NEWSLETTER

Editor: Francis Knights

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Welcome to the *NEMA Newsletter*, the online pdf publication for members of the National Early Music Association UK, which appears twice yearly. It is designed to share and circulate information and resources with and between Britain's regional early music Fora, amateur musicians, professional performers, scholars, instrument makers, early music societies, publishers and retailers. As well as the listings section (including news, obituaries and organizations) there are a number of articles, including work from leading writers, scholars and performers, and reports of events such as festivals and conferences.

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Interview with Jeremy West

Francis Knights

Jeremy West (illus.1) has spent his career as an evangelist for the cornett, and continues to play a leading role in re-establishing the instrument and enlarging its repertoire. A founder member of His Majestys Sagbutts and Cornetts, principal wind at the Gabrieli Consort and Players and sought-after guest among early music ensembles, he has performed in five continents over 47 years and has more than 100 recordings to his credit. Since 1991 he has directed the instrument-making workshops of the late Christopher Monk, and in 1995 co-wrote with Susan J. Smith How to play the Cornett*, the first comprehensive tutor written in modern times. Jeremy is a Fellow of the Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama, where he held the Dorothy Hodgkin International Chair of Historical Performance 2019-2022. He has taught at the Royal Northern and Royal College of Music, offers cornett at the Guildhall School, London, and is Musician in Residence at Girton College, Cambridge. He currently splits his time between Cambridge and Weardale in County Durham. Website https://www.jeremywest.co.uk*

Francis Knights: How did you first get interested in music, and what was your early training?

Jeremy West: I played the trumpet when I was a boy, starting at age 11. I took to it well and motored through the ubiquitous Associated Board grade exams, reaching Grade 8 when I was 14. I was keen to further my playing and I won a place to study at the Royal Academy of Music in London. But, much to the horror of my trumpet teacher, who had been principal in the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and Professor of trumpet at the Royal Academy of Music, I declined the offer and went to study music in Durham. That turned out to be the correct decision for me because, at Durham as a student, I had the opportunity for my first encounter with the cornett. In London, at that time (1972-75), the chances of my having been introduced to the instrument were rather slim.

I formed a modern brass ensemble in Durham, picked from amongst the best brass players in the university (I called it the Western Wind!) and, in that group, we played a lot of Giovanni Gabrieli and contemporaries. One day I was asked whether I had ever considered playing the Gabrieli that we enjoyed so much in the brass group on the instruments that it was originally written for. I knew (roughly) what cornetts and sackbutts were but I had never yet had the chance to get my hands on one, and I leaped at the opportunity. The very next day I had in my hands a loan resin cornett by Christopher Monk.

With my resin cornett tucked under my arm I stole away to the most remote practice room I could find but, after two days, it seems that the sound had got out and I was recruited by my now long-standing friend, Jonathan Morgan, to join the student early music group. I didn't even know the fingering! 'Never mind" he said, "just sit here and play that'; and 'that' was a simple Susato dance, my first ever piece played on an historic instrument.

One of the doctors of music on the faculty at Durham University at the time was the late Jerome Roche. Jerome was a musicologist specialising in early 17th century Italian composers and, at the time that I was a student, he was focusing on the music of Alessandro Grandi (1590-1630). He would bring microfilm of musical works from Italian

archives, edit them, write them out by hand (computer note-setting was not yet available) and he would then try out the music on the Durham musical community of which I was a part. He would draw singers from the cathedral choir, the city and the university and - and here's the amazing thing - he would give our small early instrument student group the chance to play his freshly-researched repertoire in support of his hand-picked choir. Looking back that was brave step on his part but I wasn't complaining: when Dr Roche delivered the downbeat, the music jumped off the page for the first time in centuries. To have been a part of this was a life-changing experience for me; I couldn't believe my luck and, if I'm honest, I still can't.

Illus.1 Jeremy West, 2021 (Photo: Orlando Media)

I simply couldn't get enough of this. Fired up with enthusiasm I went to the university library in Durham to see what I could find by way of small-scale pieces to play on the cornett. I came away with some suites by the English composer Giovanni Copperario (John Cooper), who had changed his name in line with the day's fashion. This music - I can now safely say! - was far too hard for me at that time but I had no idea and, frankly, I wouldn't have listened even if my older and wiser self had come back in time, tapped me on the shoulder and told me to seek out something simpler. I performed it with the then sub-organist of Durham Cathedral, Alan Thurlow, and with my old friend and contemporary, Graham Bartholomew, who helped and encouraged me no end to get started in all seriousness playing this hitherto unknown instrument.

