*D.1790a*). The description perfectly fits the third and final version of the famous *Cembalo onnicordo* by Francesco Nigetti, made in Florence in 1670 and still recorded in that city in 1754. In this instrument, the octave was divided according to Equal Tempered System 31, a circulating tuning that provided practically pure major thirds. Although based on this octave division, in the eighteenth century

125. Before returning, at Bologna he sold some of his furniture, among which does not, however, appear any musical instrument (VSBoncomp-1962, int. 18, spese 1786).

126. VSBoncomp-1962, int. 30, January 13, 1787 ("a Pietro Barbi cembalaro, che scudi 7.80 per 26 accordature, e scudi 1.20 per 3 accordature di una spinetta e cembalo a martellini, d'Aprile à tutto Dicembre 1786, scudi 9.-"); int. 37, June 30, 1788 (to Pietro Barbi "Per aver disfatto, e ricomposto un cembalo d'Inghilterra à martellini di Sua E. Padrone, scudi 3.-"); int. 47, September 30, 1789 (to Pietro Barbi "per accordatura di due cembali uno a martelli, e l'altro a penna, scudi 4.50"). This is the same maker already mentioned in note 89.

127. VSBoncomp-2006, inv. dated March 13, 1791 drafted by Prince Don Abbondio Rezzonico, universal heir and trustee of the Cardinal.

128. Barbieri, "Harpsichords and Spinets," 62-3.

the instrument was no longer utilised for microtonal compositions based on fifths of a tone—like several similar instruments built in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, such as the famous Archicembalo by Nicola Vicentino—but to facilitate the transposition of ordinary compositions; to this end it was provided with five keyboards of the usual sort, which made possible transpositions of one or more fifths of a tone using the same fingering.¹²⁹ As such, it must also have been used by Cardinal Boncompagni, who maintained it in working order, as proven by the following payment dated August 12, 1787: “to Pietro Barberi [= Barbi] harpsichord tuner for tuning the harpsichord with five keyboards, and changing the cloth, *scudi* 4.50.”¹³⁰ Furthermore, there is no possibility that this might be a simplified version of the *Piano-forté de la parfaite harmonie*, made in about 1780 in Vienna to the design of Johann Georg Roser, because the six keyboards of this last instrument presented no raised keys.¹³¹ Similar to this *Piano-forté* was, on the contrary, the six-keyboard grand piano made in 1795, in Vienna, by Johann Jacob Könnicke, also known as *L'harmonie parfaite*.¹³² Inspired by the same criterion was most probably the grand piano owned by the Londoner Maria Brigdower née Lech, inventoried as follows in 1835 at her dwelling in Rome where she died, and the most valuable item listed: “A mahogany *pianoforte* supported by three columns, with five keyboards, by the maker Angst in Vienna, Schanz factory, in good condition, *scudi* 75.” Of Joseph Angst (c1822–43) it is known that he was the heir and successor of Johann Schanz, in Vienna.¹³³

6. Late harpsichord- and early piano-compositions in Rome. As stated above, in Rome, the first composition explicitly also for “piano-forte” was published only at the very end of the eighteenth century, i.e., considerably later than in other European capitals. Even in the beginning of the next century, Romans were much more interested in vocal music.

129. On the theory and evolution of Nigetti’s instrument and similar later ones, see Patrizio Barbieri, *Enharmonic Instruments and Music 1470–1900* (Latina: Il Levante, 2008), 441–505 (Chapter I: “Francesco Nigetti’s *Cembalo onnicordo*, c1640–1770”).

130. VSBoncomp-1962, int. 30, p. 18: “a Pietro Barberi [sic] cembalaro per accordatura del cembalo a 5 tastature, e mutato il panno, scudi 4.50.”

131. Barbieri, *Enharmonic Instruments*, 464–6.

132. Preserved in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo in Barbieri, *Enharmonic Instruments*, Fig. I, 3.8, 464.

133. Original document in Barbieri, “Pianos and Piano-makers,” Section 9.

6.1. *Sognèr and Sirleti.* The first music for these early pianos published in Rome dates back to 1792 and comprises a collection of *Tre sonate per cembalo o piano-forte con violino*, composed by Tommaso Sognèr, a Spanish “maestro di cappella” active in the city.¹³⁴ It has been ascertained only that Sognèr was a native of “Sanctus Petrus Piscator,” an unidentifiable Spanish town, and that in 1803 he was still recorded as being in Rome.¹³⁵ Their compass is *BB–f'''*, perfectly compatible with the five octaves (*FF–f'''*) of instruments at that time, such as the one by Carlo Arnoldi.¹³⁶ The dynamic markings are limited to *forte (f)* and *piano (p)*; in 1765 the already-mentioned Nicola Palazzi had fitted a knee-activated “damper” on a harpsichord *in ottava stesa* belonging to Prince Pamphilj, so that the markings were also compatible for instruments of that type, although usual Italian harpsichords had only a single keyboard.¹³⁷ In a manuscript collection dated to the first decade of the nineteenth century there also appears a *Sonata per cembalo o pianoforte* by the worthy Roman pianist and contrapuntist Giuseppe Sirleti (c1774–1834), in this case an *Allegro* in A major, without dynamic markings, with a compass of *E–b'''* (and consequently just a little later than Sognèr’s sonatas).¹³⁸ These compositions are found in collections belonging to young ladies of good family of that period, containing sonatas by various composers together with arias from the most fashionable operas performed during the first decade of the nineteenth century at the Valle and Alibert theatres.¹³⁹

134. *Tre sonate per cembalo o piano-forte con violino dedicate a Sua Eccellenza il Signor Marchese D. Agostino Maria de Negrete y Adorno composte da Tommaso Sognér maestro di cappella Spagnolo* (Roma: Pilucchi Cracas, 1792). See also a manuscript copy in IRcas, Ms. 2538, int. 6, f. 83.

135. AV S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Battesimi 1793–1803, f. 190r; 30.4.1803, baptism of Maria Anna Lucia Sognèr, born on 29 April “ex Dominus Thomas Sognér de Villa S. Petri Piscatori in Ispania quondam Iosephi, et ex Domina Clementina Ferrari quondam Philippi Rom. conjugibus hujus Parochiae [...] Matrina ac obstetrix Camilla Marri.”

136. Of this maker, seven pianofortes have survived: see Barbieri, “Pianos and piano-makers,” Section 1.3.

137. Patrizio Barbieri, “Organaria e cembalaria romana nella *Polyanthea* di G. P. Pinaroli (1718),” *Amici dell’organo di Roma* [5] (1986): 109–21, at 116.

138. IRcas, Ms. 2851, f. 125: *Sonata per cembalo o piano forte del Sig.^r maestro Sirletti*. On Sirletti, brother-in-law of the maker Carlo Arnoldi, and his pianos, see Barbieri, “Pianos and piano-makers,” Section 1.2. He was a pupil of Giuseppe Jannacconi, maestro of the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter’s basilica, who in 1816 left a harpsichord (albeit in poor condition) and a pianoforte (*D.1816*).

139. Beside the two mentioned, the following collections are intended, preserved at IRcas (dedicated to the sisters Poloni and Ravasi): Ms. 2521, 2526, 2528, 2530, 2533,

6.2. Other authors. As far as other composers are concerned, in 1772, toward the end of his stay in London, Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi had printed *Six sonates for the harpsichord or forte piano*; like those by Sognèr, their dynamic markings are limited to *forte* (*f*) and *piano* (*p*). Although published in London, this collection must also have been known in Rome, since a manuscript version of it is preserved in the Doria Pamphilj Archive there. It is, however, curious to remark that said dynamic markings are missing in this copy, despite the fact that, as has been seen, the family had in 1765 installed a knee-activated control for *forte* and *piano* on one of its harpsichords.¹⁴⁰ With regard to the instruments left by Guglielmi, in his later years *maestro* at the Cappella Giulia in the Vatican, the 1804 inventory records only a *cembalo* whose description would fit either a pianoforte or a harpsichord, even if a few decorative details lead one to think rather of the latter of the two instruments.¹⁴¹ During the same period (1750–85) in Venice, Alessandri & Scataglia printed *Sei sonate per cembalo da eseguirsi anche sull'organo*, lacking any dynamic markings, by a certain “Rossi abate romano.” Of these, too, a copy may

2539. They contain: (1) original pieces and transcriptions for harpsichord or pianoforte by Sebastiano Bolis, Luigi Bringeri, “Ciccio Napolitano” (= Francesco Di Maio), Vincenzo Fabrizi, Guillaume Gelinek, Joseph Haydn, Giovanni Simone Mayr, Joseph Misliwczek, Ludwig Samuel Mutzenbecher, Ignaz Pleyel, Gioacchino Rossini, Daniel Steibelt; (2) arias from operas by Gaetano Andreozzi, Giuseppe Farinelli, Valentino Fioravanti, Francesco Gnecco, Filippo Grazioli, Cesare Iannoni, Nicola Manfroce, Wolfgang A. Mozart, Giuseppe Nicolini, Ferdinando Paer, Pietro Persichini, Marco Portogallo, Nicola Zingarelli.

140. Peter Guglielmi, *Six sonatas for the harpsichord or forte piano* [...] opera III (London: Bremner, [1772]); fac-simile in Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, *Sei sonate* (Bologna-Roma: Associazione clavicembalistica bolognese, 1987). For the manuscript version mentioned, see Archivio Doria Pamphilj – Musica per tastiera dei secoli XVII–XVIII, vol. II: ADP 245, *Sonate per cembalo*, ed Armando Carideo (Latina: Il Levante, 2012). On the keyboard productions of this composer, see Francesca Coarelli, “La musica per tastiera di Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi,” in *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728–1804) musicista italiano nel Settecento europeo*, eds. Carolyn Gianturco and Patrizia Radicchi (Pisa: ETS, 2008), 427–56.

