




ARTICLE

# Lost Arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713) in Thomas Gray's Music Collection: 'E posto in Musica dal Sig. Domenico Scarlatti'?

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## Abstract

This article shares the exciting discovery of previously unidentified arias within the music amassed by the eighteenth-century English poet Thomas Gray. His ten-volume collection, now held at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, contains some of the only surviving copies of important arias dating back as far as 1690 and bears many annotations by Gray listing performance venues, composers, opera roles and singers. One volume of the collection contains many unattributed works, among which I identify a number of arias. Five of them match the libretto to *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni* (1690) and another corresponds to *Il Colombo overo l'India scoperta* (1691), both operas originally set by Bernardo Pasquini. The texts of the two ensuing arias align with Carlo Sigismondo Capeci's libretto for *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713), the opera he wrote with Domenico Scarlatti for their patroness, Maria Kazimiera Sobieska. In addition, in the first pages of the assemblage, instructions in Gray's hand on how to execute a basso-continuo accompaniment continue from another volume, where he entitled these 'Regole per l'Accompagnamento' and interwove them with a 'Toccata per il Cembalo'. This article seeks to describe the newfound works and stimulate study into the full contents of Gray's music collection, but its main focus is on the two excerpts from *Ifigenia in Tauri* and their possible attribution to Domenico Scarlatti. Salient characteristics of these scores are presented, as is an evaluation of their concordance with Capeci's libretto. Further, I underline features that these numbers share with other *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias known to be by Domenico Scarlatti and provide comprehensive tables detailing equivalent structural proportions.

**Keywords:** Domenico Scarlatti; Carlo Sigismondo Capeci; *Ifigenia in Tauri*; Thomas Gray; Bernardo Pasquini

Di più dolce, o lieta sorte  
Quando mai potrò goder?

When shall I ever be able to enjoy  
A sweeter, or happier, fate?<sup>1</sup>

I wish to thank the editorial team of *Eighteenth-Century Music* and the reviewers for making this article stronger. I extend my gratitude to the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University and its wonderful staff for making this research possible. I also wish to acknowledge the support of family and friends. My heartfelt thanks in particular to the late Ronald Désormeaux, the late Marie-Claire Dupuis, and my brother Marc Dupuis-Désormeaux and his family for their encouragement and for partially funding this research. I would also like to thank Sandra Bender for her keen editing skills and many years of unwavering support. I am also grateful to Cristina S. Martinez for believing in me, for encouraging me to pursue this project and for the countless hours spent discussing it.

<sup>1</sup> 'Di più dolce, o lieta sorte' (Act 3 Scene 4) from Carlo Sigismondo Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti, *Ifigenia in Tauri*. *Dramma per musica Da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Domestico della Maestà di Maria Casimira Regina Vedova di Pollonia, composto, e dedicato alla Maestà Sua da Carlo Sigismondo Capeci Suo Segretario Fra gli Arcadi Metisto Olbiano, E posto in Musica dal Sig. Domenico Scarlatti Mastro [sic] di Cappella di Sua Maestà. In Roma, per Antonio de' Rossi, 1713.* A copy of the libretto is held at the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna (I-Bu), A.V.Tab.I.F.III.07.7, and is available digitally at <http://corago.unibo.it/esempiare/BUB0000767/DRT0023101> (25 January 2021). My translation.

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When I stumbled upon this verse from the libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (1652–1728) to his 1713 *Ifigenia in Tauri*, I thought how appropriate these words may turn out to be if, indeed, the two arias before me eventually prove to be material that has survived from the opera he wrote with Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757). I had been researching material at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (US-FAy), under a travel grant to inform the composition of my Op. 127, *The Lewis Walpole Tableaux*, when I encountered music amassed by Thomas Gray (1716–1771), author of the celebrated *Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard* (1751). His ten bound volumes, now catalogued as ‘Quarto 532 MS Manuscript music collected by Thomas Gray, ca. 1740’, contain over three thousand pages of handwritten music, primarily opera-seria arias, that were copied before 1740 and gathered while Gray toured Italy with his friend, the critic and collector Horace Walpole (1717–1797).<sup>2</sup>

The collection consists of the music of Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), Leonardo Vinci (1690–1730), Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736), Leonardo Leo (1694–1744), Michele Fini (1708–1752) and others.<sup>3</sup> On the inside of each volume’s cover, Gray has drawn up a table of contents; unfortunately, the second (Quarto 532 MS 2) and tenth (Quarto 532 MS 10) volumes appear to have lost this information. Even without an index, the former is identified as containing the music of Johann Adolf Hasse, with ‘Hasse’ being written upon its spine and the volume’s copyist having inscribed ‘Hasse’ at the beginning of each aria. This is not the case for the tenth volume, in which most of the previously unattributed works have been found.

In deciphering the tenth volume’s contents, it became clear that Gray had brought together early artists of the Accademia dell’Arcadia and their pupils or associates (see Table 1).<sup>4</sup> To the best of my knowledge, I appear to have uncovered five excerpts from *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* (1690) on a libretto by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis (known in Arcadia as Filedo Nonacrio) and one from *Il Colombo overo l’India scoperta* (1691) written by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (Crateo Ericinio), both of which have music attributed to Bernardo Pasquini (Protico Azetiano).<sup>5</sup> Immediately following these, and also lacking an indication as to their composer, are two arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713) that match the libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (Metisto Olbiano), which was derived from the spoken tragedy *Ifigenia in Tauris* (1709) by Pier Jacopo Martello (Mirtilo Dianidio). Further, I have established that the volume holds the *Salmo Decimoquinto* from the *Estro poetico-armonico* by Benedetto Marcello, Arcadia’s Driante Sacreo, both music and text (in its original Italian) having been written out by Gray.<sup>6</sup> Other associations with Arcadia surface throughout the tenth volume,<sup>7</sup> but outstanding among all these names is that of Nicola Porpora (1686–1768).

<sup>2</sup> For information on ownership of Gray’s volumes see Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University (US-FAy), Quarto 532 MS, Object File: receipt dated 5 July 1937. See also Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Music and Manners in the Classical Period* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898), 7–8.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on Thomas Gray’s collection see Nathalie Dupuis-Désormeaux, ‘Thomas Gray as Music Collector’, in *Thomas Gray among the Disciplines*, ed. Ruth Abbott and Ephraim Levinson (London: Routledge, 2023).

<sup>4</sup> For a list of members see Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi, *Gli arcadi dal 1690 al 1800: onomasticon* (Rome: Arcadia-Accademia Letteraria Italiana, 1977), available at [www.accademiadellarcadia.it/strumenti/](http://www.accademiadellarcadia.it/strumenti/) (10 February 2021).

<sup>5</sup> These arias are grouped together under ‘Anonymous, Opera (unidentified fragment)’ with the general catalogue number Quarto 532 MS 10:14; as such, they do not yet have individual labels.

<sup>6</sup> Marcello’s *Estro poetico-armonico* contained settings of poetic paraphrases of biblical psalms by Girolamo Ascanio Giustiniani. For the original score see Benedetto Marcello, *Estro poetico-armonico: parafrasi sopra li primi venticinque salmi*, eight volumes, volume 3 (Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1724), i–xiv. A digital copy is available from the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (D-DI), Dresden (shelfmark Mus.2416.D.3-3), at <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dli/162548/37>.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Battista Pergolesi was a pupil of Francesco Durante (known in Arcadia as Milcandro) and Hasse was a student of Alessandro Scarlatti (Terpandro Politeo). In addition, Handel frequently attended the salons of the Accademia dell’Arcadia, where he is said to have met Domenico Scarlatti; see Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 32. Domenico Natale Sarri da Terni, identified in Arcadia as Daspio, was one of the first to set to music the stanzas of Metastasio (Pietro Antonio Domenico Trapassi), known as Artino Corasio, with *Didone abbandonata* in Naples (1724); see Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth*

**Table 1.** Contents of Quarto 532 MS 10 (with new findings in bold). ‘Quarto 532 MS Manuscript music collected by Thomas Gray, ca. 1740’. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

Location	PDF page	Composer	Title
Quarto 532 MS 10:i	3–4	Anonymous	‘Regole per l’Accompagnamento’ (continued from volume 6; copied c1740)
Quarto 532 MS 10:1	5–14	Marcello, Benedetto (1686–1739)	<i>L’Estro poetico-armonico</i> , <i>Salmo Decimoquinto</i> , ‘Conserva me, Domine’ (1724–1726)
Quarto 532 MS 10:1b (yet to be catalogued)	15–17	Anonymous	Anonymous cantata (partial) I. ‘... io sventurato’ II. ‘Ben potrei fra tante pene’ III. ‘Ma l’idea ché ho intorno al cuore’ (c1700–1710?)
Quarto 532 MS 10:2	18–20	Handel, George Frideric (1685–1759), libretto by Newburgh Hamilton from John Milton’s <i>Samson Agonistes</i>	<i>Samson</i> (HWV57) (1741–1743) 42. Air - Dalila: ‘[To fleeting Pleasures make your Court, no Moment loose for] Life is short, no Moment loose’
Quarto 532 MS 10:3	21	Handel, libretto derived from John Milton’s <i>L’Allegro</i> and <i>Il Penseroso</i>	Aria from <i>Il Penseroso</i> : ‘Hide me from Day’s garish Eye’ (1742)
Quarto 532 MS 10:4	22–25	Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710–1736)	<i>Il prigionier superbo</i> . ‘Perchè non m’uccidi’
Quarto 532 MS 10:5	25–27		<i>Flaminio</i> . ‘Oh Dio! Sei troppo barbara’
Quarto 532 MS 10:6	28–29		<i>Olimpiade</i> . ‘Grandi, è ver son le tue pene’
Quarto 532 MS 10:7	30–32		<i>Il prigionier superbo</i> . ‘Che fiero martire’
Quarto 532 MS 10:8	33–35		‘Per me e me sinche potei’
Quarto 532 MS 10:9	36–38		‘Se al labro mio non credi’
Quarto 532 MS 10:10	39–42	Hasse, Johann Adolph (1699–1783)	<i>Olimpiade</i> . ‘Tu di saper procura’
Quarto 532 MS 10:11	42–45	Giaï, Giovanni Antonio (1690–1764)	<i>Eumene</i> . ‘Se niega i molli argenti’
Quarto 532 MS 10:12	45–48	Sarri, Domenico Natale (1679–1744)	<i>Achille in Sciro</i> . ‘Potria fra tante pene’
Quarto 532 MS 10:13	49	Jarnson?	(This entry seems to have been added by a later hand.)
Quarto 532 MS 10:14a (yet to be catalogued separately)	50–70	[Pasquini, Bernardo (1637–1710)] libretto by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis (1645–1707)	<i>La caduta del regno dell’Amazzoni</i> (1690) (also <i>La simpatia/Simpatia nell’Odio – l’Amazonia amante</i> ) Act 2 Scene 14: ‘L’honor, che più aggrada’ Role: Mandane
Quarto 532 MS 10:14b (yet to be catalogued separately)	70–73		<i>La caduta del regno dell’Amazzoni</i> Act 2 Scene 15: ‘Doue, doue guidate, Cieco Amor’ Role: Licandro
Quarto 532 MS 10:14c (yet to be catalogued separately)	74–79	[Pasquini, Bernardo (1637–1710)] libretto by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (pseudonymn Crateo Pradelini) (1667–1740)	<i>Il Colombo overo l’India scoperta</i> (1691) Act 2 (according to the ‘Aggiunta’, the duet is sung at the end of Scene 16): ‘Se vuoi ch’io t’ami Con il tuo core’ Roles: Tendilla, Fernando

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued.)