Had I taken up my place at the Royal Academy of Music in London I would never have had these opportunities. The music conservatoires at this time were bent almost exclusively towards getting their students a seat in one of the great orchestras. 17th century music on historic instruments is something that they would have considered to be no more than a distraction from the main goal. I find it rather alarming that, to a surprising extent, this remains the case even now. Although the UK music colleges are much better these days at supporting students who express interest in historic performance, they are by no means uniformly committed to the development of a sustained study programme. For more on this, see below.

There were very few of us taking this instrument in any way seriously at the time. My fellow Englishman, Roland Wilson, had done well to be playing it at the Royal College of Music in London but, by the time I arrived in town, Roland had already disappeared to Germany, where he still lives today. Roland formed Musica Fiata, Köln and I was to go over to Cologne on many an occasion to play with that ensemble as a guest. My old friend Jean-Pierre Canihac was already busy with Les Sacqueboutiers de Toulouse, a group that play music rather as the French play rugby: with true flair and panache. I still love going over to Toulouse to see them on occasion. And Bruce Dickey was already teaching at Basel and forging the career which would define the resurgence of interest in the cornett more than any one other. So that was four of us, all contemporaries. Yet I can honestly say, which is these days most rare, that of the four I am (and always was) the youngest!

I needed further study after my student days in Durham were done and I was hungry to get started playing the cornett to the exclusion of everything else. There was but one course available in the UK at the time but it was a good one and it was at the Guildhall School of Music in London. I applied, auditioned and studied there on the postgraduate course in 1975-77. At the audition I was given the solo sonata in D minor by Giovanni Battista Cima for my sight-reading. This, looking back, was an outrageously difficult test for someone with little experience but I suppose the fact that I gave it a shot and more or less got through it was what secured me a place for the following two years. I lapped up classes in historic performance, improvisation, editing and dance. I was so keen to play at every opportunity and for as long as I could that I normally played for the dance classes in preference to dancing myself! It was a good course with lots to do, a mountain to climb and friendships established which have stood the test of time. I am thrilled to see colleagues still performing at the top level who were contemporaries of mine in London.

The Guildhall School, for readers who know London, was situated in those days in John Carpenter Street, between the Embankment and that landmark church, St Brides, Fleet Street (affectionately known variously as 'Fleet Street cathedral' or the 'wedding cake'). The music college moved whilst I was there from John Carpenter Street to its then brand new location in the Barbican. Rebuilt from an area flattened in WW2, the new Guildhall was such a labyrinth that we were advised to bring a ball of string and piece of chalk if we were to have any chance of ever finding our way out again.

I narrowly missed getting tickets to what turned out to be the last ever concert by David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London in 1976. I would have loved to play for Munrow and privately dreamed of being good enough one day perhaps to do so. But I wasn't ready yet for that level, having quite a bit of work still to do before I could really start to get gigs in; for the phone to start ringing. And it seemed an eternity before that phone actually did start to ring. But start to ring it eventually did and the rest, as they say, is history.

Tell us about your performing and teaching careers.

I never cease to be amazed by the level and range of talent on display in the music profession and I feel lucky and privileged to be able to count amongst my colleagues some truly wonderful players and singers. Performance has taken me to 38 countries across five continents over the course of my professional career, which now spans 47 years. Along the way, amongst many others, I have had the great good fortune to have played (in no particular order) in The Sydney Opera House, the amphitheatre in Pompeii (only a very few can boast that), on The Orient Express (or that!), in a Polish salt mine (that too), in Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, York Minster, Canterbury and Durham cathedrals, El Escorial (that's very rare, being so private), St James's Palace (and so is that!), from the poop deck of the Vasa in Stockholm (visitors to this great warship are not even allowed to touch it never mind stand on the deck!), the cathedrals of Pisa and Cremona and, of course that Holy Grail of cornett and sackbutt players, St Mark's, Venice (six times). The cornett is a very small musical instrument and yet, with practice, its sound can be sent to the furthest corners of the very biggest of these spaces (that's St Paul's Cathedral, by the way). Making a living from doing exactly that has been a true joy and the thrill of the experience never really seems to diminish.

Two occasions particularly come to mind which were, for me (if this doesn't sound corny) almost 'out of body' experiences. First, playing in Canterbury Cathedral for Andrew Parrott, our ensemble was asked to go to a specific location in the building. I was rather awed by the building itself which, at that time, I had never visited before and I failed to notice where we going or why. When we started to play I felt a surge of energy which was somehow uplifting in a way I could not comprehend, above and beyond even what I had come to expect from playing in such a space as this great building. Only when we stopped did I have time to look and see that we had been playing at the shrine of Thomas Becket. And second, in Venice, we were asked to play for television cameras at a very particular spot in the church of Santo Stefano which is in the San Marco district of the city. The visit seemed rather hastily arranged at the last minute; we were not, as I recall, told where we were going or why, just please to stand here, in this building right by this spot and play a canzona in four parts by Giovanni Gabrieli. Again I experienced the same elation as I had at Canterbury Cathedral; pure uplift I think is the best way I can describe it. And again, only when we had finished did I have time to look around me and down at the floor to see that we were standing on the memorial stone and resting place of Gabrieli himself.