141. Inventory partially published in Giancarlo Rostirolla, “Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi maestro della Cappella Giulia in Vaticano (1793–1804),” in *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728–1804) musicista italiano nel Settecento europeo*, eds. Carolyn Gianturco and Patrizia Radicchi (Pisa: ETS, 2008), 377–424, at 403: “Un cembalo in ottava stesa con tastiera di ebano, e sua cassa, e piedi color di perla filettati a vernice.” Giovanni Battista Casali (1715–92) too—*maestro di cappella* at St. Giovanni in Laterano, as well as, like Guglielmi, a prolific opera composer—owned only one “cembalo” which, in this case, can certainly be identified as a harpsichord, because of its extremely low valuation (D.1792: in this inventory are also mentioned the music scores he left, classified of “no [commercial] value”).

be found in the above-mentioned manuscript in the Doria Pamphilj Archives in Rome, its title allowing certain identification of the composer: *Sonate per cembalo del Sig:r D. Lorenzo De Rossi dilettante*.¹⁴² The fact that in this case *cembalo* actually means a harpsichord and not a pianoforte is supported by the fact that Charles Burney, in his account of his stay in Rome in 1770, reports that "Abate Rossi is reckoned the neatest harpsichord player at Rome" (and Burney, in his account, shows that he is quite familiar with the difference between the two instruments).¹⁴³ What kind of keyboard instruments this virtuoso employed, however, is not known.¹⁴⁴ Again, in 1770, the Mozarts must also have met him, since in his list of persons introduced, Leopold notes: "il Sign: Abbate de Rossi."¹⁴⁵

When at the age of just fourteen Muzio Clementi was given the post of organist at S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1766, he would certainly not have encountered Cardinal Ottoboni's pianoforte, since the instrument had left the adjacent Palazzo della Cancelleria more than twenty years earlier. Furthermore, he moved to England in that same year (1766), and—recalling that the second piano in Rome is recorded only starting from 1768, in Prince Chigi's palace—it would have been difficult for him to practice instruments of this new kind. Among his first teachers, Antonio Boroni, as late as 1793 possessed only a short-octave harpsichord of the inner-outer type in bad repair (valued at a miserable 4 *scudi*), besides a fine wing-shaped positive organ, clearly destined to be rented out for special religious ceremonies;¹⁴⁶ what instruments were owned by Giovanni Battista Cordicelli is not known, since in 1774 he left his wife as

142. Archivio Doria Pamphilj – *Musica per tastiera dei secoli XVII–XVIII*, vol. II: ADP 245, ed. Carideo, pp. VIII, XI, XIII.

143. Burney, *The present state*, 288. Giuseppe Baini also confirms that this composer, "virtuoso di camera del Cardinale Alessandro Albani," was a "finissimo sonator di cembalo, cui dava, suonando, un sentimento e un'anima non comune in quel tempo;" Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. 2 (Roma: Società Tipografica, 1828), 64.

144. No inventory of his assets was drafted, since his will—dictated when he was already bed-ridden, sick, shortly before his death—leaves to his "nipote" Giuseppe De Rossi a set of silver cutlery, while nominating another "nipote," the Abate Francesco De Rossi, his universal heir (TNC-22, anno 1794-II, f. 183, 3.8.1794).

145. Basso, *I Mozart in Italia*, 199.

146. D. 1793. The goods inventoried include a portrait of his teacher, Giambattista Martini.

the universal heir to all his assets, and no inventory was drafted.¹⁴⁷ Nor is anything known of the instruments of Gaetano Carpani (*d*1785) and Giuseppe Santarelli (1710–1790), since it has not been possible to examine either the wills or the inventories of these last two of Clementi's Roman teachers.

In conclusion, from what we have seen so far it is clear that at the turn of the century—unlike other European capitals—both piano and piano compositions did not enjoy the Romans' interest. This is confirmed by a correspondent of the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, who was in Rome “together with Clementi, who has come from London, and with Paér, who has arrived from Dresden;” indeed, in a letter dated 1805 he states that, in this city, the two musicians “have never been heard either in public or in private,” owing to the fact that, again in Rome, “the academies prefer singing” and the pianos “are so bad that they can't be played properly.”¹⁴⁸

147. TNC-4-480, f. 433, 4.12.1774, reading of the will of G. B. Cordicelli, nominating Laura Penna, his wife, as his universal heir.

148. Dellaborra, “Clementi e i viaggi in Italia (1804–1808),” 41.

Appendix

Harpsichords and Pianos in Roman Inventories: an Archival Survey

The documents to which reference is made in the previous sections are listed below in chronological order. Some of them have been translated in the text; of the remaining, an English translation of the most unusual Italian ancient expressions and technical terms has been inserted alongside.

D.1710. VARosp-2010, 11.9.1710, inv. Duchess Maria Camilla Pallavicini Rospigliosi: “[p. 380] Un cimbalo con cassa d’albuccio [= white poplar] tinta di vernice negra con varie figure all’indiana, con piedi torniti [= turned legs] filettati d’oro e copertina di corame dorato.”

D.1713. TNC-11-305, 26.3.1713, inv. q^m Duke Giuseppe Maria Altemps sen.: “[f. 388r-v] Un cimballo [= cembalo] longo palmi otto largo palmi tre dalla parte sonante à due registri quale sta posto sopra ad un strambecco di legno [= a wooden steinbock] colorito, et indorato, e dal mezzo in giù in figura di delfino, e detto cimballo di dentro è dipinto rappresentante Orfeo che sona, e diversi animali pittura ordinaria usato, e di fuori colorito negro con fascie indorate; [f.418] Un cimballo à due registri dipinto di dentro con varie figure longo palmi quattordici largo alla parte più grande palmi quattro alto un palmo et un quarto usato, vien sostenuto da tre piedi rappresentanti due strambecchi [= two ibexes] lavorati in legno basso rilievo et indorati usati.”

D.1714. TNC-10-368, 16.6.1714, inv. q^m Count Giulio Bussi: “[f. 473v] Un cembalo a tre registri con cassa, e piedi bianchi filettati d’oro [...].”

D.1723. ASAC-5173, 11.3.1723, inv. q^m Princess Anna Altieri Colonna: “[f. 589v] Un cembalo grande a due regestri con suo piede d’intaglio con figure dorato coperto di corame; [f. 590r] Due trombe marine, et una stampa di esse.”

D.1724. ASRCA-752, 3.1.1724, inv. palace Family Della Torre: “[f. 277r-v] Un cembalo a due registri a ottava stesa [= extended (bottom) octave] con sopraccassa al di fuori dorata, e rabescata di fiori diversi con piedi sotto con putti et intagli tutto dorato con sua [coperta] sopra di corame dorato, scudi 100.-.”

D.1729. TNC-15-433, 12.4.1729, unnumbered folios, inv. q^m Marquis Domenico Maria Orsini: “Un cimbalo verniciato rosso con filetto d’oro, e suoi piedi parimente con filetto d’oro a due registri con legivo [= music-desk] sopra, scudi 5.-.”

D.1731. ASAC-7206, 30.1.1731, inv. q^m Giuseppe Perugini: “[f. 158r] Un cemblo a due registri con sua cassa attaccata [a two-register *cembalo* with its case attached, i.e., of the false inner-outer type], colorita rossa rabescata d’oro con suoi piedi sotto, scudi 2.50.”

D.1732.TNC-19- year 1732-IV, 16.1.1732, inv. q^m Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli: “[f. 500v] Un cimbalo a due registri levatore di cassa ottavino in buon essere, scudi 8.-.” [= “A two-register *cembalo* at the octave, extractable from the case,” i.e., of the inner-outer type]

D.1736. VAOttoboni-95, receipt no. 11, 24.2.1736 (“Lista de lavori fatti da Gio. Antonio Alari per servizio dell’Em.^{mo} et Rev.^{mo} Sig.^r Card.^e Ottoboni”):

“Per aver fatto di nuovo la cassa del cembalo in sesta del Torres, scudi 6.-; Per aver impennato il detto cembalo tanto di penne, che di mollette, messi li scarlattini a tutti li saltarelli per esser tarlati, rifatti n° 9 frontali di osso, che mancavano alla tastatura, scudi 1.-; Per aver fatto di nuovo il leggivo con suoi maschietti d’ottone, scudi 1.-; Per aver disfatto tutta la tastatura, e contro tastatura del cembalo a martellini con averla rimessa nel suo piano e messo, sì dove posano li tasti, che dove termina la contro tastatura sotto li martellini due grossezze di morlacco, et una di panno, et una sopra la contro tastatura, che fà terminazione al gioco dellli martellini, con averci rimesso tutti gli smorzatori di morlacco, che per esserci stati messi d’esca non erano al caso, anzi nel muovere la tastatura restavano attaccati tra le corde, scudi 3.-; Per aver impennato sì di penne, che di mollette per essere tutte tarlate il cembalo ottava stesa a tre registri fatto dal Sig.^r D. Giuseppe Mondini, scudi 1.20; Per aver accommodato il cembalo del teatro, scudi 9.-; Per aver accommodato il cembalo, che deve servire a Porto, scudi 15.-; Per un martellino per accordare, scudi 3.- / Io sottoscritto ho ricevuto dall’Em.^{mo} Ottoboni per le mani del Sig.^r Giacomo Cesari scudi undici moneta quali sono per saldo del sud.^o conto questo dì 24 febraro 1736. Io Matteo Alari.”

D.1736a. TNC-36-208, 9.4.1736, inv. q^m Marquis Ottaviano Acciaioli: “[f. 242v] Un cimbalo di un registro con sopraccassa e piedi lisci con coperta di corame dorato, scudi 8.-.”

D.1736b. TNC-37-337, 18.4.1736, inv. q^m Marchioness Imperia Carandini de Bonisaune: “[f. 60r] Un cembalo a due registri con rosa in mezzo, cassa levatoria, tinto color di noce et il di dentro dipinto con diverse figure indiane, e suoi piedi e leggivo [= music-rest], il sopra fondo del medemo spaccato e scatenato [= the sound-board of the same broken and with unglued cross-bar], scudi 5.-.”

D.1737. TNC-6-316, f. 141, 25.1.1737, inv. q^m Count Girolamo Ottone: “[f. 170r] Un cimbro di ottava stesa a tre registri, cassa levatoria [= extractable case], e tastatura d’avorio con copertina di corame, piedi di legno torniti, scudi 10.-.”