Location	PDF page	Composer	Title
Quarto 532 MS 10:14d (yet to be catalogued separately)	80–87	[Pasquini, Bernardo (1637–1710)] libretto by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis (1645–1707)	<i>La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni</i> Act 1 Scene 13: 'Se un' astro scintilla, Amor l'infiammò' Role: Mandane
Quarto 532 MS 10:14e (yet to be catalogued separately)	88–89		<i>La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni</i> Act 2 Scene 5: 'Tisbe damni parola di trouarmene un vaso' Role: Turpino
Quarto 532 MS 10:14f (yet to be catalogued separately)	89–93		<i>La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni</i> Act 2 Scene 5: 'Già lo sò, Ch'è una pazzia' Role: Tisbe
Quarto 532 MS 10:15	94–96	[Scarlatti, Domenico (1685–1757)] libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci	<i>Ifigenia in Tauri</i> (1713) Act 3 Scene 4: 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte' Role: Pilade
Quarto 532 MS 10:16	97–101		<i>Ifigenia in Tauri</i> Act 1 Scene 3: 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' Role: Ifigenia
Quarto 532 MS 10:17	102–109	Hasse, Johann Adolph (1699–1783)	<i>Perche Leggiadra Irene</i> (cantata) (no date): I. 'Perche leggiadra Irene' (Recitativo) (missing) II. 'Quando la bianca Aurora' (Aria) (begins at '-la cosi non e bella cosi') III. 'Ma ahime/oime tu fuggi intanto' (Recitativo) IV. 'Al tuo bel foco' (Aria)
Quarto 532 MS 10:18	110–121	Porpora, Nicola (1686–1768)	<i>Or che d'orrido verno</i> . Selections (undated)

In the column 'Location' the items not given in bold were identified and catalogued (as they appear) by the Lewis Walpole Library. The numbers represent the library's cataloguing information; for example, 10:4 refers to the fourth identifiable work/aria in volume 10. I have added letters in small case to identify separate works within a larger grouping.

Although Porpora had also set texts by the great Arcadian librettist Metastasio (Artino Corasio), and even produced his part of the score to *Berenice, Regina d'Egitto* (1718), with Domenico Scarlatti supplying the rest, he was not a member of Arcadia and had rivalries with Hasse, Vinci and George Frideric Handel.<sup>8</sup> In his assemblage, Gray places Porpora's *Or che d'orrido verno* immediately after Hasse's cantata *Perche Leggiadra Irene*. Since both works involve the recurring pastoral character named Clori, one wonders if Gray flanked the pupil and his one-time teacher side by side for comparison.<sup>9</sup> It should be said that the still-unattributed vocal work in Gray's hand near the start of the tenth volume (third item in Table 1), with the resounding 'Clori infedele!' of its first recitative, also sees Clori as one of its protagonists and appears to date from the early 1700s, a time when Handel had written his own *Clori, Tirsi e Fileno* (1707), a cantata for three voices.

With regard to Handel, Gray's tenth volume contains two of his arias, both set to words by John Milton, one of the poets Gray respected most. The first is 'Life is short, no Moment loose [*sic*]' for Handel's 1741 *Samson* on a libretto by Newburgh Hamilton based on John Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, and the second is 'Hide me from Day's garish Eye' from Handel's *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (1740), where Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are reclaimed. It should be said that two hundred years before Handel, a similar dialectical opposition, where an Epicurean and a Stoic argue over the supremacy of pleasure over virtue, was rendered by Moderata Fonte (1555–1592) in what Virginia Cox terms a 'brief philosophical-encomiastic *rappresentazione*' entitled *Le feste* (having both narrative and song), which was presented in 1581 before Doge Niccolò Da Ponte; Cox claims this was 'the first surviving secular dramatic work by a female Italian writer'.<sup>10</sup>

All in all, Gray's tenth volume contains rare material brought back by the poet from his Grand Tour of 1739–1741 or gathered later by him as he continued to build his music collection. After thorough research, I have paired every entry except one with a possible or probable author. Table 1 provides a full set of contents for this volume (Quarto 532 MS 10), showing what was known of it alongside (in bold font) probable composers and titles of the anonymous works. In addition to these excerpts, the anonymous 'Regole per l'Accompagnamento' written out in Gray's hand, which appear at the front of the volume, provide significant information on the accompaniment style of the period.<sup>11</sup>

### The 'Regole per l'Accompagnamento'

The 'Regole per l'Accompagnamento', or rules for basso-continuo accompaniment, are connected directly to those found in volume 6, where they precede and continue within what Gray called 'Toccatà per il Cembalo', in an assemblage otherwise reserved for the music of Michele Fini. Paper size, handwriting, watermark, countermark, stave measurements and subject matter (see

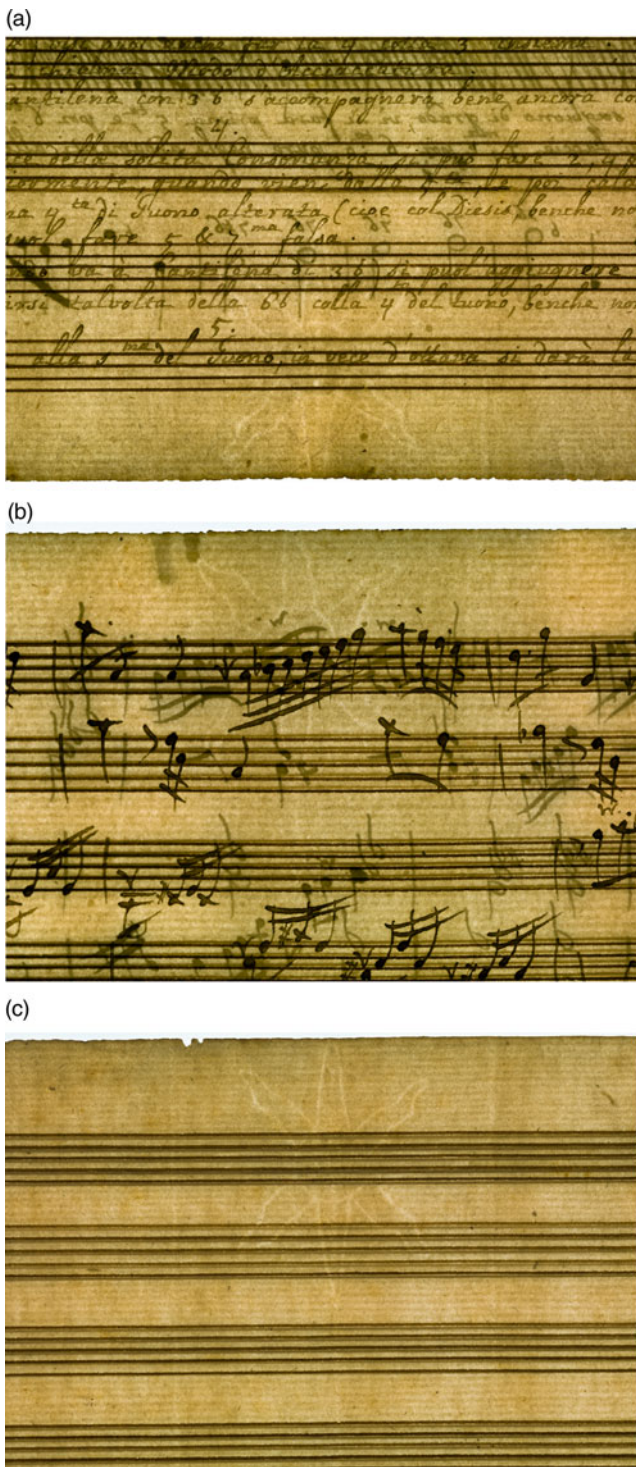
*Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 21. The inclusion in the tenth volume of Giovanni Antonio Gaià seems justified on the grounds of the libretto being by Apostolo Zeno (Arcadia's Emaro Simbolio), but more so given the observable fact that the music follows directly after that of Hasse in a grouping of pieces written on the same leaf.

<sup>8</sup> See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, two volumes (London: Becket, Robson and Robinson, 1773), volume 1, 155, 312. See also Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Work* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1905; reprinted London: Edward Arnold, 1962, with a preface and additional notes by Frank Walker), 192. On the rivalry with Handel see Strohm, *Dramma per Musica*, 22; see also Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, three volumes (London: author, 1776–1789; revised edition in two volumes by Frank Mercer, New York: Dover, 1935, reprint 1957), volume 2, 788.

<sup>9</sup> See Burney, *A General History of Music*, volume 2, 918. More on Gray's interests in comparative analyses can be read in Dupuis-Désormeaux, 'Thomas Gray as Music Collector'.

<sup>10</sup> Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 88–89.

<sup>11</sup> The significance for musicology and performance practice of such rules is summarized by Giulia Nuti: 'Precisely because so much Italian music is not figured, or is only partially figured, a knowledge of these rules is vital and their application in performance is essential. . . . that within the *regole* is explained both the placing of chords within the bar and the harmonies expected to be heard when only an unfigured bass is given makes the *regole* one of the most important sources of stylistic information available.' Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate: 2007), 62.



**Figure 1.** Watermark found throughout US-FAY Quarto 532 volume 6 and at the start of volume 10: (a) Quarto 532 MS 6, fol. 1, bottom, centre; (b) Quarto 532 MS 6, fol. 5, top, centre; (c) Quarto 532 MS 10, fol. 2, top, centre. 'Quarto 532 MS Manuscript music collected by Thomas Gray, ca. 1740'. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

Figures 1 and 2) all support the argument that the separated portions of the 'Regole' belong together.<sup>12</sup> This proves of importance, since it was previously assumed that the material collected in the tenth volume did not correspond to a time when Gray was on his travels in Italy, on account of the volume's size and different binding.<sup>13</sup>

Gray's manuscript instructions for playing basso continuo contain rules for and examples of harmonization and rhythmic placement, and even mention the *acciaccatura*.<sup>14</sup> These 'Regole per l'Accompagnamento' are of particular interest given that past biographers have argued whether or not Thomas Gray had received lessons directly from Domenico Scarlatti. The debate seems to have arisen from a passage in William Mason's 1775 biography of Gray where he describes the poet's taste in music as being 'founded on the best models, those [of the] great masters in Italy, who flourished about the same time with his favourite Pergolesi'.<sup>15</sup> Mason adds that 'in Music [Gray] gained supreme skill in the more refined powers of expression; especially when we consider that art as an adjunct to poetry: for vocal music, and that only, (excepting perhaps the lessons of the younger Scarlatti) was what he chiefly regarded'.<sup>16</sup>

Since Mason was Gray's friend, first owner of the music collection after him and a proficient keyboard player, one can assume that his knowledge of Gray's regard for Scarlatti was accurate. If this is the case, then Gray must have had access to the 'lessons of the younger Scarlatti'. Although Domenico Scarlatti was not in Italy at the same time as the Englishman, Giuseppe Scarlatti – the younger composer of the extended Scarlatti family – worked in Rome from 1739 to 1741,<sup>17</sup> and his opera *La Merope* was shown at the Teatro Capranica during Rome's 1740 *Carnevale* season.<sup>18</sup> Gray was in Rome from March to July of that year, and it is conceivable that both men might have been in the papal city at the same time. Significantly, the term 'lessons' used by Mason can be understood to mean direct teaching but can also refer to a set of studies or sonatas, as known in England.<sup>19</sup> Of such sonatas, Domenico Scarlatti's *Essercizi per Gravicembalo* (exercises for keyboard), first printed in London by B. Fortier in 1738 in a luxurious (and very large) edition, quickly gained popularity with amateurs and professionals alike, especially after Thomas Roseingrave

<sup>12</sup> This evaluation was aided by Susan Odell Walker and Kristen McDonald of the Lewis Walpole Library, to whom I extend my gratitude for locating the watermarks and taking the measurements.

<sup>13</sup> Gray's entire collection was eventually amassed in the United Kingdom by the American collector Charles W. Frederickson, who returned with it to the United States. In 1886 Frederickson offered some items from his personal library for sale, including Gray's music collection. It was purchased by the auctioneer Francis Bangs, but he only procured nine of the ten volumes, since he thought the tenth volume was not part of the original collection, for the reasons given above. See US-FAy Quarto 532 MS, Object File: Letter from E. J. Brazier to W. S. Lewis, 22 October 1937, 4–6; see also US-FAy Quarto 532 MS, Object File: Letter from Bernard Quaritch to W. S. Lewis, 5 July 1937, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Benedetto Marcello claims the *acciaccatura* is different from the *appoggiatura* because it is not part of the counterpoint, noting that it is discussed in Francesco Gasparini's *Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*. See Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo*, 89.

<sup>15</sup> William Mason, ed., *The Poems of Mr. Gray. To which are added Memoirs of his Life and Writings* (York: A. Ward, 1775), 342.

<sup>16</sup> Mason, ed., *The Poems of Mr. Gray*, 342.

<sup>17</sup> See Malcolm Boyd, Roberto Pagano, Edwin Hanley, Eva Badura-Skoda, Christopher Hair and Gordana Lazarevich, 'Scarlatti Family' and, more specifically, Lazarevich's contribution on Giuseppe Scarlatti in *Grove Music Online* [www.oxford-musiconline.com](http://www.oxford-musiconline.com) (23 May 2020).

<sup>18</sup> A libretto to Giuseppe Scarlatti's *La Merope* (1740) is available digitally from Internet Archive at <https://archive.org/details/meropedramapermu211zeno/mode/2up> (1 September 2022).

<sup>19</sup> This latter usage is chosen by Charles Burney when he reports, 'With his [Joseph Kelway's] harpsichord playing I was not acquainted, but have often been assured, that he executed the most difficult lessons of Scarlatti, in a manner peculiarly neat and delicate.' Burney, *A General History of Music*, volume 2, 1009. Prior to embarking on his travels to compile *A General History of Music*, Burney sent Mason the plan of his book in order to request his and Thomas Gray's opinion of it. See E. D. Mackerness, 'The Progress of an Italophile: Thomas Gray and Music', *Italian Studies* 12/1 (1957), 100. It is not surprising, therefore, that he attempted to secure a meeting with Giuseppe Scarlatti when reaching Vienna in September 1772; unfortunately, Giuseppe was away at the time. See Burney, *The Present State of Music*, volume 1, 324.



**Figure 2.** Countermark found throughout Quarto 532 volume 6 and at the start of volume 10: (a) Quarto 532 MS 6, fol. 6, top, centre; (b) Quarto 532 MS 10, fol. 1, top, centre

produced a more accessible version in 1739 that contained the initial thirty sonatas and twelve additional ones.<sup>20</sup> Although the catalogue of his personal library<sup>21</sup> does not mention the *Essercizi*, Gray

<sup>20</sup> Todd Decker, “Scarlattino, the Wonder of his Time”: Domenico Scarlatti’s Absent Presence in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2/2 (2005), 274–276. See also *XLII Suites de pièces pour le clavecin en deux Volumes Composées par Domenico Scarlatti*, ed. Thomas Roseingrave (London: Benjamin Cooke, 1739). These are the initial thirty studies from Domenico’s *Essercizi per gravicembalo* together with twelve other works (κ1–42).

<sup>21</sup> See William Powell Jones, *Thomas Gray, Scholar: The True Tragedy of an Eighteenth-Century Gentleman. With Two Youthful Notebooks Now Published for the First Time from the Original Manuscripts in the Morgan Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937).



might still have owned a copy, and perhaps these ‘lessons’ are what Mason was referring to; but an intriguing passage in Edmund Gosse’s biography of Gray, admittedly published in 1882, claims that ‘the poet used to sit [at the harpsichord] in the twilight and play toccatas of Scarlatti and Pergolesi’.<sup>22</sup>

Evaluating the style of notation found in the ‘Toccatà per il Cembalo’, the stave braces (see Figure 3) more closely resemble those found in Alessandro Scarlatti’s ‘Regole per ben sonare il Cembalo’<sup>23</sup> than those in the remainder of volume 6 allocated to Fini’s works. Of note are the fiery ascents with hand-crossings in the bottom bars of the excerpt that summon up Domenico Scarlatti’s signature keyboard passages. Domenico’s sonatas consisted mostly of binary-form movements which were meant as stand-alone works, even though they were often grouped according to key by copyists and editors as suites or *essercizi*,<sup>24</sup> and as early as on its first leaf, the anonymous toccata shows such a binary-form piece.

As a thorough review of known accompaniment treatises and studies against which the ‘Regole per l’Accompagnamento’ and ‘Toccatà per il Cembalo’ can be compared goes well beyond the scope of the present article, I now turn to the *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* and *Il Colombo overo l’India scoperta* arias in Quarto 532 MS 10.

### Excerpts from *La Caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* and *Il Colombo overo l’India scoperta*

All five excerpts from *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* in the tenth volume agree exactly<sup>25</sup> with the libretto by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis<sup>26</sup> for the opera presented at Palazzo Colonna in January 1690. Two of these arias resurface as reductions for soprano voice (in the role of Mandane) and continuo in a manuscript held at the library of the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini in Florence, and are purported to be by Bernardo Pasquini, but, unfortunately, they display no definite ascription.<sup>27</sup> The first, ‘Se un’astro scintilla, Amor l’infiammò’, takes place in Act 1 Scene 13 (see Figure 4), while the second, ‘L’honor, che più aggrada’, is sung in Act 2 Scene 14. It appears that the Bibliothèque nationale de France holds an identical reduction of ‘Se un’astro scintilla’, bearing the inscription ‘Del S<sup>r</sup> B<sup>o</sup> Pasquini’.<sup>28</sup> In light of this and the strong concordance with the libretto, the authorship of Bernardo Pasquini seems likely. The same level of agreement between aria text and libretto can be witnessed for ‘Se vuoi ch’io t’ami’ from *Il Colombo overo l’India scoperta* (see Figure 5), which is thought to have been set to music by Pasquini on the libretto by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni for a December 1690 performance at the Teatro Tor di Nona. According to the

<sup>22</sup> Edmund Gosse, *English Men of Letters: Gray* (London: Macmillan, 1882), 127.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, the Chrysander copy of Alessandro’s ‘Regole per ben sonare il Cembalo’, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg (D-Hs), M A251, available at <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANShm195>. See specifically page 242 (3 February 2021).

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, W. Dean Sutcliffe, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti and Eighteenth-Century Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 363–375.

<sup>25</sup> The texts agree exactly except for two minor deviations in ‘Se un astro’ and one change of word at the end of the recitative ‘Doue, doue’ (Act 2 Scene 15).

<sup>26</sup> *La caduta del regno dell’amazzoni: festa teatrale fatta rappresentare in Roma dall’eccellentissimo signor marchese di Coccogliudo ambasciatore della maestà del re cattolico per le augustissime nozze dalla sacra real maestà di Carlo II. re delle Spagne e della principessa Marianna, contessa palatina del Reno: dedicata alla maestà della regina sposa. 1690.* A copy of the libretto resides at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Italian Festivals +51, and is available digitally at <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2033976> (1 August 2021).

<sup>27</sup> *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* (excerpts) in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Florence (I-Fc), B2379, fols 59v–60; 93r–93v. The arias are found in a manuscript solely attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti but which is known to contain works by other composers. I am grateful to Santa Tomasello of the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini for this information. The two arias in question are also listed in Alexandra Nigito’s edited compendium *Bernardo Pasquini: Le cantate, in Monumenta Musica Europea*, section 3: *Baroque Era*, ed. Fulvia Morabito, two volumes, volume 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), clxxviii–clxxxix.

<sup>28</sup> *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni* (excerpt) in Bernardo Pasquini, Alessandro Scarlatti, F. Gasparini, Giovanni Pietro Franchi and Flavio Carlo Lanciani, ‘Recueil d’arias italiennes’, Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pn), département de la Musique, RES VMF MS-40.



Figure 3. 'Toccata per il Cembalo'. Quarto 532 MS 6:6, unnumbered

*Aggiunta* (the addendum to the libretto) this duet between Tendilla and Fernando in the opera's second act is to be sung at the end of Scene 16.<sup>29</sup> It should be mentioned that a similar 'Se vuoi ch'io t'ami' resurfaces as an aria for Dorifile *sola* in Act 3 Scene 3 of Capeci's 1713 *Ifigenia in Tauri* (see Table 2 in the next section).