D.1737a. TNC-26-338, 6.4.1737, inv. q^m Marquis Giovanni Filippo Serlupi: “[f. 446] Due cembali con cassa levatoria a due registri con suoi piedi torniti, e contracassa tornita con putti e rabbesi, scudi 12.-; [f. 449r] Una spinetta con sua contracassa di legno rabescata, e fiorata, scudi 1.-; [f. 452r] Un cembalo in piedi con sua contracassa di legno intagliata, e dorata all’antica a due registri, scudi 8.-; [f. 544v] Un cembalo a due registri con cassa levatoria, e contracassa svenata [and outer case with no (visible) grain] e piedi torniti, scudi 4.-.”

D.1737b. TNC-4-404, 14.8.1737, inv. q^m Marquis Nicola Raimondi: “[f. 498r-v] Un cembalo a due registri con sua cassa levatoria, copertina di corame sopra [= leather cover on top], con suoi piedi torniti a tortiglione [= spiral-turned legs], si stima scudi 8.-; [f. 500r] Un cembalo a due registri con cassa levatoria all’antica con sua serratura, e chiave, scudi 6.-.”

D.1737c. ASAC-7220, 11.10.1737, inv. q^m Count Ferdinando Bolognetti: “[f. 343v] Un cimbro a ottava stesa levatore dalla cassa [= extractable from the case, i.e., of the inner-outer type] con piedi intagliati, e cassa liscia, ingessati, e imbruniti rabescati, e filettati d’oro con tastatura d’ebano, e d’avorio a due registri, e copertina di corame [= leather cover], scudi 30.-; [f. 457r, at Tivoli] Un cimbro in sesta [= i.e., with C/E short octave] levatore di cassa à due registri con tastatura di busso, ed ebano [= boxwood and ebony keyboard] con contracassa liscia, e tinta di rosso con filetti dorati con suoi piedi torniti compagni, scudi 8.-.”

D.1737d. ASAC-7220, 19.12.1737, inv. Cecilia Beccadelli: “[f. 843v] Un cembalo à due registri con cassa dipinta alla cinese, e piedi intagliati dorati, scudi 20.-.”

D.1738. TNC-10-441, 10.9.1738, inv. q^m Cl.^{ma} Vincenza Lante Della Rovere: “[f. 54v] Un cembalo di trè registri con cassa levatoria, e controcassa svenata color di pietra filettata d’oro [= and outer case with no (visible) grain, stone-color, with gold lines] con suoi piedi torniti, e intagliati, scudi 5.-; [f. 56r] Una spinetta con sua controcassa di legno rabescata d’oro con fondo verde con sua serratura, e chiave alta palmo uno, e longa palmi quattro, scudi 2.-; [f. 57v] Un cimbalo grande longo palmi dieci di due registri con cassa levatore e controcassa di legno dorata con fiori torchini, con piedi di legno torniti tinti torchini, e filettati d’oro con copertina di corame, scudi 8.-; [f. 71r] Un cimbalo di tre registri con tre colonnelle sotto dipinte ad uso di pietra filettata d’oro.”

D.1739. ASAC-5235, 17.8.1739, inv. q^m Marquis Ottavio Origo: “[f. 322r] Un cembalo con tre figure dorate che lo sostengono, con sua cassa e contracassa dorata a due registri, scudi 8.-.”

D.1740. ASAC-1836, 10.5.1740, inv. q^m Marquis Vincenzo Nunes: “[fs. 31v-32r] Un cimbalo a due registri tutto scordato, e senza corde coperto di damasco cremisi [= lined with crimson damask], il coperchio di dentro dipinto con un paese [= the inner side of the lid painted with a landscape] con copertina di corame con piedi intagliati e dorati con trina mischia d’oro falso senza segno dell’Autore, scudi 15.-; [f. 117r] Un cimbalo a due registri con tastatura di avorio, ed ebano con sua copertina di corame e suoi piedi torniti tutto colorito rosso, scudi 8.-.”

D.1740a. ASAC-1830, 3.10.1740, inv. q^m Cardinal Carlo Barberini (“Villa ad Bastiones,” Rome; requested by Princess Cornelia Costanza Barberini): “[f. 1074v] Un cembalo a due registri con tastatura di busso con sua controcassa foderata di corame verde, et oro a scaglia di pesce guarnita di passamano verde, bollettinata d’ottone con arme sopra della Cas[a]ta con cappello [= the hat of the Cardinal’s coat of arms], piedi a colonnette tinte torchini, e filetti dorati [= column-shaped legs painted dark blue with gold lines], scudi 10.-”

D.1742. TNC-13-537, 11.1.1742, inv. Marquis Francesco Serlupi Crescenzi: “[f. 24v] Un cembalo a due registri con sua controcassa dipinta a paesi, e boscareccie [= its outer case with landscapes and sylvan views painted], con piede antico intagliato, et in parte dorato [...], scudi 25.-; [f. 52r] Un cimbalo à due registri con cassa levatoria, e tastatura di avorio, con sua controcassa svenata con piedi a cavalletto, e copertina di corame [...], scudi 15.-; [f. 242v] Un cimbalo à due registri con cassa levatoria, e controcassa svenata à verde antico con piedi di legno lisci, e tastatura di busso, scudi 6.-.”

D.1742a. TNC-24-464, 12.1.1742, inv. q^m Marsilij Lutij: “[f. 42r-v] Un cembalo a ottava stesa, tre registri, e controcassa dipinta di lacca rossa, filettata d’oro falso [false gold, i.e., lacquered tin or silver leaf] usato, e sconcordato con suo piede, scudi 20.-; Altri due cembali piccoli, uno a due registri, et uno a uno, con sopraccassa attaccata [= with its outer case attached, i.e., of the false inner-outer type], uno lacero e rotto e l’altro poco buono, uno tinto di rosso, e l’altro filettato di bianco, scudi 3.-; [f. 74r] Un cembalo a due registri con rosa in mezzo e sua sopraccassa tinta di lacca rossa filettata d’oro, con suoi piedi torniti compagni, scudi 6.-.”

D.1742b. TNC-11-367, 18.8.1742, inv. q^m Duke Roberto Altemps: “[f. 120r, Altemps palace, piazza S. Apollinare] Un ciembalo piccolo con tastatura impellicciata di matreperla [= veneered with mother-of-pearl]

con cassa levatoria e con trassa nera filettata d'oro sostenuta da un strabocco [= ibex] arma della Casa, scudi 8.-."

D.1742c. TNC-36-214, 20.12.1742, inv. q^m Ill.^{mo} Luca Antonio Cicciaporci: "[f. 1037v] Un cimbolo a tre registri con sua cassa, e piedi dipinta d'oro e fiorami, scudi 20.-; [f. 1064v] Un cimbolo andante [= common] a due registri con cassa inverniciata color di noce, scudi 6.-."

D.1743. ASRCA-607, 13.1.1743, inv. q^m Cardinal Camillo Cybo: "[f. 118v, "nel coretto contiguo corrispondente alla Cappella"] Un cimbalo con piedi di legno tinto rosso ordinario a due registri con cassa di legno dipinta e copertina sopra di corame rosso, scudi 4.-; [f. 247v] Un cimbalo con sua cassa di legno dipinto e filettato di oro, e piedi simili, del Prete [= Giuseppe Mondini], stimato scudi 60.-; Altro cimbalo con sua cassa, e piedi di legno venato d'acero [= wooden legs grained in imitation of maple], e filettato d'oro stimato scudi 15.-"

D.1743a. TNC-7-347, 8.2.1743, inv. q^m Cardinal Nicola Giudice: "[f. 328] Un cuperchio di cembalo [= a harpsichord lid] dipinto in tavola con diverse figure rappresentanti baccanale = del Tintoretto = con cornice negra a due ordini d'intaglio dorati."

D.1743b. TNC-29-377, 5.11.1743, inv. q^m Marchioness Girolama Lanci Altemps (palace at Via del Corso): "[fs. 875v-876r] Un cimbolo in sesto [= i.e., with C/E short octave] a tre registri con sua cassa levatoria tinta rossa rabescata con suoi piedi fatti a colonna parimenti tinti rossi, scudi 6.-; Altro cimbolo più grande in ottava stesa [= extended (bottom) octave] a due registri con cassa levatoria tinta color di noce [= walnut painted], e filettata d'oro con suoi piedi torniti parimente tinti color di noce, e filettati come sopra, scudi 10.-"

D.1744. ASAC-1849, 24.3.1744, inv. q^m Marquis Camillo Massimo: "[f. 632r] Un cimbalo in ottava stesa, a due registri, cassa levatoria, tastatura di avorio, con sopracassa, e suoi piedi lisci indorata, scudi 20.-"

D.1744a. TNC-25-583, 26.3.1744, inv. q^m Marquis Matteo Sacchetti: "[f. 401v] Un cimbalo grande in ottava stesa con sua cassa levatoria con tastatura di busso, con bemolli d'ebano [= with ebony accidentals] con suo piede intagliato di legno bianco, scudi 35.-"

D.1744b. TNC-29-378, 23.6.1744, inv. q^m Prince Girolamo Vaini: "[f. 1324r-v] Un cimbalo a due registri cassa levatoria con tastatura d'ebano negro, e avorio, con contracassa dipinta con prospettive, marine e figure originali di Ghisolfi, scudi 25.-"

D.1744c. TNC-25, year 1744/III, 7.9.1744, inv. q^m Duke Giuseppe Sforza Cesarini: "[f. 87r] Un cimbalo a due registri con tastature di busso [= boxwood keyboard] con sua cassa levatoria tinta rossa e dipinta a oro

con piedi simili, e copertina di corame, scudi 5.-; [f. 234r] Un cembalo a due registri, e ottava stesa con cassa levatoria, tinta al di fuori torchina [= deep-blue painted at the outside] con filetti d'oro con suo piede sotto con putti e intagli dorati stimato in tutto scudi 20.-”

D.1745. TNC-10-461, 10.1.1745, inv. q^m Princess Maria Eleonora Boncompagni Ludovisi: “[f. 202r] Un cimbalo a due registri con cassa dipinta a fiori e piedi simili, scudi 3.-”

D.1745a. TNC-18-736, 11.5.1745, inv. q^m Marchioness Clementia Palombara Corsini: “[f. 183r] Un cimbalo a ottava stesa a due registri con sua cassa con tastatura di busso, e sopra cassa color di noce svenata, e filettata d'oro con suoi piedi torniti, scudi 10.-; [f. 200r-v] Un cimbalo a settembrino [sic] a due registri con tastatura di busso, sua cassa levatoria, e suo leggivo, sopraccassa di albuccio ingessata brunita con filetti d'oro, suoi piedi torniti compagni stimato scudi 15.-; [f. 267v] Un cimbalo con sua cassa levatoria a due registri e sopraccassa con tastatura di avorio in sesta [= A two-register harpsichord with its extractable case and outer case, with ivory keyboard, C/E short octave], scudi 2.-”

D.1745b. TNC-16-350, 24.5.1745, inv. q^m Antonio Perignani: “[f. 837v-838r] Un cimbalo in sesta a due registri levatore di cassa dipinto con diversi fiori e fascie dorate con suo piede intagliato dorato, scudi 18.-”

D.1746. TNC-31-524, 28.11.1746, inv. q^m Marquis Giuseppe Maria Maccarani: “[f. 256v] Un cimbalo ottava in sesta a due registri con cassa attaccata [with its (outer) case attached, i.e., of the false inner-outer type], e sopraccassa tinta di lacca rossa con cartoline alla cinese, con piedi intagliati tinti rossi, scudi 6.-”

D.1747. ASAC-3801, whole volume (unnumbered folios), 29.11.1747, inv. q^m Prince Camillo Pamphilj: “Un cimbalo a due registri di ottava stesa con cassa levatoria, e tastatura di busso con controcassa di legno dipinta a boscareccie [= sylvan views painetd] e di fuora à rableschi con suoi ferri [= pull-down iron bars for pedals?] tinti rossi e filettati gialli, scudi 6.-; [...] Un cimbalo in 6^a a due registri svenato, ò sia tinto color celeste chiaro con piedi torniti [= A two-register *cembalo* with C/E short octave, with no (visible) grain, that is painted light sky-blue, with turned legs], scudi 5.-”

D.1748. TNC-29-386, 23.4.1748, inv. q^m Marquis Patrizio Patrizi: “[f. 2013r] Un cembalo di ottava stesa a tre registri, cassa levatoria, cassa brunita color di perle [= polished case, pearl-color] filettata, e dorata a segreto con piedi torniti bruniti, e filettati d'oro a segreto, scudi 30.-”

D.1750. ASAC-5279, 7.11.1750, inv. q^m Prince Francesco Colonna Sciarra: “[f. 443v] Un cimbalo in sesta con tastatura di avolio con cassa

levatora di albuccio [= white poplar] dipinta con fogliami d'oro, con piedi dritti, stimato scudi 10.-; [f. 515v] Un cimbalo con suo piede di ottava stesa con sua cassa levatoria tinta rossa filettata d'oro bono [= true gold leaf], stimato scudi 15.-.”

D.1751. TNC-30-521, 4.5.1751, inv. q^m Count Nicola Buti: “[f. 215v] Un cimbalo con cassa ferma [unmovable case, i.e., of the false inner-outer type] a due registri, scudi 3.-; [f. 217r] Un cimbalo d'ottava stesa a due registri con cassa levatoria [i.e., of the inner-outer type] e dipinta con suoi piedi torniti, scudi 12.-.”

D.1751a. ASAC-3813, 9.12.1751, inv. q^m Duchess Maria Giulia Boncompagni Ottoboni: “[f. 571v] Un cembalo in sesto con cassa levatoria a due registri con cassa dipinta a fogliami con piedi intagliati e dorati, scudi 6.-; [f. 616r] Un'organetto tutto disfatto, e rotto, spettante alla detta eredità di D. Marco [Boncompagni Ottoboni] e stimato nel presente inventario scudi 0.40.”

D.1752. TNC-6-361, 14.8.1752, inv. q^m Marquis Prospero Caffarelli: “[f. 619v] Un cembalo d'ottava stesa con cassa levatoria a due registri, e controcassa color di noce, con filetti d'oro, con piede tornito tirato simile, filettato d'oro, con copertina di corame sopra, scudi 12.-.”

D.1752a. TNC-34-271, 1.9.1752, reading of the will of Duke Zenobio Savelli Palombara (will dated 14.8.1845): “[f. 145r] Item per ragion di legato lasciamo al Molto Rev.^{do} Sig.^r D. Giacomo Perciballi l'organo da Noi comprato dall'eredità del Cardinal Pietro Ottobono per scudi duecento e ottanta, e da Noi fattoci fare le rote sotto, acciò si possa portare, dove si vuole [...]; [f. 147r, codicil dated 8.9.1750] Considerando ch'havendo disposto dell'organo da Noi comprato dall'eredità della Ch. Me. del Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni per scudi duecento ottanta, e lasciatolo al Rev.^{do} Sig.^r D. Giacomo Perciballi, e trovandosi in età avanzata oltre alla spesa et incomodo grande che si ricercarebbe per farlo condurre a Banco sua patria, et havendoci fatto fare le rote di sotto per moverlo in qualunque occorrenza così ancora li abbiamo fatto fare sei sonate che con il solo vento de mantici le suona, li lasciamo al Sig.^r Marchese Massimiliano Savelli Palombara acciò lo faccia situare nella cammera lunga ad uso di galleria in Casa Palombara verso piazza Colonna a suoi figlioli in infinito [...].”

D.1752b. TNC-34-271, 19.9.1752, inv. q^m Duca Zenobio Savelli Palombara: “[f. 199r, in the Sala Grande di Castel S. Angelo] Un'organo a dieci registri, con credenzone tutto di noce scorniciato con riporti d'intaglio di legno indorati, con chiave, e serratura, scudi 300.-; Un banchetto d'albuccio da sedere per sonare l'organo, scudi 0.30; [f. 199v] Un

cimbalo à tre registri ottava stesa, con cassa cremisi lumeggiata, e filettata d'oro [= with crimson case, highlighted and with gold lines], piedi torniti, e copertina di corame, scudi 18.-; Una cassetta di legno bianco con dentro un regaletto [= small regal] fatto ad organo con due manticini, scudi 10.-; [f. 205r] Un cimbalo d'ottava stesa a due registri con contro-cassa dipinta a paesi e filetti dorati, e piedi torniti, scudi 25.-; [f. 207r] Un organetto alla Tedesca, con cassa di noce, scudi 5.-"

D.1752c. TNC-29-395, 4.12.1752, inv. q^m Marquis Ottavio Sacchetti: "[f. 1009v] Un cembalo a due registri mezzano con tastatura di fico d'India d'avolio con cassa levatoria gessata, e brunita filettata d'oro dentro, e fuori [= A two-register medium size harpsichord with prickly pear and ivory keyboard, with extractable casing stuccoed, burnished and with gold lines on the inside and outside] con piede intelarato liscio con festoni con piede a piramide, e crociata centinata, e intagliata con amo-rino, il tutto dorato con copertina di corame, scudi 50.-"

D.1752d. ASAC-3817 (the whole volume, unnumbered folios), 22.12.1752, inv. q^m Duke Clemente Domenico Rospigliosi: "[palace in Rome, at Monte Cavallo] Un cembalo grande di ottava stesa con cassa levatoria in parte guasta con piede intagliato con putti, il tutto dorato con sua copertina corame, scudi 20.-; [...] Una spinetta con sua contro cassa inverniciata alla Cinese con mensola sotto con statuetta di legno, scudi 10.-; Un cembalo in sesto [i.e., with C/E short octave] con cassa alla levatoria, e contro cassa dipinta a scherzi di putti di buona maniera con cornice intagliata, e piede sotto parimente intagliato, e dorato con copertina di corame, scudi 100.-; [...] Un cembalo in sesto con sua contro cassa levatoria dipinta torchina [= deep blue] con piedi torniti, scudi 6.-; [...] Un cembalo d'ottava stesa con cassa levatoria e controcassa ingessata filettata d'oro con piedi compagni, e copertina di corame, scudi 20.-; [palace at Maccarese] Un cembalo in 6° con controcassa ingessata, et im-brunita con copertina di corame, scudi 6.-; [...] Un cembalo in 6° con sua controcassa, e copertina di corame, scudi 3.-; [...] Un cembalo in 6° a due registri con cassa dipinta, e piedi torniti tinti neri, scudi 6.-; [...] Un cembalo in 6° con tastature di avorio dipinto con figure alla Cinese, e fondo nero filettato di oro [A C/E short-octave *cembalo* with ivory keyboard, Chinese-style figures painted on a black background with gold lines] copertina di corame, e piedi torniti tinti neri filettati oro, scudi 12.-; Un cembalo in 6^a con cassa bianca sua coperta di corame serratura e chiave, scudi 5.-"

D.1753. TNC-30, year 1753-II, 18.5.1753, inv. Marchioness Porzia Gabrielli Palombara (widow of Marquis Massimiliano Savelli Palombara,

palace at "Monte Citatorio," i.e., Monte Citorio of today): "[f. 386r] Un cembalo in sesta a due registri con cassa, e sopracassa e piedi imbruniti bianchi filettati d'oro, scudi 10.-."

D.1753a. ASAC-5294, 1.10.1753, inv. q^m Marquis Giovanni Giorgio Costaguti (palace at Piazza Mattei): "[f. 349v] Un cembalo grande a ottava stesa con sua controcassa e piedi antichi fatti a colonnetta con fondo nero lumeggiato ad oro, nel di dentro del coperchio vi è una battaglia opera di Monsù Enrico Vespez Fiamingo, benchè nel libro intitolato Sinopsi dica sia dipinto da Guido Reni, scudi 40.-; [f. 371v] Un cimbalo in sesto tutto guasto con alcune pitture dipinte dal Pussini con piedi torniti à colonnette, et il tutto in cattivo stato, scudi 3.-; [f.372r] Un cimbalo di ottava stesa à due registri con cassa levatoria, e controcassa ingessata, e brunita di color di perle scorniciata, e filettata d'oro con piede intagliato bianco, scudi 30.-."