With all six passages contained within the same grouping, there is good reason to believe that they represent Pasquini's music. Since paper circulated widely, it is not always a reliable indication of provenance, but the size of the folios and their watermarks are characteristic of paper found in Rome at the time.<sup>30</sup> The watermarks described as 'giglio inscritto in un doppio cerchio' (lily inscribed in a double circle) and 'giglio entro doppio ovale' (lily within a double oval) recur regularly in Alexandra Nigito's massive compilation of Bernardo Pasquini cantatas, and the drawings she labelled as *filigrana* Tipo A1, A2 and B1 in her Table 34 resemble watermarks seen in Gray's Pasquini arias.<sup>31</sup> Pasquini specialists are invited to scrutinize the arias conceivably composed by the former maestro di cappella to

<sup>29</sup> See libretto, *Il Colombo ovvero L'India scoperta: dramma per musica: dedicato all'Illustriss. ed'Eccellentiss. Sig. principessa D. Maria Otthoboni: da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Tor di Nona l'anno M.DC.XCI* (Rome: Gio: Francesco Buagni, 1690). A copy is available digitally from Library of Congress (US-Wc) Albert Schatz Collection; see <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/musschatz.19570> (12 August 2021).

<sup>30</sup> For features of early eighteenth-century Roman scores see Paul Joseph Everett, 'The Manchester Concerto Partbooks' (PhD dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1984), 87–90. Rosalind Halton also suggests that the most common watermark for Roman paper of the late 1690s to early 1700s is the fleur-de-lis contained within a double circle. See Rosalind Halton, ed., 'A voi che l'accendeste: Seven Settings, Seven Composers', *Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music WLCSM* 31 (2016), Introduction, i.

<sup>31</sup> Nigito, ed., *Bernardo Pasquini: Le cantate*, ccxii–ccxiii.

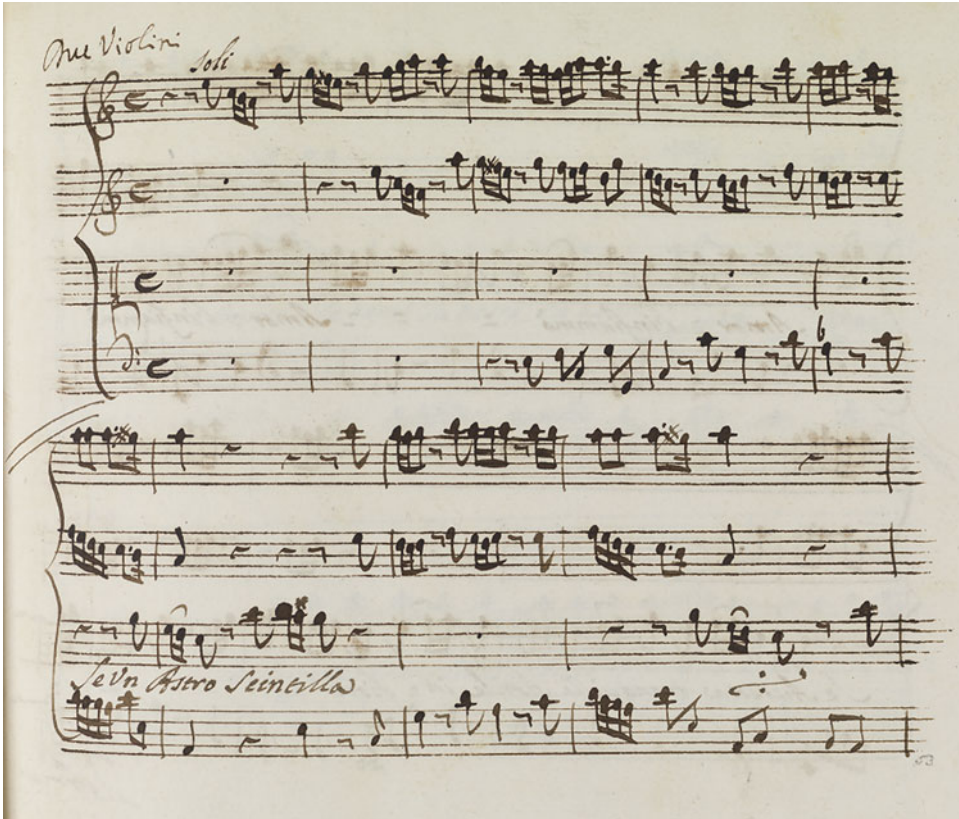


Figure 4. 'Se un' astro scintilla'. Quarto 532 MS 10:14, fol. 53r

Queen Kristina Wasa of Sweden,<sup>32</sup> founding patron of the Accademia dell'Arcadia, as their analysis does not appear herein.

Why these particular excerpts and the two following *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias written for Queen Kristina's successor in Rome – French-born Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, Queen dowager of Poland – were collected by Thomas Gray remains a mystery. However, within the same volume, he has put back to back arias from operas strongly associated with the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714): *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni*,<sup>33</sup> written in 1690 to celebrate the marriage of Charles II to Maria Anna of Neuburg, and *Ifigenia in Tauri*, written in 1713, during the last bitter years of the war that began in earnest with the death of Charles II in 1700 and the subsequent appointment of Philippe duc d'Anjou as his successor. Under the heading 'Anglia', the first volume of Gray's commonplace book highlights that the poet had educated himself on national and foreign affairs for the years spanning 1689 to 1701 and leading up to the major conflict. Below the caption '1689' Gray writes bluntly, 'War declared with France', then, at '1697', he documents the death of

<sup>32</sup> Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 23. Queen Kristina had died in April of 1689.

<sup>33</sup> Gray's index to volume 1 (GRA/1/1) of his three-volume commonplace book shows (at fol. 4r, labelled 'G') '*Relat*' de la Rivière des Amazons, de Christ: d'Acunha, trad: par Gomberville, Par: 1682. 12<sup>mo</sup>', which points to his interest in the subject. The three volumes of Gray's commonplace book are available through the University of Cambridge's Pembroke College Library at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-PEMBROKE-GRA-00001-00001/1>, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-PEMBROKE-GRA-00001-00002/1> and <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-PEMBROKE-GRA-00001-00003/1> (15 January 2022).



Figure 5. 'Se vuoi ch'io t'ami'. Quarto 532 MS 10:14, fol. 50r

Poland's King Jan Sobiesky – Queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska's husband – and, for '1700', follows this with 'Spain – Carlos 2<sup>d</sup> dies, & by his will declares the D: of Anjou his Successor'.<sup>34</sup>

Facing increasing political unrest in her country after the death of her husband, Maria Kazimiera Sobieska sought exile in Rome, where she arrived on 1 April 1699.<sup>35</sup> Once settled, Sobieska, according to her nineteenth-century biographer Kazimierz Waliszewski, 'took great pride in following the footsteps of her illustrious forerunner, the foundress of the *Accademia degli Arcadi* [Queen Kristina of Sweden]', and she was inducted into the *Accademia* on 5 October 1699 under the name Amirisca Telea.<sup>36</sup> In 1704 Maria Casimira – as she was known in Rome – called upon the services of Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (also spelled Capece), a poet of the Arcadians under the name of Metisto Olbiano, to create librettos for the performances at Palazzo Zuccari.<sup>37</sup> At first, these were set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti, who was then her maestro di cappella, and, when he left this position to return to Naples, Alessandro passed the title down to his son, Domenico,<sup>38</sup> who remained in that post from 1709 until Maria Casimira relocated to Blois, France in June of 1714.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Gray's commonplace book, volume 1 (GRA/1/1): on the death of Jan Sobieski, fol. 60r; on the death of Charles II, fol. 61r; and on other key events tied to the War of the Spanish Succession fols 33v–34r as well as fols 58v–61v.

<sup>35</sup> Kazimierz Waliszewski, *Marysieńka, Marie de la Grande d'Arquien, Queen of Poland, and Wife of Sobieski, 1641–1716*, trans. Lady Mary Loyd (London: Heinemann, 1898), 271.

<sup>36</sup> Waliszewski, trans. Loyd, *Marysieńka*, 273.

<sup>37</sup> The 1713 libretto to *Ifigenia in Tauri* refers to Carlo Sigismondo Capeci as 'Fra gli Arcadi Metisto Olbiano'. See also Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 47. For biographical information see Alberto Cametti, 'Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (1652–1728), Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti e la Regina di Polonia a Roma', *Musica d'oggi* 13 (1931), 55–64.

<sup>38</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 46.

<sup>39</sup> Waliszewski, trans. Loyd, *Marysieńka*, 282.

Regarding the political climate under which the pair of 1713 operas *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Ifigenia in Tauri* were developed, Aneta Markuszewska observes that chance alone cannot account for the fact that Euripides wrote his *Iphigenia* plays during the Second Peloponnesian War and Capeci penned his while the War of the Spanish Succession was tearing territories and families apart.<sup>40</sup> With Poland having attempted to silence her political voice, Maria Casimira seems to have turned to the arts as a means to show her opposition to the hostilities. As stated in the 1713 opera's *argomento*, the patroness's poet, Capeci, departed from Pier Jacopo Martello's Italian<sup>41</sup> version of Euripides' tale<sup>42</sup> in order to adapt it to current taste, or 'al gusto de' moderni Drammi'. Perhaps Capeci's libretto, subsidized by Maria Casimira just prior to the negotiations of the Treaty of Utrecht, voices her plea for a peaceful end to the war that had been raging for more than a decade.

Other than his political interest in these operas, Thomas Gray might very well have been gathering material to inspire the work he began in 1741 shortly after returning from his Grand Tour: his *Agrippina*. Gray admired the works of Jean Racine (1639–1699), author of the plays *Britannicus* (1669), in which *Agrippina* features prominently, and *Iphigénie* (1675); and William Powell Jones's descriptive register of Gray's early catalogue of his library shows that it held the *Oeuvres de Racine* and Euripides's *Tragedia XX praeter ultinam*,<sup>43</sup> where, in the latter, it is said that Gray's annotations are found throughout.<sup>44</sup> In support of this hypothesis, it might be mentioned that Giuseppe Domenico de Totis, author of the aforementioned *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni* collected by Gray, had written his own version of *Agrippina* in 1691.<sup>45</sup> It should also be noted that although Handel and Porpora had both composed versions of *Agrippina*, these works do not feature in Gray's handwritten scores.