D.1753b. ASAC-3818, 9.4.1753, inv. q^m Cardinal Antonio Ruffo: "[f. 661v] Un cembalo d'ottava stesa con cassa levatoria a due registri e controcassa d'abbeto [A two-register cembalo, with extractable case and silver-fir outer case] con sua copertina di corame, e suoi piedi torniti, scudi 15.-; [f. 662r] Una spinetta, che suona da sè, con sua controcassa di noce, e copertina di corame [A spinet which plays by itself, with its walnut outer casing and leather cover], scudi 8.-; [f. 668r-v, "Nella cappella"] Un'organo, con sue canne di stagno [with its tin pipes], con tastatura di busso, suoi mantaci [bellows], controcassa di legno ingessata [stuccoed], e svenata color d'alabastro filettato d'oro, e sua copertina di fustagno giallo [= wooden casing stuccoed and with no (visible) grain alabaster-color, and its yellow-corduroy cover], scudi 60.-"

D.1753c. TNC-28-494, 13.11.1753, inv. q^m Giovanni Battista Testa, organ-builder: "[f. 595r] Un cembalo con cassa di albuccio ingessata, e svenata a tre registri intiero [= "A three-register harpsichord with white-poplar casing stuccoed and with no (visible) grain, whole," i.e., of false inner-outer type], co' suoi piedi di legno ingessati bianchi; [f. 618r] alcune penne da cembalo [= some harpsichord quills]."

D.1755. TNC-16-370, 29.1.1755, inv. q^m Marquis Emilio Orsini de Cavalieri Carpino Sennesi: "[f. 178v] Un cembalo in sesta con sua controcassa inverniciata alla cinese, scudi 5.-."

D.1755a. TNC-7-372, 5.5.1755, inv. q^m Ignazio de Ugalde [a Spaniard]: "[f. 645r] Un cimbalo in sesto con cassa levatoria, e controcassa foderata di marochino rosso guarnita a due ordini di trina gialla con suo cuscino levatore, e fusto di noce a tortiglione, scudi 6.-; [f.646v]

Una piccola spinetta a due registri con cassa di legno bianco e tastature di busso, scudi 1.-.”

D.1756. ASRCA-1085, 8.7.1756, inv. q^m Maffeo Barberini: “[f. 61r] Un cembalo con piedi dritti dipinti verdi e filettati, con tasti di madre perla, e copertina di corame.”

D.1757. TNC-16-574, 18.3.1757, inv. q^m Marquis Tiberio Astalli: “[f. 496v] Un cimbolo in sesta con sua cassa sotto a tre registri sue tastature d’avorio, con sopracassa ricoperta di pelle rossa rabescata d’oro [= outer case covered with red leather with gold arabesques], e suoi piedi torniti, scudi 7.-.”

D.1759. ASAC-3839, 12.12.1759, inv. q^m Prince Nicola Maria Pallavicini (brother of the late Domenico Clemente). In the Pallavicini palace, at Monte Cavallo: “[f. 521v, in the “Camera fuori la detta galleria detta d’udienza”] Un cembalo in 6^a con cassa lumeggiata d’oro, e piedi a colonnette intagliati, scudi 8.-; [f. 523v, nella camera “detta Passetto”] Un cembalo di ottava stesa con sua controcassa, e piedi simili, scudi 10.-.”

D.1760. TNC-6-384, 6.3.1760, inv. q^m Count Pietro Stivini: “[f. 585v, at Rimini] Una spinetta piccola in ottavino [= a spinet at the octave] in cui stanno descritte le seguenti parole e numeri: Blasij Amati a Gates [Gaces?] MDCXXXVII, stimato scudi 1.-.”

D.1762. TNC-37-405, 13.4.1762, inv. q^m Ill.^{mi} Majoris Laurentij Molara: “[f. 136r-v] Un cembalo d’ottava stesa cassa levatoria a due registri, con tastatura d’avorio con sua controcassa ingessata, e brunita color di perla e filettato d’oro, e copertina di corame, scudi 8.-.”

D.1762a. TNC-37-405, 18.5.1762, inv. q^m Lorenzo Bernini: “[f. 818r] Un cembalo a due registri con cassa attaccata [i.e., of the false inner-outer type] con copertina sopra di corame vecchio con cassa tinta rossa e filettata d’argento con vernice, e suoi piedi con tre delfini sotto, in cativo stato, scudi 3.-.”

D.1763. TNC-25-638, 31.5.1763, inv. q^m Maria Caterina Peroni Ghezzi: “[f. 224v] Un cembalo a tre registri con cassa dipinta, scudi 12.-.”

D.1765. VSBoncomp-821, fasc. 8, fs. 131-53, no date (“Nota degli argenti, mobili [...] consegnati a S. E. Rev.^{ma} Mons. D. Ignazio [Boncompagni Ludovisi] figlio, in occasione che assunse l’abito prelatizio, e della sua vice-legazione di Bologna [...],” [1765]): “[f. 137v] Un cembalo nobile con sopracassa imbrunita color di perla a rableschi d’argento, ed oro, con suoi piedi simili, scudi 120.-; Una spinetta nobile pagata scudi 150.-.”

D.1766. ASAC-4375 (the whole volume, unnumbered folios), 14.11.1766, inv. q^m Girolamo Theodoli: "Un ciembalo in sesta con sua cassa, tre registri, e sopracassa dorata storiata [= decorated] con figurine, sua copertina di corame con suoi piedi che la sostengono, tre putti, scudi 35.-"

D.1767. VACHigi-1817, *Inventario de mobili ed altro di S. Eccellenza il Sig.^r* D. Sigismondo Chigi [...], year 1767, unnumbered folios: "[palace at piazza Colonna, in the "Gabinetto de Disegni"] Una sedia a tre piedi giratoria con suoi bracciali, spalliere, e cuscino simile a dette sedie [= A swivel three-leg chair with its arm-rests, back, and a cushion similar to that of the previously-mentioned chairs]; Un cembalo con cinque piedi a zampa di capra imbrunito color perla, con fogliami dorati, e filettati d'oro [A *cembalo* with five goat-paw shaped legs, burnished pearl color, with golden and gold-trimmed foliage]."

D.1767-70. VACHigi-2709, *Entrata e uscita dell'Ecc.^{mo} Principe di Campagnano* [Sigismondo Chigi]. (1) f. 10v (year 1767), 20.10.1767: "A Nicola Palazzi organaro scudi 1.20 moneta per aver accomodato un cembalo in ottava stesa, ed accordato per servizio della Ecc.^{ma} Principessa di Campagnano sposa, come da ricevuta n° 11, scudi 1.20;" (2) f. 8r (year 1769), 26.12.1769: "A Nicola Palazzi cimbalaro scudi 10.- m.^{ta} per sua mercede di aver mantenuto, e accordato il cembalo di S. Ecc.^{za} la Sig.^{ra} Principessa Sposa in mesi 10 da Marzo pass.^{to} a tutto Decembre cad.^{te}, come da ricevuta n° 304, scudi 10.-;" (3) VACHigi-2710, *Entrata e uscita* [...], year 1770, f. 44, 2.7.1770: "A Nicola Palazzo cembalaro scudi 6.80 m.^{ta}, che baiocchi 80 per aver fatto un leggivo [= music-stand] nuovo traforato con suo alzatore sotto e scudi 6.- per aver mantenuto, ed'accordato il cembalo della sud.^a Sig.^{ra} Prencipessa in mesi 6 à tutto giugno pross.^{mo} come da conto, e ricevuta n° 169, scudi 6.80;" (4) VACHigi-2708, *Giustificazioni*, year 1770, no. 122: "Io sotto scritto hò ricevuto dal Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^r Principe Chigi, per le mano dl Sig.^r Filippo Fulgenti, scudi quattro e baiocchi 10 quali sono per avere messo tutte le corde, penne, e panni a un cembalo a due tastiere, e mi chiamo contento, e sodisfatto del tutto, in fede questo di 16 Maggio 1770, dico scudi 4.10. / Io Nicola Palazzi."

D.1769. VARosp-1140, 6.5.1769, inv. of the Rospigliosi property, pro Prince Giovanni Battista Rospigliosi Pallavicini (palace at Monte Cavallo): "[f. 80v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa detto del Prete [= Giuseppe Mondini], con sua controcassa con piede dorato, e detta controcassa dipinta, e sua copertina di corame, scudi 100.-; [fs. 93v-94r] Un cembalo di ottava stesa con cassa levatoria, e tastatura di avorio, contro-

cassa dipinta à varj putti con scorniciature e piedi intagliati, e dorati, e copertina di corame, scudi 50.-.”

D.1769–70. (1) VACHigi-2707, *Giustificazioni*, year 1769, no. 86: “Io sottoscritto hò ricevuto dal Sig.^r Filippo Fulgenti Maestro di Casa di Sua Ecc.^{za} il Sig.^r Duca di Campagnano [recte: Principe di Campagnano, Sigismondo Chigi] scudi quattro e baiocchi 10 quali sono per l’accomodatura del cembalo a martello di Sua Ecc.^{za} sud.^a. In fede questo dì 12 aprile 1769, dico scudi 4.10. / Giouacchino Martelli;” (2) VACHigi-2709, *Entrata e uscita dell’Ecc.^{mo} Principe di Campagnano* [Sigismondo Chigi], years 1767–69, f. 45v, 12.4.1769: “A Michele Saccone cembalaro scudi 5.- moneta per suo salario di avere accordato il cembalo a martellino di S. Ecc.^{za} Padrone di mesi 5 à tutto aprile cad.^{te}, a ragione di scudi 1.- il mese come da ricevuta n° 90, scudi 5.-;” (3) VACHigi-2707, *Giustificazioni*, anno 1769, no. 90: “Io infrascrito ò ricevuto dal Sig.^r Filippo Fulgenti Maestro di Casa di Sua E. il Sig.^r Principe di Campagnano scudi cinque quali sono per salario per accordare il cimbalo a martelino; mi dichiaro contento e sodisfato questo dì 21 aprile 1769, dico scudi 5.- / Michele Saccone ho ricevuto;” (4) VACHigi-2708, *Giustificazioni*, anno 1770, no. 183: “Io sottoscritto hò ricevuto dal Sig.^r Filippo Fulgenti M.^{ro} di Casa di S. Ecc.^{za} il Sig.^r Principe Ghigi scudi sette m.^{ta} quali sono per l’accordatura del cembalo a martelli di S. Ecc.^{za} da Gennaio prossimo passato a tutto il cadente mese a ragione di scudi uno il mese. In fede questo dì 30 Luglio 1770, scudi 7.- m.^{ta}, / Io Michele Saccone ho ricevuto.”

D.1770. VACHigi-2708, *Giustificazioni* (Sigismondo Chigi), year 1770. (1) No. 99, 28.4.1770: “Provisioni assegnate alli musici e sonatori per l’accademia, che si tiene ogni venerdì a sera in tutto il mese, cioè: Alli sonatori, scudi 7.50; Al Sig.^{re} Cristofari musicò, scudi 6.15; Al Sig.^{re} Cosimini musicò, scudi 4.10; Al Ramaricano, scudi 3.07 ½; [Total] scudi 20.82 ½;” (2) No. 178: “Per aver due volte dato lo spartito di musica per l’accademie nella Quaresima del 1769 [= the music score for the academies of the 1769 Lent], scudi 2.05; Per lo spartito di Gasman nella prima accademia del corrente anno, scudi 1.02; Per la copia delle seguenti arie: Quanto mai felici siete, scudi 0.60; Pensa a serbarmi o cara, scudi 0.60; Recagli quell’acciaro, scudi 0.60; [Total] scudi 4.87. / Ho ricevuto dal Sig.^{re} Giuseppe Lafaggi li sud.^{tti} scudi 4.87 [...] 22 luglio 1770. / Luigi de Rossi.”

D.1771. TNC-29-428, 12.8.1771, inv. q^m Prospero Bernini: “[f. 458v] Un cimbalo in ottava stesa à due registri con tastature d’avolio con cassa

levatora tinta di lacca rossa con piedi torniti simili fatto dal Girolami [= Girolamo Zenti], scudi 20.-.”

D.1772. TNC-8-378, 19.5/16.6.1772, inv. q^m Count Orazio Marescotti: “[f. 530v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa [= extended (bottom) octave] con sua cassa levatoria cinnerina [= ash-grey extractable case], scudi 8.-; [f. 679v] Un cembalo in sesta con sua cassa bianca, e torchina [= white and deep blue case], scudi 6.-”

D.1772a. BCAntin-921, *Giustificazioni*, December 1772: “Habbiamo riceuto da Sua Ecc.^{za} il Sig.^{re} Gran Priore Donato Antinori scudi ottantasei mo.^{ta}. E questi per valuta di un cembalo d’Inchilterra a martelletti con piano e forte, con sua muta di corde adattate per tal istromento. Così resta convenuto, in fede questo dì 28 dicembre 1772, scudi 86 m.^{ta}. / Pica Tofani , e Comp.ⁱ.”

D.1774. TNC-3-445, 10.12.1774, inv. q^m Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Stoppani: “[fs. 324v–325r] Un cembalo in sesta a due registri con piedi all’antica parte dorato ad oro buono [= true gold leaf], e parte d’argento a vernice [= lacquered silver-leaf], stimato scudi 10.-”

D.1775. ASDrago-477, “Filza delle giustificazioni del libro maestro della primogenitura Gentili in persona dell’Ill.^{ma} Sig.ra Marchesa Margarita Sparapani Gentili Boccapadule dal primo genn.^o 1775 a tutto li 31 dec. 1777;” January 1775: “Conto del costo, e spese di un Piano, e Forte piccolo dell’Autore Americano Backers, commesso in Londra, e da colà spedito in Livorno, da dove alla Ripa di Roma, per conto dell’Ill.^{ma} Sig.^{ra} Marchesa Gentili. / Per il costo del sudetto Piano, e Forte di 16 Guineas, Lire 16.16 sterline. [There follow shipping, customs and portage costs] Totale scudi 92.07, gennaio 1775.”

D.1775a. VABoncomp-821, fasc. 8, fs. 131–53, year 1775 (“Nota degli argenti, mobili [...] consegnati a S. E. R.^{ma} Mons.^r D. Ignazio figlio, in occasione, che assunse l’abito prelatizio, e della sua vice legazione di Bologna [...]”): “[f. 137r] Un cembalo nobile con sopracassa imbrunita color di perla a rableschi d’argento, ed oro, con suoi piedi simili, scudi 120.-; Una spinetta nobile pagata scudi 150.-”

D.1775b. TNC-10-556, unnumbered folios, 11.1.1775, inv. q^m Prince Angelo Gabrielli: “Un cembalo in ottava stesa con due registri con controcassa incessata, e suoi piedi torniti a balustra, scudi 12.-; [...] Un cembalo stragrande di ottava stesa con cassa levatoria a due registri con tastatura di avolio, e controcassa tutta dorata, e suo piede intagliato parimenti, e tutto dorato con copertina di corame stampata rossa, scudi 60.-; [...] Un cembalo d’ottava stesa con tastatura di bosso e cassa levatoria con controcassa inverniciata color di noce, scudi 5.-”

D.1775c. TNC-24-532, 22.5.1775, inv. q^m Count Vincenzo Roncioni: “[f. 85v] Un cembalo d’ottava stesa filettato d’oro, con fondo cenerino [= ash-grey sound-board], con piede sotto intagliato all’antica, colla cassa levatoria a due registri, scudi 12.-.”

D.1775d. ASAC-4862, (whole volume, unnumbered folios), 23.12.1775, inv. q^m Count Giacomo Bolognetti Alamandini: “Un cembalo in ottava stesa a due registri con tastatura di avorio, e cassa levatoria con controcassa ingessata, e brunita color di perla filettata, e rabescata, fù stimato scudi 30.-; [...] Un cembalo in sesta, con suo registro doppio, con cassa levatoria, tastatura di busso e controcassa dipinta a boscareccia ingessata, e brunita bianca, e filettata d’oro con piedi simili a piramide, fù stimato scudi 10.-.”

D.1777. TNC-10-562, 28.5.1777, inv. Prince Gaetano Boncompagni Ludovisi: “[fs. 142v–143r, “Palazzo della Pilotta”] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con sua contracassa a due registri con tastatura di busso e ebano negro con contracassa venata color di pietra filettata d’oro, con suo piede fatto a piramide in parte intagliato, e dorato, scudi 30.-; [f. 642v, “Villa Ludovisi”] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a due registri con cassa levatoria con tastatura di busso e fico d’india [= with boxwood and prickly-pear keyboard], e contracassa dipinta color di pietra gialla, e verde.”

D.1777–78. TNC-10-562, whole volume, 28.5.1777, inv. q^m Prince Cajetani Boncompagni Ludovisi: “[f. 142v–143r] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con sua controcassa a due registri con tastatura di busso e ebano negro [= with boxwood and black-ebony keyboard] con controcassa venata color di pietra filettata d’oro con suo piede fatto a piramide in parte intagliato, e dorato, scudi 30.-.”

D.1779. TNC-19-year 1789-II, 5.6.1779, inv q^m Prince Alessandro Ruspoli (folder “Inventario della primogenitura Ruspoli”): “[f. 230v, “Nel palazzo in Roma al Corso”] Un cembalo con piedi, e cassa intagliata, e dorata, con copertina di corame, scudi 100.- [A *cembalo* with legs and casing carved and gilded, with leather cover, scudi 100.-]; [f. 239r] Un cembalo con cassa venata, e cornice dorate, con copertina di corame, scudi 20.-; Altro cembalo più grande con cassa dorata, e dipinta, e copertina di corame, scudi 60.-; [f. 241r] Una spinetta a due registri con cassa dorata, e dipinta, scudi 6.-; [f. 265r] Un cembalo con cassa di legno venata [A *cembalo* with grained wooden casing], scudi 1.-; [f. 267v] Un cembalo con cassa di legno con serratura senza chiave, scudi 3.-.”

D.1780. ASAC-4823 (whole volume, unnumbered folios), 24.10.1780, inv. q^m Alessandro Boncompagni Ottoboni, Duca di Fiano: “Un cembalo in sesta con sua cassa levatoria a due registri ingessata, e imbrunita, e

dipinta a fogliami verdi, e fettuccie rosse, con cornici intorno dorate a vernice, con piede tornito con scorniciatura dorata a vernice come sopra con sua copertina di corame, scudi 15.-; [...] Un salterio [= psaltery] con sua cassa di albuccio [= white poplar] colorito, scudi 1.-; [...] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a due registri con tastature di ebano, e busso con cassa a levatoria e contracassa dipinta dentro e fuori a figure, e boscareccie, ed il piano di sopra colorito ponsò [= bright-red] filettato d'oro a vernice con suo piede all'antica intagliato, e dorato, e fondo negro, scudi 20.-; [...] Un cimbalo tinto rosso scorniciato con suoi piedi a due registri con tastatura di busso, ed ebano negro, cassa a levatoria, scudi 10.-"

D.1780a. 15/1655. TNC-34-307, f. 783r, 18.11.1780 (copy in AC-57-44, f. 731v), inv. q^m Filippo Como Gaffi: "Un cembalo in sesto a due registri con piedi di legno intagliato all'antica, foderata la cassa di damasco cre-misi bollettato [= case lined with crimson damask and brass studs], e coperta di corame, fidecommissario come sopra" (and consequently not valued, since it was coming from the inheritance of Bernardo Gaffi).

D.1781. TNC-10-573, 20.2.1781, inv. q^m Canonico Carlo Soderini: "[f. 424r-v] Un spinettone quadro a due registri con suoi piedi, e contro cassa ingessati, con serratura, e chiave, scudi 1.50; Num.^o cinque legivi [= five music-stands] di legno ordinario ingessati con suoi lumi di ferro con dieci banchi di legno ordinario, ed altri pochi legnami per uso dell'accademia, ed alcuni pezzi di tele ingessate per uso come sopra, n^o 6 cuscinetti bislonghi ricoperti di fagore [fasore?] verde in cattivo stato, scudi 4.-."

D.1782. TNC-33-628, 25.2.1782, inv. q^m Giuseppe Lafaggi: "[f. 568r-v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa levatoria a due reggistri con tastatura di busso e controcassa ingessata color di perla e piedi simili torniti, e filettati d'oro, scudi 20.-; [f. 572r] Nel primo tiratore grande: Diverse carte di musica."