In early April 1742 Gray sent a first draft of the opening scene of his *Agrippina* to Richard West,<sup>46</sup> and in the ensuing weeks the pair exchanged thoughts and opinions on the style of language best suited for the English stage. Then, on 8 May 1742, Gray tells West that he has just finished reading Thucydides: 'I have finished the Peloponnesian war much to my honour, and a tight conflict it was, I promise you'<sup>47</sup> – a reading that would be relevant for someone interested in the climate under which Euripides had written his *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In the same month, Gray, corresponding with John Chute, who was residing in Florence at the time, thanks him for music sent his way: 'My Dab of Musick & Prints you are very good to think of sending with your own'.<sup>48</sup> Within the context of this chronology, it seems plausible that the *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias in Gray's tenth volume might have been included in the 'Dab of Musick' sent from Chute to Gray in May of 1742. This being said, a stronger determination of provenance remains to be established. Moreover, although the texts of both *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias in Gray's collection

<sup>40</sup> See Aneta Markuszewska, 'Music in the Service of Politics: The Iphigenia Operas Written for Maria Casimira Sobieska as a Case Study', *Historični seminar* 11 (2014), 12, 16–17, available at <http://hs.zrc-sazu.si/Portals/0/sp/hs11/Markuszewska.pdf> (18 December 2020).

<sup>41</sup> Strohm remarks that, unlike in comic opera, the librettos for the *drammi per musica* of the time were produced 'exclusively' in the Tuscan dialect. See Strohm, *Dramma per Musica*, 6.

<sup>42</sup> This fact is pointed out by Markuszewska in 'Music in the Service of Politics', 15; see also Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 53.

<sup>43</sup> See Jones, *Thomas Gray, Scholar*, 'Addenda: Text of Gray Notebooks in Pierpont Morgan Library', 151, 161.

<sup>44</sup> See William Powell Jones, 'Thomas Gray's Library', *Modern Philology* 35/3 (1938), 265.

<sup>45</sup> Incidentally, in England, the play *Iphigenia* (1700) by John Dennis had Thoas, the ruler of Tauris, embody a female person, 'a passionate Amazon', claims Robert R. Heitner in 'The Iphigenia in Tauris Theme in Drama of the Eighteenth Century', *Comparative Literature* 16/4 (1964), 292.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from Gray to Richard West, c1 April 1742, in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, revised edition, ed. H. W. Starr, three volumes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), volume 1, 189 (letter 101).

<sup>47</sup> Letter from Gray to West, 8 May 1742, in *Correspondence*, ed. Toynbee and Whibley, volume 1, 202 (letter 107).

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Gray to John Chute, 24 May 1742, in *Correspondence*, ed. Toynbee and Whibley, volume 1, 208 (letter 109). With 'Dab' Gray simply refers to the small quantity of his holdings.

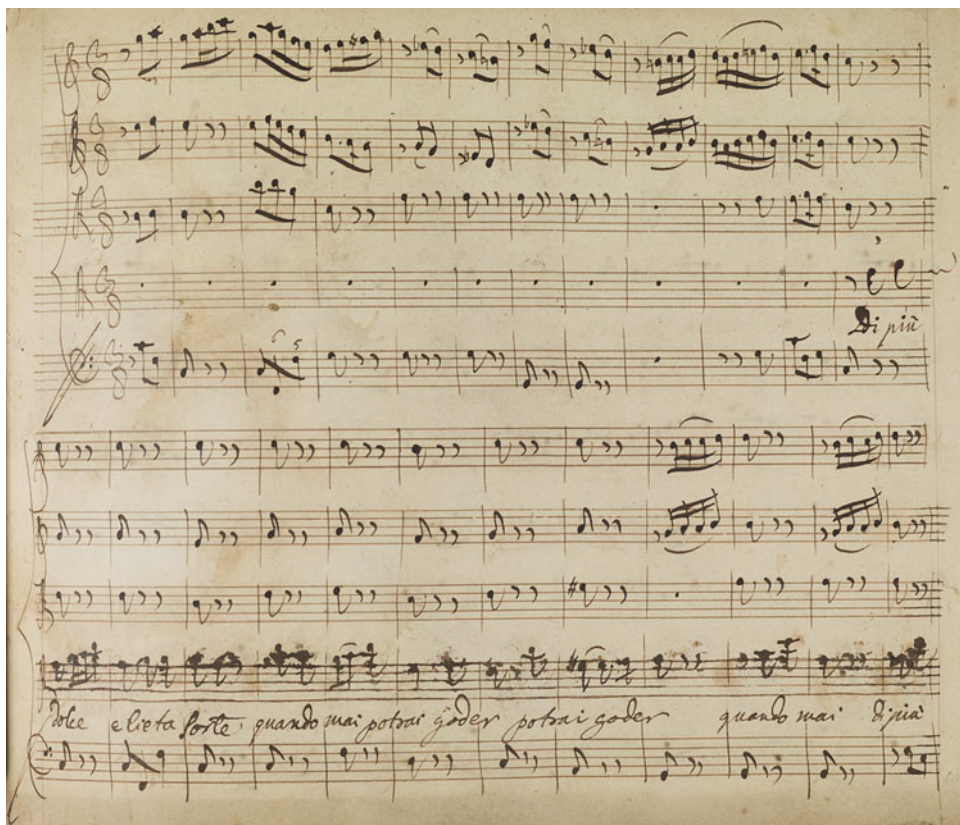


Figure 6. 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte'. Quarto 532 MS 10:15, fol. 60r

strongly correlate with Capeci's 1713 libretto for the opera that was initially set to music by Domenico Scarlatti, the excerpts bear no ascription as to their composer, hence the immediate need to examine them further.

### Two Arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713) on the Libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci

The collaboration between Carlo Sigismondo Capeci and Domenico Scarlatti yielded at least seven operas for their patroness, including the 1713 *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Ifigenia in Tauri*, but very little of this joint operatic output has survived.<sup>49</sup> According to RISM, only nine arias from the pair of *Ifigenia* operas still exist; therefore my recent rediscovery of what appear to be two additional arias composed on the libretto to *Ifigenia in Tauri*, presented in Rome in 1713 and bearing the mention 'E posto in Musica dal Sig. Domenico Scarlatti', warrants scholarly attention. The extant arias from the Capeci–Scarlatti *Ifigenia* operas attributed to Domenico Scarlatti are as follows:

- 1 three arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri*, all for the role of Dorifile and written in alto clef, held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden (D-DI), manuscript Mus. 1-F-30;
- 2 three arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri*, all for the role of Ifigenia and written in soprano clef, contained within the library of the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles – Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel (B-Bc), 15178 under the numbers 13, 14 and 15;

<sup>49</sup> See details in Malcolm Boyd's *Domenico Scarlatti: Master of Music* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 44–67.

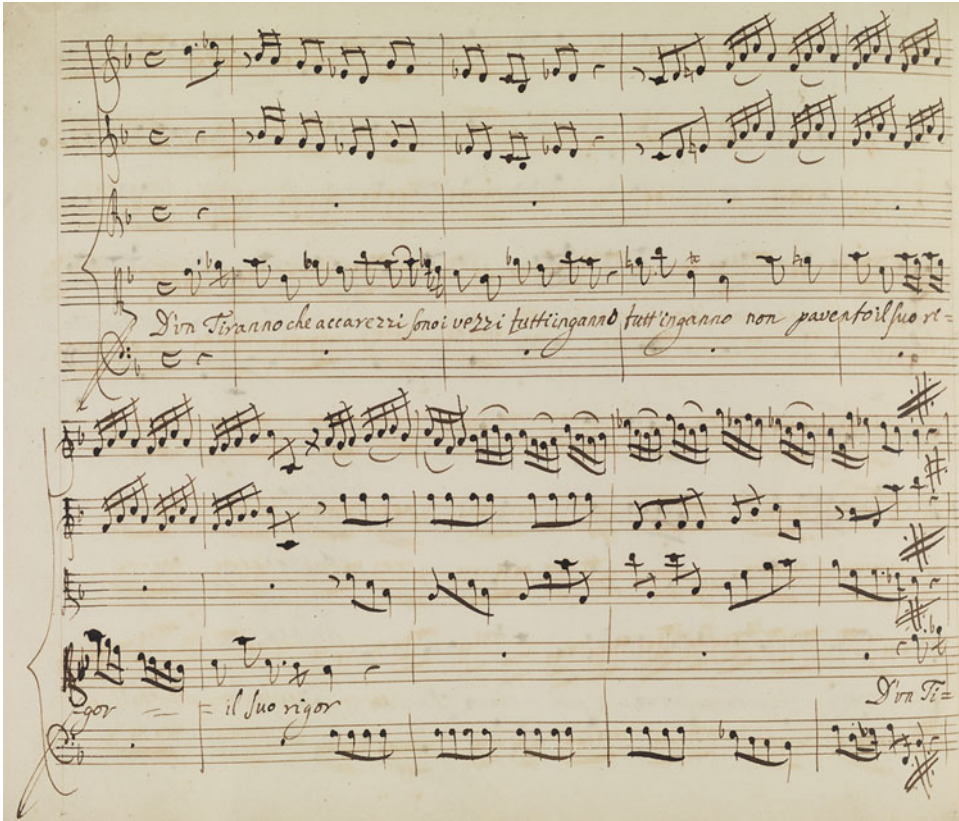


Figure 7. 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi'. Quarto 532 MS 10:16, fol. 61v

- 3 three arias from *Ifigenia in Aulide* also in D-DI, Mus. 1-F-30. As Markuszewska points out, 'Se tù sarai fedel' is not from *Ifigenia in Tauri* but from Act 1 Scene 11 of *Ifigenia in Aulide*, and Clitennestra's aria 'Tù m'ami! Ah non è vero' is from its Act 2 Scene 6.<sup>50</sup>

To these, we add the excerpts possibly composed by Domenico Scarlatti and recently located in Thomas Gray's music manuscripts in the Lewis Walpole Library, Quarto 532 MS 10:

- 4 two arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri*: 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte', in alto clef and to be sung by Pilade in Act 3 Scene 4, Quarto 532 MS 10:15; and 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' (Act 1 Scene 3), for the role of Ifigenia and written in soprano clef, Quarto 532 MS 10:16 (see Figures 6 and 7).

Domenico Scarlatti is the only composer known to have set Capeci's *Ifigenia*, but others may also have attempted to do so. Grouping the surviving arias according to respective acts and scenes yields a better sense of their possible interrelations (see Table 2). In effecting this reordering, a comparative evaluation of subsequent (or closely related) scenes can help determine coherence and consistency, and hence aid in determining the likelihood that they were written by the same composer – in this case, Domenico Scarlatti. It should be borne in mind that such comparative remarks aim to

<sup>50</sup> See Aneta Markuszewska, 'The Musical Form of Selected Arias in the Libretti of Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (1710–1714)', *Musicology Today* 6 (2009), 48.