D.1783. TNC-9-866, 12.8.1783, inv. q^m Cardinal Giovanni Battista Rezzonico: "[f. 471v] Un piano, e forte ò sia cembalo d'Inghilterra impellicciato di legno di Portogallo [= veneered with Portugal wood] con sue maniglie di metallo, leggivo, e chiave con sua copertina sopra rigata di tela, scudi 60.-; [f. 483r] Un cembalo in piedi con suo tavolino da por-vici sotto con cassa color di perla fioretta d'oro, e suo tavolino compagno, scudi 60.-"

D.1784. VARosp-2006, 23.9.1784, inv. q^m Prince Giovanni Battista Rospigliosi (palace at Monte Cavallo): "[f. 320v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa levatoria dipinta a fondi verdi rabescata bianca filettata d'oro buono, serratura, e chiave con piedi simili, scudi 12.-; [f. 342v] Un

cembalo in ottava stesa cassa levatora a due registri contracassa inverniciata, brunita cennerina [= ash-grey burnished], e filettata d'oro con piedi simili, e copertina di corame sopra, scudi 20.-; [f. 347r] Un cembalotto in sesta con sua cassa colorita azzurra [= blue] filettata d'oro con piedi torniti coloriti simili, scudi 5.-; [f. 429r, "D. Clemente"] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa intagliata dorata, e dipinta con figure, cassa levatora, tastatura d'avorio, ed ebano negro con piedi sotto tutti intagliati, e dorati, scudi 50.-; [f. 433r] Un cembalo consimile al soprade- scritto di grandezza con piedi intagliati a scoltura, e cassa dorata con bac- canali dipinti chiaroscuro, scudi 20.-"

D.1785. TNC-15-560, whole volume, 11.1.1785, inv. q^m Marquis Ferdinando Raggi: "[pp. 24-5, in the principal "Sala"] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con sua cassa colorita radica [= briarwood-color case] filettata ad oro buono con sgabelletti [= little stools], e legivi sopra per uso di Accademia, scudi 15.-; [p. 145, other room] Un violino di autore Micchele Landes con arco di zandolo rosso [= red sandalwood], e sua custodia, scudi 3.-; Un violoncello di Monsù David Tecler con suo arco, e custodia di legno con serratura, scudi 6.-; Una spinetta con sua tastatura d'avorio ed ebano, scudi 2.30; [p. 231, "dentro all'arcova ove morì il de- funto"] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a trè registri con tastatura di avorio, con sua controcassa, e piedi sotto intagliate all'antica, e dorate ad oro buono, scudi 10.-"

D.1785a. TNC-8-429, 10.2.1785, inv. q^m Giovanni Gigli: "[f. 291v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a due registri con tastatura di avolio, et ebano con sua controcassa fiorata e dipinta con rableschi e fonno giallo con filletti bianchi con piedi all'antica di noce fatti a zampa di capra senza ser- ratura in buon stato [= with its outer casing painted with flowers and ara- besques on yellow background with white lines, old-fashioned walnut goat-paw shaped legs, without lock, in good condition], scudi 20.-."

D.1785b. TNC-32-562, 7.10.1785, inv. q^m Count Luigi Ronconi: "[f. 316r] Un cembalo a penna [= a quilled *cembalo*] con cassa verniciata col- lor perla, e filettata d'oro a vernice comprato recentemente dalla prefata Signora Contessa [Virginia Puodi Ronconi] colli suoi propri denari."

D.1786. TNC-3-476, 9.9.1786, inv. q^m Donato Maria Antinori, Gran Maestro dei Cavalieri di Malta: "[f. 60v] Un cembalo a martellina d'Inghilterra quale non si stima per aver asserito li detti Sig.^{r*i*} eredi fiduciarij esser stato lasciato per legato; [fs.85v-86r] Una spinetta con cassa di noce e suo piede di legno intagliato a zampa di capra tinta perla [with its wooden goat-paw carved legs, pearl color] che non si apprezza per aver asserito li detti Sig.^{r*i*} eredi fiduciarij esser stato lasciato per legato;

[f.108] Un cembalo grande in ottava stesa che non si apprezza per aver asserito i prelodati Sig.^{ri} eredi fiduciarij esser stato lasciato per legato."

D.1788. TNC-3-480, 6.3.1788, inv. q^m Cardinal Pasquale Acquaviva de Aragona: "[f. 559r] Un cembalo in sesta a tre registri con cassa levatoria [i.e., of the inner-outer type], serratura, e chiave, scudi 8.-."

D.1788a. TNC-6-482, 8.5.1788, inv. q^m Marquis Domenico Alberti: "[f. 156r] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a due registri con tastatura di ebano, ed avorio con controcassa, e piedi colori di perla, filettato ad oro buono [with true-gold-leaf trimmings] con serratura, e chiave, scudi 20.-."

D.1788b. TNC-2-645, 1st part, unnumbered folios, 1.9.1788, inv. q^m Marquis Ascanio Costaguti (palace at piazza Mattei): "Un cembalo in sesto con tastatura d'avolio con contracassa dipinta à paesi del Pusino [= Gapare Dughet] e suoi piedi torniti, scudi 30.; [...] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa colorita perla filettata d'oro coi piedi filettati come sopra, e sua copertina di corame rosso, scudi 35.-"

D.1788c. TNC-2-645, 2nd part, 4.12.1788, inv. q^m Marquis Gaspare Orsini: "[f. 96v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a 2 registri con tastatura d'avorio contracassa dipinta a guazzo [= gouache painted], e piedi simili, scudi 15.-; [f. 118v] Un cembalo tutto guasto e rotto, scudi 1.20."

D.1789. TNC-10-591, 26.1.1789, inv. q^m Ill.^{mo} Tommaso Barlocchi: "[f. 250v] Un cembalo in sesta a due registri con controcassa colorita perla con cartine di Germania riportate, e piedi torniti, e colorati come sopra e verniciata ad argento e vernice, scudi 7.-."

D.1789a. ASAC-4897, 6.4.1789, inv. q^m Princess Giulia Augusta Albani Chigi (in her two apartments at Palazzo Chigi, at Piazza Colonna): "[f. 124r] Un cembalo in sesta con piedi torniti che si disse appartenere a S.E. il S.^r Principe Albani."

D.1789b. TNC-10-592, 6.4.1789, inv. q^m Marquis Lotario Ottieri: "[f. 83r-v] Un cembalo con suoi piedi all'antica, e sua cassa levatoria dorata con sua tastiera di pero nero filettata d'avorio [black pear wood keyboard with ivory lines], scudi 12.-; [f. 317r-v] Un cembalo in sesta sopra due cavalletti con cassa levatoria a due registri, scudi 6.-"

D.1790. TNC-20-362, 24.8.1790, inv. q^m Duke Giuseppe Maria Altemps jr. (palace at S. Apollinare square): "[fs. 143v-144r] Un cembalo in sesta con piedi a zampa di capra dorati ad oro buono, ed intagliati con sua cassa amovibile, con suoi tasti di madre perla, e detta cassa parimente interziata di legno, e filettata di metallo, al di dentro, e al di fuori ingesata, e imbrunita color perla con serratura senza chiave, scudi 8.-"

D.1790a. VABoncomp-2006, 2.9.1790, inv. q^m Cardinal Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi (palace at piazza Venezia): "N° 710bis. Varie carte di

musica vocale, ed instrumentale appartenenti al Defonto; N° 720. Un pianforte d'Inghilterra con piedali mezzano [= a medium-size pianoforte from England, with pedals], scudi 100.-; N° 963. Un cembalo di cinque tastature d'avorio, e di ebbano nero con suo monocordo, scudi 40.-; N° 917bis. Un cembalo con cassa levatoria in ottava stesa con tastatura d'avorio ed ebbano, controcassa d'albuccio colorita perla filettata d'oro con piedi torniti simili, spetta a S. E. il Sig.^{re} Duca di Cesi; N° 1420. Una spinetta con cassa colorita perla con intagli a rableschi d'oro piedi intagliati dorati a zampa tastatura di ebbano, ed avorio a due registri da dismettersi in tre pezzi, scudi 30.-.”

D.1790b. TNC-5-577, 28.11.1790, inv. q^m Giovanni Battista Giovannangeli: “[f. 629r] Un cembalo d'ottava stesa a due registri con controcassa levatoria [= An extended-octave harpsichord, two registers, with extractable outer case], e piedi sotto e valutato scudi 5.-”

D.1791. TNC-13-654(ex 658), 22.2.1791, inv. q^m Lucia Salvi Macironi: “[f. 396r] Un cembalo con sua cassa, e piedi legno inverniciata perla, e filettata a vernice, a due registri, in ottava stesa, scudi 15.-”

D.1792. TNC-9-901, 12.6.1792, inv. q^m *Maestro di Cappella* Giovanni Battista Casali: “[f. 695v] Un cembalo con cassa dipinta a due registri con suoi piedi, scudi 9.-; [f. 704v] Carte di musica consistenti in messe salmi antifone, si stimano assieme [blank space]; Altre carte di musica consistenti in cantate, oratorij, intermezzi di niun valore [= of no value]; Un organo portatile secondo il suo presente stato si stima [blank space].”

D.1792a. AC-45-144, 1.10.1792, inv. q^m Prince Antonio Publicola Santacroce: “[f. 310r] Un cembalo in sesta, con cassa ingessata, e brunita color di perla con piede a zampa intagliato, e dorato d'antica pertinenza dell'Ecc.^{ma} Casa; [f. 474r-v] Un cembalo in sesta con controcassa dipinta con copertina di tela, e piede intagliato a fogliame fondo giallo filettato d'oro di pertinenza dell'Ecc.^{ma} Casa; [f. 642v] Un gravicembalo usato con sua fodera di legno, e serratura con suoi piedistalli di legno che dicesi di antica pertinenza dell'Ecc.^{ma} Casa.”

D.1792b. VACchigi-2489, *Giustificazioni*, no. 162: “Io sottoscritto ho ricevuto scudi 215.- da S. E. il Principe D. Agostino Chigi per le mani di Domenico Patrizi di lui esattore, per compra di un Cembalo Coda Piano-forte dichiarandomi sodisfatto questo dì 24 dicembre 1792. Dico scudi 215.- / Carlo Collicola.”

D.1793. TNC-25-728, 10.1.1793, inv. q^m Antonio Boroni: “[f. 73v] [...] diversi cartolari di musica il tutto da considerarsi in appresso [never done]; [f. 75r] Un cembalo in sesta con cassa levatoria [i.e., of the inner-outer type] e suoi piedi d'albuccio tinto torchino [= deep blue] in

cattivo stato, scudi 4.-; [f. 77v] Un quadro di misura da testa in piedi rappresentante il ritratto del defonto Antonio Boroni von vetro avanti, e cornice liscia forata ad oro buono, scudi 2.-; Un quadrucchio di un palmo circa in carta rappresentante il ritratto del P. Martino [= Father G. B. Martini] di Bologna con cristallo avanti e cornicetta dorata, scudi 0.50; [f. 102v] Un organo portatile fatto a ala [= a wing shaped portable organ] che presentemente essiste fuori di casa con tutti li suoi annessi, e connessi, scudi 50.-.”

D.1793a. AC-45-145, 27.6.1793, inv. q^m Prince Sigismondo Chigi: “[f. 40r, palace at piazza Colonna] Un cembalo con piedi e cassa di noce all’Inglese con ferri sotto traversi con tastatura d’ebano, ed avorio con piastrine e serratura di metallo, e sua chiavetta [in the “Stanza contigua del cammino alla stanza d’udienza corrispondente a Piazza Colonna”]; [f. 48r] Cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa d’albuccio tinta perla filettata d’oro, e quattro zampe simili; [f. 92v] Uno spinettone che forma cembalo a tre spinette con suoi piedi torniti simili color perla filettati d’oro; Un cembalo grande con cassa brunita bianca filettata d’oro con piedi a zampa compagni; [f. 130, in the “Credenze n° 9”] Una spinetta fodera di damasco verde con fettuccia d’oro; Una spinetta ordinaria dipinta color di noce; Una spinetta ordinaria grande; [f. 158v] Due candeliere da cembalo di peso libbre 1.-, scudi 1.-.”

D.1794. TNC-5-584, 24.3.1794, inv. Cavalier Giovanni Battista Renzoli: “[f. 266] Un cimbalo a due registri cassa, sopracassa con due piedi torniti il tutto colore di noce con suo leggivo in cattivo stato, scudi 1.50.”

D.1794a. TNC-22-435, 2.5.1794, inv. q^m Marquis Filippo Sacripante Vituzi: “[f. 645v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa del Zenti con tastatura d’ebano, ed avorio con controcassa, e piedi tinta gialla filettata verde con serratura e chiave, scudi 50.-; [f. 794v] Un cembalo in sesta, con cassa levatoria [= with extractable case] a due registri con tastatura d’ebano e avorio con controcassa tinta rossa, e piede sotto dipinto alla cinese con sopra copertina di corame, scudi 5.-.”

D.1794b. TNC-5-584, 2.5.1794, inv. q^m “Dottor fisico” (i.e., a Doctor) Francesco Antonio Luchini: “[f. 347] Un cimbalo in sesta stesa [sic] con cassa di albuccio [= white poplar], con suoi piedi coloriti, e fiorati e sua fodera di corame a due registri, scudi. 6.-.”

D.1794c. TNC-37-504, 8.11.1794, inv. q^m Cardinal Francesco Gioacchino Pierre de Bernis: “[f. 452v] Un cembalo a due registri in ottava stesa con sua tastatura di avorio, e ebano, con sua cassa levatoria, piede, e sua controcassa, scudi 8.-.”

D.1797. TNC-10-620, 14.10.1797, inv. q^m Oliva Mazzetti Miller: “[f. 181v] Un cembalo, o sia pianforte ad uso d’Inghilterra [= A *cembalo*, that is a pianoforte English style]; [...] Una chitarra alla francese con suo stuccio [...].”

D.1799. TNC-7-463, 7.5.1799, inv. q^m Domenico Dario: “[f. 176v] Un cembalo a due registri con cassa dipinta a fiori, e suoi piedi, e copertina di corame sopra, scudi 10.-.”

D.1800. TNC-5-596, 3.1.1800, inv. Count Galeazzo Capizucchi: “[f. 79v] Un cimbalo a penna [= A quilled *cembalo*] con suo piede di legno tinto perla fiorato.”

D.1803. TNC-13-692, 22.1.1803, inv. q^m Duke Antonio Ottoboni Boncompagni: “[f. 236] Un cembalo con tastiera di avorio, ed ebano a due registri con cassa dipinta, e filettata a vernice, e piede scompagno [i.e., with legs of a differenht style] intagliato a fogliami all’antica, colorito negro, filettato ad oro buono, scudi 8.-; [f. 255r] Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa negra dipinta, e coperchio colorito rosso, ed il detto coperchio al di dentro dipinto con figure [= the said lid with figures painted on the inside], e piedi coloriti perla, scudi 15.-.”

D.1807. TNC-4-565, 12.10.1807, inv. q^m Giuseppe Marsili: “[f. 74v] Un pianoforte romanesco impellicciato di olivo con filetti attorno, e sua copertura di corame, usato, ed in mediocre stato, scudi 30.-.”

D.1809. TNC-4-572, 5.10.1809, inv. q^m Cavalier Domenico Pappiani: “[fs. 317v–318r] Un cimbalo, ossia pianoforte a tavolino a trè registri, d’Inghilterra, con suoi piedi, chiave, serratura, e cassa di mogano interziata di altri legni, scudi 30.- [= A *cembalo*, that is a three-stop table piano, from England, with its legs, key, lock, and a mahogany case veneered with other woods, *scudi* 30.-].”

D.1809a. TNC-4-572, 23.10.1809, inv. q^m Francesco Biondi: “[f. 674r] Un cimbalo a penna in ottava stesa [= An extended-octave quilled *cembalo*] con tastatura d’avorio, e sua cassa di legno tinta color perla filettata a vernice, scudi 4.-.”

D.1811. TNC-16-462, 22.2.1811, inv. q^m Vincenzo de Gregoris: “[f. 402v] Un cembalo a tavolino con tastiera di avorio a tre registri, franchi 267.50.” [= 50.2 *scudi*] [= “A three-stop table *cembalo* with ivory keyboard, Francs 267.50;” Francs were used because Rome was then under Napoleonic government].

D.1811a. TNC-18-981, 2.1.1811, inv. q^m Marquis Girolamo Muti Papazzurri: “[f. 791r] Un cembalo a coda d’Inghilterra a pian forte, con sua cassa di noce con due smorzatori a pedali, e tastatura d’avorio,

franchi 535.- [= 100.3 scudi] [A grand *cembalo* from England, pianoforte type, with its walnut case, two pedal dampers, and ivory keyboard, Frans 535.-]; [f. 792v] Un cembalo in ottava stesa a penna [= An extended-octave quilled *cembalo*] con cassa dipinta perla, e filettata d'oro a vernice, franchi 26.75 [= 5.0 scudi]; [f. 814r] Un organo portatile, franchi 107.- [= 20.1 scudi]; [f. 818r] Due violini, ed una viola di buoni autori, franchi 160.- [= 30.0 scudi]; [f. 862v] Un cembalo a pianoforte, a tavolino di lavoro tedesco [= A table *cembalo*, pianoforte type, of German production], franchi 160.50 [= 30.1 scudi]; Altro cembalo a penna in sesta [Another quilled *cembalo*, C/E short octave], franchi 16.05 [= 3.0 scudi].”

D.1816. TNC-17-494, 22.4.1816, inv. q^m Giuseppe Jannacconi: “[f. 757r] Varie carte di musica circa libre cento, scudi 2.50; [f. 760v] Un cembalo con cassa in poco buono stato, scudi 2.-; [f. 761r] Si dichiara che il pianoforte spettante all'eredità ritrovasi presentemente presso il S. Biaggio Arnoldi in prestito, quale si stimerà, e qui [fara...] il prezzo cioè scudi 40.-”

D.1821. ASDrago-105, various bundles numbered in pencil, 26.12.1821, inv. q^m Marchioness Margarita Sparapani Gentili widow Boccapadule: “[f. 21v] n° 70. Un pianoforte a tavolino [A table pianoforte] con tastature di ebano, ed avorio ordinario, scudi 20.-; [f. 54] n° 299. Un pianoforte a coda di Germania [= A grand pianoforte from Germany], con tastature di avorio ed ebano, piccole guarnizioni di metallo, in buon stato, scudi 80.-”

D.1823. TNC-4-606, 9.4.1823, inv. q^m Tommaso Garibaldi: “[f. 439v] Un cembalo in sesta, nella descritta stanza, con cassa verniciata cenerina, stilettata gialla con piedi simili, scudi 2.-”

D.1825. TNC-16-487, 4.6.1825, inv. q^m Vincenzo Vanutelli: “[f. 207] Un cembalo a penna in ottava stesa con sua cassa d'albuccio tinta rossa [= A quilled *cembalo*, extended octave, with its white-poplar case red painted], e piedi simili ed una sedia di paglia a due spalline tinta simile, scudi 6.-”

D.1826. TNC-16-489, 7.3.1826, inv. q^m Domenico Bonanni: “[f. 118r] Un cembalo a coda dipinto [A grand *cembalo*] a rambeschi con piede sotto intagliato con putto [= A grand cembalo with arabesques painted and underneath putto carved legs] in mediocre stato, scudi 4.-; La Sig.^a Maria Bonanni madre della di lei figlia Carolina hà dichiarato, che il su descritto cembalo, con le carte di musica sopra del medesimo esistenti, appartiene alla di lei figlia per averglielo il defonto [padre] acquistato per la medesima.”

D.1829. TNC-8-545, f. 171v, 28.2.1829, inv. q^m Felice Maria Neroni (lawyer): “Un cembalo in ottava stesa con cassa color perla.”

D.1835. TNC-37-630, 24.11.1835, inv. q^m Giuseppe De Ligne: “[f. 291r] Un cimbalo antico, e del tutto guasto, scudi 1.-.”

D.1847. TNC-16-551, 22.12.1847, inv. q^m Salvatore Salvidi: “[f. 332v] Un cembalo a coda [A grand *cembalo*] con cassa di legno verniciata perla, rasciato in oro con piedi intagliati, e dorati all’antica, mancante di tutte le corde, scudi 6.-.”