**Table 2.** Extant arias from *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Ifigenia in Tauri* on the 1713 librettos by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (with new findings in bold)

Act and scene	Incipit	Role, clef, time signature	Source	RISM ID
<i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i>				
A.1 Act 1 Scene 11	‘Mi parto lieta, nè ti condanno’	Ifigenia, soprano, 2/4	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 131–136	211007015
A.2 Act 1 Scene 11	‘Se tù sarai fedel’	Clitennestra, alto, 3/4	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 99–104	211007013
A.3 Act 2 Scene 6	‘Tù m’ami! Ah non è vero’	Clitennestra, alto, 4/4	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 88–89	211007013
<i>Ifigenia in Tauri</i>				
B.1 Act 1 Scene 2	‘Se pensi mai, se sperì’	Dorifile, alto, 2/4	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 91–96	211007013
<b>B.2 Act 1 Scene 3</b>	<b>‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’</b>	<b>Ifigenia, soprano, 4/4</b> <b>‘Da Capo al Segno’</b>	<b>US-FAY Quarto 532</b> <b>MS 10:16</b> <b>PDF. 97–101</b>	<b>101202</b>
B.3 Act 1 Scene 10	‘Che farai misero core’	Ifigenia, soprano, 4/4 ‘Al Segno’	B-Bc 15.178/13	703002654
B.4 Act 2 Scene 2	‘Passo di pena, in pena’	Ifigenia, soprano, 3/4 ‘Da Capo’	B-Bc 15.178/14	703002655
B.5 Act 3 Scene 3	‘Se vuoi, ch’io t’ami’	Dorifile, alto, 12/8	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 111–121	211007013
<b>B.6 Act 3 Scene 4</b>	<b>‘Di più dolce e lieta sorte’</b>	<b>Pilade,</b> <b>alto, 3/8</b> <b>‘Da Capo’</b>	<b>US-FAY Quarto 532</b> <b>MS 10:15</b> <b>PDF. 94–96</b>	<b>101201</b>
B.7 Act 3 Scene 6	‘Son qual cerva, che fuggendo’	Ifigenia, soprano, 3/8 ‘Da Capo’	B-Bc 15.178/15	703002656
B.8 Act 3 Scene 9	‘Consolati, e spera’	Dorifile, alto, 2/4	D-DI Mus. 1-F-30 PDF. 107–109	211007013

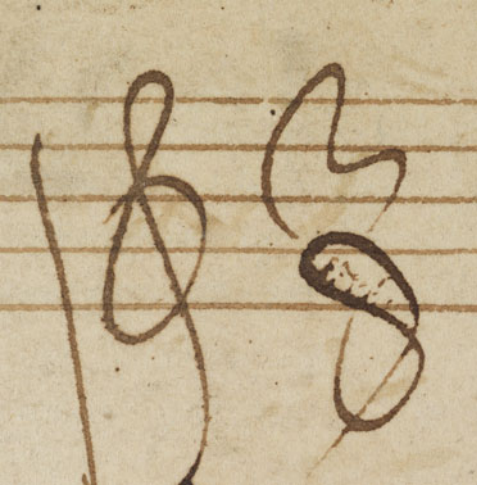
In the first column above ‘A’ = arias from *Ifigenia in Aulide* and ‘B’ = arias from *Ifigenia in Tauri*

contribute useful material to the greater pursuit of determining the composer of the newly found *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias and should not be misconstrued as an attempt to prove authorship beyond all doubt.

### Features of the Newly Discovered Scores

As mentioned previously, nine arias from the pair of *Ifigenia* operas composed by Domenico Scarlatti survive. Comparing the copyist’s penmanship to the Scarlatti *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias in the Dresden manuscript, the arias in the Brussels copy and the products of known copyists active in Rome at the time, a firm match cannot be established. The shapes of letters, notes and clefs show promise when scrutinizing the Brussels copy against Gray’s if one accounts for variances between a carefully transcribed copy and what seem to be the hurriedly notated *Ifigenia* arias in Quarto 532 MS 10. The S-shaped ‘8’ in the time signature of ‘Di più dolce’ (see Figure 8) is strikingly peculiar, and, of countless materials consulted, only B-Bc 15178/15 contains a comparable eight, which can be seen in ‘Son qual cerva’ from the third act’s Scene 6 (see Figure 9). On the other hand, a distinctive *segno* drawn as two vertical and two horizontal lines with four dots, one in each corner, can be observed in ‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’ (see Figure 10) in this clearly spelled-out *da capo al segno* form, but the *segno* marker in B-Bc 15178 differs. Notably, the same *segno* drawn in ‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’ can be found in many places within the manuscript of Alessandro Scarlatti’s 1723 *Erminia*. A treble clef with a similarly elongated stem, a slanted ‘3’ in the time signature and the added presence of a distinctive wavy ‘w’ custos (see Figure 11) placed at the end of staves – used to specify the pitch to follow at the start of the next system – can be seen in Giovanni Pertica’s

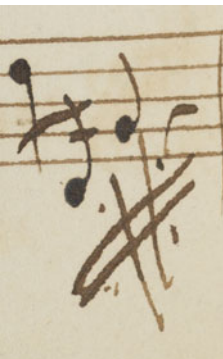




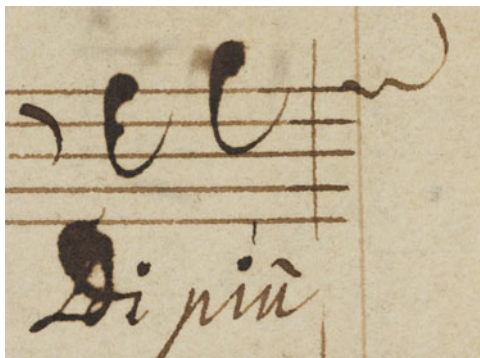
**Figure 8.** Characteristic '8' in time signature of 'Di più dolce'. Quarto 532 MS 10:15, fol. 60r



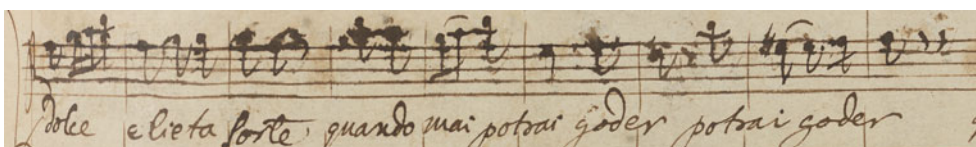
**Figure 9.** Characteristic '8' seen in the first page of 'Son qual cerva'. Library of the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles – Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel (B-Bc), 15178/15. Used by permission



**Figure 10.** Characteristic segno in 'D'un Tiranno'. Quarto 532 MS 10:16, fol. 61v



**Figure 11.** End-of-stave custos in 'Di più dolce'. Quarto 532 MS 10:15, fol. 60r



**Figure 12.** Corrections in first bars of singer's part in 'Di più dolce'. Quarto 532 MS 10:15, fol. 60r

copies<sup>51</sup> as well as in the overture to *Tolomeo et Alessandro* previously in the possession of musicologist Sebastiano Arturo Luciani and reproduced in Ralph Kirkpatrick's biography of Domenico Scarlatti.<sup>52</sup>

As for overall appearance, the singer's staff in 'Di più dolce' gives the impression that it was added after notation of the other instruments or, at the very least, altered. The aria begins with Pilade's first note scribbled over a pre-existing full rest, still perceptible underneath the stem of the inscribed *g*<sup>1</sup> (in the alto clef). The next three bars in the singer's part contain staff lines that have been retraced, and throughout the entire first page new notes and smudged ink coexist in a texture highly indicative of corrective jottings where erasures have not succeeded in completely removing the initial notes (see [Figure 12](#)). The second and third pages of the aria do not exhibit similar modifications, but the second *Ifigenia* aria in the collection, 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi', contains an entire section of five bars that has been pasted directly over the original contents (see [Figure 13](#)).

The portion of the watermark found (46 mm wide x 54 mm high) in the *Ifigenia* arias of Quarto 532 MS 10 shows a shield with curved scrolls having a double bar sinister (two diagonal bars) running from the bottom left to the top right (see [Figure 14](#)). A countermark approximately 40 mm wide formed of the roman letters 'I V' is also present (see [Figure 15](#), where it can be seen upside down).<sup>53</sup> Both the watermark and countermark are located at the top of the page and centrally along the longitudinal plane. Again, attempting to substantiate provenance from watermarks alone often proves perilous; for example, in the case of the two arias under consideration, the

<sup>51</sup> See Francesco Gasparini's 'La beltà, ch'io sospiro, è la mia pace' and 'Quanto sei penosa ò quanto' copied by Pertica, available at Clori – Archivio della cantata italiana [http://cantataitaliana.it/query\\_bid.php?id=1862](http://cantataitaliana.it/query_bid.php?id=1862) and [http://cantataitaliana.it/query\\_bid.php?id=1860](http://cantataitaliana.it/query_bid.php?id=1860) (both 9 January 2021).

<sup>52</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, illustration 22.

<sup>53</sup> A similar watermark with countermark 'I V' can be seen in Harvey Cushing's manuscript of the printed anatomical drawings by Jacob van der Gracht (1593–1651) held at the Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library at Yale University. See <https://library.medicine.yale.edu/historical/blog/beneath-surface-watermarks-and-flayed-figures> (4 March 2021).



Figure 13. Corrected section pasted directly onto 'D'un Tiranno'. Quarto 532 MS 10:16, fol. 62v

paper could have been brought to Rome by Maria Casimira, or perhaps the arias were transcribed from another source.

### Concordance with Capeci's Libretto

The texts from the arias in Thomas Gray's collection yield a near-to-exact match to Capeci's 1713 libretto for *Ifigenia in Tauri* (see Table 3, where deviations are shown in bold). A Capeci–Scarlatti *Ifigenia in Tauri* was presented anew for the Turin carnival season of 1719,<sup>54</sup> and although 'Di un Tiranno' was maintained, 'Di più dolce' does not appear in this revised libretto.<sup>55</sup> This suggests that Pilade's 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte' in Gray's collection may belong to the original 1713 production. Because 'Di un Tiranno' begins on the verso side of the last page of 'Di più dolce' and materializes

<sup>54</sup> Although Domenico Scarlatti's name appears in the libretto, Boyd wonders if Domenico himself modified the work or if the 1719 *Ifigenia in Tauri* was altered by another hand. See Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 60.

<sup>55</sup> *Ifigenia in Tauri dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel teatro di S.A.S. il signor principe di Carignano nel carnevale del 1719. Dedicato all'altezza reale di Carlo Emanuel principe di Piemonte, &c In Torino Francesco Antonio Gattinara*. Two copies of the 1719 libretto have materialized: one in the Bologna Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (see [www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmBM/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmBM/images/ripro/libretti/05/Lo05137/](http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmBM/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmBM/images/ripro/libretti/05/Lo05137/)) (12 December 2020) and the other in the Santa Cecilia collection in Rome (see <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0023103>) (14 December 2020)). Notably, Giuseppe Maria Orlandini's *Ifigenia in Tauride* on the libretto by Benedetto Pasqualigo (also derived from that of Martello) was shown in Venice that same year (1719). The Pasqualigo libretto does not contain the same two arias as Capeci's 1713 libretto; see <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/musschatz.19570> (10 January 2021).



Figure 14. Portion of watermark, Quarto 532 MS 10, fol. 60v, top, centre



Figure 15. Countermark, Quarto 532 MS 10, fol. 61v, top, centre

in the same hand and style, could it be surmised that both arias correspond to the original libretto of *Ifigenia in Tauri* written for Maria Casimira in 1713, and perhaps even embody its original music?

The reasons for the slight variances in text will not be investigated here except to say that such modifications occur frequently in Domenico's treatment of Capeci's *Ifigenia*. For example, similar word changes and inversions can be observed in both the Brussels and the Dresden scores, where attribution to Domenico Scarlatti is recognized. In *Ifigenia*'s 'Che farai misero core' from Act 1 Scene 10 (B-Bc 15178/13), 'il' is dropped completely from 'senza il rigore'. Likewise, in the second section of 'Passo di pena, in pena' from Act 2 Scene 2 (B-Bc 15178/14), the libretto reads 'Porto non vede, o sponda' while the score shows *Ifigenia* singing the rearranged 'non vede porto ò sponda'. In *Ifigenia*'s 'Son qual cerva, che fuggendo' from Act 3 Scene 6 (B-Bc 15178/15), words are recombined when repeating the first verse, and 'e mira al Varco, Teso l'arco feritor' becomes 'e mira teso l'arco', while 'che fuggendo' becomes 'và fuggendo', and this first section ends with the reordered 'e mira

**Table 3.** Comparison of Capeci's *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713) libretto with arias in Gray's Quarto 532 MS 10 (deviations shown in bold)

'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' (Act 1 Scene 3)		'Di più dolce, o lieta sorte' (Act 3 Scene 4)	
Capeci's Libretto	Gray's Quarto 532 MS	Capeci's Libretto	Gray's Quarto 532 MS
A	A	A	A
<i>Di un Tiranno, Che accarezzi</i>	D'un Tiranno che accarezzi	<i>Di più dolce, o lieta sorte Quando mai potrò goder?</i>	Di più dolce e lieta sorte quando mai <b>potrai</b> goder <b>potrai</b> goder quando mai
<i>Sono i vezzi Tutti inganno, Men pavento il suo rigor.</i>	sono i vezzi tutti inganno tutt'inganno  <b>non</b> pavento il suo rigor ==il suo rigor D'un Tiranno ch' accarezzi sono i vezzi tutti' ingan=====no <b>non</b> pavento <b>non</b> pavento il suo rigor <b>nò nò nò nò non</b> pavento il suo rigor==== <b>non</b> pavento il suo rigor		di più dolce e lieta <b>dolce</b> quando mai <b>potrai</b> goder <b>potrai</b> goder quando mai <b>potrai</b> goder
B	B	B	B
<i>Dente ingordo D'aspe sordo, Morde più quando s'asconde Nelle fronde d'un bel fior. D'un &amp;c.</i>	Dente ingordo d'aspe sordo morde più quando s'asconde  nelle fronde d'un bel fior  =d'un bel fior morde più quando s'asconde nelle fronde d'un bel fior ===fior==== nelle fronde d'un bel fior D'un Tiranno <i>da capo al segno</i>	<i>Se con una sola morte Di due vite a me sì care Mi sà rendere il piacer.  Di, &amp;c.</i>	Se con una sola morte di due vite à <b>tè</b> sì care care Care <b>ti puoi</b> rendere il piacer  di due vite à <b>tè</b> sì Care  <b>ti puoi</b> rendere <b>ti puoi</b> rendere il piacer. <i>da capo</i>

l'arco feritor'. Further, in the Dresden aria for Dorifile, 'Se pensi mai, se sperì' from Act 1 Scene 2 (D-DI, Mus. 1-F-30), Scarlatti inverted the libretto's text to 'se sperì se pensì' in the third repetition of the opening verse, conceivably to inject variety; significantly, this also occurs in Gray's volume, when Pilade sings 'potrai goder quando mai' to end his first enunciation of the first verse instead of finishing it with 'quando mai potrai goder', and also when he sings 'e lieta dolce' instead of the libretto's 'o lieta sorte' in echoing the same verse.

It is relevant to note that, in 'Mi parto lieta, nè ti condanno' from *Ifigenia in Aulide*'s Act 1 Scene 11 (D-DI, Mus. 1-F-30), Ifigenia, instead of singing 'A chi ne gode Pena non è', ends the aria with 'à chi ne gode pena non è nò nò non è' – an emphasis on 'nò' that returns at the end of the A section of *Ifigenia in Tauri*'s 'D'un Tiranno', when Ifigenia sings 'nò nò nò nò non pavento'. Equally, in the Dresden score for 'Consolati, e spera' from Scene 9 of *Ifigenia in Tauri*'s third act, in repeating the B section, the first line is omitted completely, as is the case for section B of Pilade's 'Di più dolce'. Although it was common for composers to reorder a libretto's text, in all extant *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias from the 'Dominicus Capeci'<sup>56</sup> pair as well as in the two recently discovered ones, the

<sup>56</sup> Luciani's copy of *Tolomeo*'s first act bears the appellation 'Dominicus Capeci' on its cover. See Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 415. See also Sebastiano Arturo Luciani, 'Un'opera inedita di Domenico Scarlatti', *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 48 (1946), 433–445.

**Table 4.** Vocal range for Ifigenia's arias, *Ifigenia in Tauri*

Source	Act and scene	Aria	Range	Greatest upward leap	Greatest drop
B.2	Act 1 Scene 3	'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi'	d <sup>1</sup> to a <sup>2</sup>	octave	octave
B.3	Act 1 Scene 10	'Che farai misero core'	f <sub>#</sub> <sup>1</sup> to g <sup>2</sup>	minor sixth	major sixth
B.4	Act 2 Scene 2	'Passo di pena, in pena'	e <sup>1</sup> to a <sup>2</sup>	octave	octave
B.7	Act 3 Scene 6	'Son qual cerva, che fuggendo'	f <sup>1</sup> to a <sup>2</sup>	octave	minor seventh

beginnings of each stanza from Capeci's libretto emerge intact in the music, as the composer only repeats words or groups of text in the middle or end of sections or in their repetition. Further to these observations, there are resemblances in the setting of the two newfound arias that cannot be disregarded when reviewed in conjunction with those ascribed to Domenico.

### Observations and Comparisons

Of the extant arias from the 1713 Capeci–Scarlatti *Ifigenia in Aulide* and *Ifigenia in Tauri*, instrumentation is specified in 'Che farai misero core' from Act 1 Scene 10 (B-Bc 15178/13), where, on the first stave, the violins playing in unison are marked 'vv' while the second stave bears the indication 'viola'. Likewise, in D-Dl Mus.1-F-30, 'Unis' is shown for the first stave in 'Se pensi mai, se sperì' from Act 1 Scene 2; as 'Uniss<sup>1</sup>' for 'Consolati, e spera' for Act 3 Scene 9; and for this same act's 'Se vuoi, ch'io t'ami' from Scene 3, the rich instrumentation is scored 'Flauto' for the first two staves, 'viol & Unis' for the third stave and 'viola' for the fourth. Consequently, the lack of any distinct markings at the beginning of instrument staves in Gray's *Ifigenia* copies leads one to assume that both arias are to be played by two violin parts, one viola and continuo.

Although the 1719 production of *Ifigenia in Tauri* at the Teatro Carignano, dedicated to the Savoyard 'All'Altezza Reale di Carlo Emanuel Principe di Piemonte', saw Diana Vico as Ifigenia and Antonio Pasi (also known as Tonino) as Pilade, the *Ifigenia* cast of 1713 remains unknown.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, if the arias of Quarto 532 MS 10 were intended for the original performance at Palazzo Zuccari, it is likely that the vocal demands would have matched those of the other passages planned for the same singer. Pilade's sole surviving aria sees no equivalent, but the four excerpts for Ifigenia allow for a verification of their featured range, and Ifigenia's 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' does not deviate from the others (see Table 4).

A comparison of 'Se pensi mai, se sperì', which immediately precedes 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi', exposes fascinating resemblances between these two opening-act arias. Even upon the most modest of appraisals, one can find the inaugural rhythmic pattern of Dorifile's 'Se pensi mai, se sperì' (Act 1 Scene 2) recurring in Ifigenia's 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' (Act 1 Scene 3) in her first verse's 'sono i vezzi' (bar 1) and again upon reiteration of the A section at 'accarezzi sono i vezzi' (bars 9–10), which, significantly, contains a comparable  $\hat{1}-\hat{5}$  jump (instead of the previous number's  $\hat{5}-\hat{1}$ ) at the repetition of the contour (see Example 1). Across these two scenes, parallels manifest themselves in similar gestures, such as in the respective first ritornellos, where in both cases the violins create a propulsive wind-up with a quick turn from below followed by an ascending stepwise fourth, followed by reiteration of the figure, and both lines end by dropping a perfect fifth (in one case, the drop is repeated and filled in by step) (see Example 2).

More obvious still, and amplified by the high register, the first violin brings the aria to its end by sequencing down in thirds from the sixth degree to the local tonal area, E minor (note the Neapolitan inflection of F(♭) at the start of bar 65). This motion doubles Dorifile in bars 63 to 65 and appears in the penultimate measure in 'D'un Tiranno' (see Example 3). Additional

<sup>57</sup> The libretto does not mention the cast; Boyd reports that 'no list exists of the musicians in Queen Maria Casimira's permanent employment'. Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti*, 23.

(a) [Dorifile] 3/4 time signature. Melody starts with a dotted quarter note, followed by eighth notes. Brackets labeled 'a' and 'b' are placed under the notes.

(b) [Ifigenia] 4/4 time signature. Melody starts with a whole rest, followed by eighth notes. Brackets labeled 'a' and 'b' are placed under the notes.

**Example 1.** (a) ‘Se pensi mai, se sperì’, bars 1–5 (Act 1 Scene 2, Dorifile); (b) ‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’, bars 8–10 (Act 1 Scene 3, Ifigenia)

(a) Violins 3/4 time signature. Melody consists of eighth notes. Brackets labeled 'a' and 'b' are placed under the notes.

(b) [Violin 1] 4/4 time signature. Melody consists of eighth notes. Brackets labeled 'a' and 'b' are placed under the notes.

**Example 2.** (a) ‘Se pensi mai, se sperì’, bars 9–13 (Act 1 Scene 2, Dorifile); (b) ‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’, bars 5–8 (Act 1 Scene 3, Ifigenia)

validation of consistent composition comes when spotting that Ifigenia’s  $f\sharp^1-a^1-c^2-e^b^2-d^2$  diminished-seventh pattern in her coloratura passage on ‘tutt’inganno’ (bars 12–13) anticipates her later  $f\sharp^1-a^1-c^2-d^2-e^b^2$  at ‘và fuggendo’ in ‘Son qual cerva, che fuggendo’ (bars 61–62) from the third act’s Scene 6, where the gesture is bookended by a mirrored a–c pair (Example 4).

As for the second aria in Thomas Gray’s collection, ‘Di più dolce e lieta sorte’, written for Pilade in Act 3 Scene 4, the composer chose to harmonize the melodic line sparsely, with the instruments appearing almost exclusively on the first beat of the bar or following the end of Pilade’s sentences and, accordingly, never interfering with the singer’s part. Comparing ‘Di più dolce e lieta sorte’ to Scarlatti’s setting of ‘Son qual cerva, che fuggendo’ allows for an appraisal of the likelihood that Gray’s *Ifigenia in Tauri* aria from Act 3 Scene 4 logically precedes Scarlatti’s Scene 6 from the same act. From the outset, the two da capo arias, both in 3/8, display similarities that cannot be dismissed. The melodies both begin with  $g^2-a^2$  in the violins and feature a few bars later a dotted

(a) Violins 3/4 time signature. Melody starts with a dotted quarter note, followed by eighth notes. A bracket labeled 'a' is placed under the notes.

(b) [Violin 1] 4/4 time signature. Melody starts with a dotted quarter note, followed by eighth notes. A bracket labeled 'a' is placed under the notes.

**Example 3.** (a) ‘Se pensi mai, se sperì’, bars 63–65 (Act 1 Scene 2, Dorifile); (b) ‘D’un Tiranno che accarezzi’, bars 42–43 (Act 1 Scene 3, Ifigenia)

(a) <sup>12</sup>  
[Ifigenia]

(b) <sup>62</sup>  
[Ifigenia]

**Example 4.** (a) 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi', bars 12–13 (Act 1 Scene 3, Ifigenia); (b) 'Son qual cerva', bars 62–64 (Act 3 Scene 6, Ifigenia)

(a)

(b)

**Example 5.** (a) 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte', bars 1–8 (Act 3 Scene 4, Pilade); (b) 'Son qual cerva', bars 1–8 (Act 3 Scene 6, Ifigenia)



**Table 5.** Structural proportions and main harmonies, *Ifigenia in Tauri*, Act 1 Scenes 2 and 3

	Act 1 Scene 2: Dorifile				Act 1 Scene 3: Ifigenia			
	'Se pensi mai, se sperì'				'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi'			
		% of total	main harmonies			% of total	main harmonies	
Form	<i>da capo</i>				<i>da capo al segno</i>			
Time signature	2/4				4/4			
Total bars	72	100%			43	100%		
<b>Section A</b>	47 bars: bars 1–47	63.9%	C		25 bars: bars 1–25	58.1%	B $\flat$	
	<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 1–9 (17.4% of A)				<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 1–5 (20% of A)			
	C–G				B $\flat$ –F			
	<b>Ritornello 1:</b> bars 9–17 (17.4% of A)				<b>Ritornello 1:</b> bars 6–8 (12% of A)			
	G–C				F–B $\flat$			
	<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 17–41 (52.2% of A)				<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 8–23 (56% of A)			
	C–C				B $\flat$ –B $\flat$			
	<b>Ritornello 2:</b> bars 41–47 (13% of A)				<b>Ritornello 2:</b> bars 23–25 (12% of A)			
	C–C				B $\flat$ –B $\flat$			
<b>Section B</b>	26 bars: bars 47–72	36.1%	a–C		18 bars: bars 25–43	41.9%	g–B $\flat$	
	<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 47–56 (38.5% of B)				<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 25–31 (33.3% of B)			
	a–e				g–g			
	<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 56–68 (42.3% of B)				<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 32–40 (44.5% of B):			
	a–e				D–d			
	<b>Ritornello 3:</b> bars 68–72 (19.2% of B)				<b>Ritornello 3:</b> bars 40–43 (22.2% of B)			
	e/G–C				d/F–B $\flat$			

**Table 6.** Structural proportions and main harmonies, *Ifigenia in Tauri*, Act 3 Scenes 4 and 6

	Act 3 Scene 4: Pilade				Act 3 Scene 6: Ifigenia			
	'Di più dolce e lieta sorte'				'Son qual cerva, che fuggendo'			
		% of total	main harmonies			% of total	main harmonies	
Form	<i>da capo</i>				<i>da capo</i>			
Time signature	3/8				3/8			
Total bars	66	100%			125	100%		
<b>Ritornello 1</b>	12 bars: bars 1–12	18.2%	C–C		20 bars: bars 1–20	16%	g–g	
<b>Section A</b>	24 bars: bars 12–37	36.4%	C–C		48 bars: bars 20–69	38.4%	g–g	
	<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 12–23 (45.8% of A)				<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 20–41 (43.7% of A)			
	C–G				g–B $\flat$			
	<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 24–37 (54.2% of A)				<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 42–69 (56.3% of A)			
	G–C				B $\flat$ –g			
<b>Ritornello 2</b>	6 bars: bars 37–42	9%	C–C		15 bars: bars 69–83	12%	g–g	
<b>Section B</b>	24 bars: bars 43–66	36.4%	a–e		42 bars: bars 84–125	33.6%	g–d	
	<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 43–56 (58.3% of B)				<b>First vocal iteration:</b> bars 84–103 (47.6% of B)			
	a–a				g–c			
	<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 57–66 (41.7% of B)				<b>Second vocal iteration:</b> bars 104–125 (52.4% of B)			
	a–e				c–d			

quaver–semiquaver–quaver figure on  $b(b)^1$ – $a^1$ – $g^1$ , with only its modality differing. More striking is the resemblance of the passages beginning at the respective bars 5 and 6: the succession  $g^2$ – $eb^2$ – $d^2$  and  $g^2$ – $c^2$ – $bb^1$  in the doubled violins in 'Son qual cerva' is close to what we hear in the same location (second phrase of the piece) of 'Di più dolce' (see [Example 5](#)). The gesture arises once more when Ifigenia sings anew 'Son qual cerva che fuggendo che fuggendo' (bars 42–47) before moving to the B section of this sixth scene.

Additionally, the structural proportions in the respective arias exhibit a level of concordance that supports the hypothesis that the excerpts form a coherent whole (see [Tables 5](#) and [6](#)). For example, the equivalence in their relative section lengths teamed with their respective harmonic emphases

imply that corresponding tonal areas are given the same harmonic weight in relation to the total duration of the aria.

## Conclusion

Given the rarity of some of the works contained within Thomas Gray's manuscripts, such as those examined from *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni, Il Colombo overo l'India scoperta* and *Ifigenia in Tauri*, his music collection Quarto 532 MS 10 proves a valuable resource for musicology, music history, analysis and composition – in addition to offering ten volumes of exquisite music awaiting performance.

As for the two arias that match Carlo Sigismondo Capeci's libretto for the *Ifigenia in Tauri* opera he wrote with Domenico Scarlatti in 1713, the comparable treatment of text, the consistent musical gestures and the similarities between coupled scenes yield reasonable arguments to support the hypothesis that Domenico was their composer. At this point, however, definite attribution cannot be made. Further study of Thomas Gray's annotations, personal notes and letters to friends and other correspondents may open promising avenues in clarifying the matter.

Regarding the concert merits of the findings, I premiered excerpts from Gray's music collection alongside my composition for solo piano *The Lewis Walpole Tableaux*, Op. 127, at the Lewis Walpole Library on 26 January 2020. The concert ended with thematic motives from Gray's *Il Colombo overo l'India scoperta*, *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni* and his *Ifigenia in Tauri* cited directly as a homage in its concluding 'Tableau 10: Ode to Collectors'. More recently, I presented both *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias in their complete forms during a concert I had filmed as a study aid and which was aired during a virtual concert for the conference Thomas Gray among the Disciplines in Cambridge, UK, on 31 July 2021 to mark the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the poet's death.<sup>58</sup> I played 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte' as a piano reduction and created a computer rendition of 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi'. However, without a singer, neither format renders justice to the artful combination of the music with Capeci's words. It is hoped, therefore, that interpreters of this repertory will be keen to perform these *Ifigenia in Tauri* arias.

To conclude, it might be worth stating that when, in 1704, two of Maria Casimira's sons were held captive by their political rival, Augustus II, she implored their release and, in a letter to her son Alexander, exclaimed,

If it is necessary, for the satisfaction of the tyrant's merciless hatred of us all, that to ensure him against us, some member of the family should remain in his hands, I am willing to enter his prison – if only my dear children may be free, and their lives saved.<sup>59</sup>

With time's prison having long claimed Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, Carlo Sigismondo Capeci, Thomas Gray and our presumed composer, Domenico Scarlatti, performance awaits so that their *Ifigenia*, captive for well over three hundred years in the hands of this indiscriminate tyrant, can now also be freed. *Free Ifigenia!*

<sup>58</sup> Nathalie Dupuis-Désormeaux, composer-pianist, concert 'Thomas Gray as Music Collector': 'Toccata per il Cembalo', excerpts (Quarto 532 MS 6:2, Anonymous); 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' (Quarto 532 MS 10:16) and 'Di più dolce e lieta sorte' (Quarto 532 MS 10:15) from *Ifigenia in Tauri* (1713); and 'Sitting together in the Library' (Tableau No. 4) from *The Lewis Walpole Tableaux*, Op. 127 by Nathalie Dupuis-Désormeaux, filmed by O<sub>2</sub>Films-XCZone TV (Ottawa, Canada) for the virtual concert that premiered at the conference Thomas Gray among the Disciplines, Cambridge, on 31 July 2021. I extend my gratitude to Dave McMahon and Lise Meloche of O<sub>2</sub>Films-XCZone for the cinematography that accompanied the computer rendition of 'D'un Tiranno che accarezzi' and for the production of this film, which they generously gifted. See <https://youtu.be/MiCbtRBBR3M>.

<sup>59</sup> Waliszewski, trans. Loyd, *Marysienka*, 279.

**Nathalie Dupuis-Désormeaux** is an active pianist, theorist and composer who has presented her research and compositions internationally. She studied piano and composition with renowned Canadian composer and educator Anne E. Eggleston, and later obtained her PhD from York University. In 2019 she was awarded a Lewis Walpole Library Yale travel grant for research towards a tailor-made composition inspired by collection items within this library. Among the manuscripts she consulted was music amassed by Thomas Gray (1716–1771), and within this music collection, she discovered important eighteenth-century opera arias. Her findings feature in this issue of *Eighteenth-Century Music* as well as in her chapter ‘Thomas Gray as Music Collector’ for the edited collection *Thomas Gray among the Disciplines* (New York: Routledge, 2023).