Whenever I have been in Venice since (many times) I have always made a point of placing a red rose on Gabrieli's stone and I urge readers to do the same when the opportunity presents itself (there is a flower shop conveniently located just around the corner in the Campo San Stefano!). I have never seen Monteverdi's resting place in the Frari without at least one rose on it so it would seem, to me at least, an essential and simple service to offer Gabrieli (illus.2) the same care if only from time to time. This is a little ritual that I have and it is always a pleasure. My next visit to Venice will be with my annual student summer project featuring the choir of Girton College, University of Cambridge with historic brass from various conservatoires. I look forward to taking my students to the flower shop in Campo San Stefano!

I started my teaching career with visits to the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester. For several years I enjoyed some success there but the journey from London was not to be taken lightly and that connection petered out for me in the end. It was replaced by an appointment at the Royal College of Music where I had a cornett and

sackbutt ensemble, a mixed ensemble of winds, strings, singers and continuo, and several individual students. That lasted for 10 years until I moved away from London and up to the north of England, in the Pennines of County Durham. There then followed 13 years at the University of Cambridge where, at Girton College, my long-term partner, Susan Smith, had been appointed Mistress (head of college). I was appointed Musician-in-Residence and I still hold that post today. During our Cambridge days I was appointed Prof of Cornett at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London where I had been a student myself and I also started, around the same time, to teach at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama in Cardiff. Introducing undergraduate students to cornetts and sackbutts is now something that I have done a great deal of and I am proud of many young players who have studied with me. Introducing a subject which is still considered, even these days, to be a bit 'off piste', out of the ordinary or even plain irrelevant absolutely requires support from the institution if a success is to be made of it. I have encountered a great deal of cynicism from students, teaching staff and institutions alike. Sometimes this can be discouraging; other times it can make the job untenable - but it is by no means always like that.

Illus.2 His Majestys Cornetts playing the Sonata for 3 violins by Giovanni Gabrieli at St John's Smith Square, 2017 (the 35th birthday concert) (Photo: Weenson Oo)

At the Royal Welsh College I experienced total commitment and support in every possible way from the first minute of my first visit. Kevin Price was Head of Brass and he ensured that the students were ready, waiting and available for every hour that I was in the building. I say this because it had never before been the case in my experience that students would be available exclusively for my sessions, always having something 'more important' on the timetable viz one-to-one lessons, opera rehearsals, big band, orchestra, brass band etc. which would require them either to arrive late or leave early (or even both). Having a permanent group of eight at the Royal Welsh College meant that we were properly able to cover ground and make really good progress. By the time my first wave of students had graduated we had played together in Llandaff and Gloucester cathedrals, Cambridge several times and, to round off their student careers, I had arranged for them to play in the final Eucharist of the academic year, in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, supporting the world-famous choir and directed by the late Sir Stephen Cleobury. That was a very proud and happy occasion for all of us.

My work at the Royal Welsh continued for many years and I always enjoyed travelling to that thriving city, staying over for some days each time and visiting the college in its beautiful building by the park and the castle. The college honoured me in 2014 by making me Fellow of the Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama (FRWCMD). One of the other honorands in my cohort was Catherine Zeta-Jones and I was looking forward to having my photo taken with her but, sadly, she was unable to attend the ceremony! Subsequent to that they gave me another accolade by making me 'International Chair in Historical Performance'.

Private teaching has also played an important part in my life as a cornett player. I have had 'mature' students visiting me at home over the course of decades and I started offering lessons online ahead of Covid and the lockdowns. But, of course, it was those lockdowns that cemented the online session as a popular way to get professional help and, these days, I can flit from visiting a keen amateur player in South Carolina to another in Austria, an enthusiastic player in Canada to another in France in a matter of moments. And nobody needs to leave the comfort of their homes. It is, inevitably, not as good as a face-to-face visit but when you consider the time and money saved in travel and the fact that many players live too remote from proper help even to go at all, it stacks up to a win-win situation. You just have to get the students to adjust their sound settings correctly in order to be able to teach music online!

Residential courses have also played a major role in my professional life as a musician. Strangely, for many years (decades really) I rarely if ever taught courses in England. I was in Spain for several years at Daroca and Seville; in northern Germany and northern Bavaria each twice a year for several years; in Copenhagen, which seemed to become almost a second home for quite some time; in the USA, Japan, Malta, Poland, Serbia and Switzerland. Now (finally!) I go to Benslow Music in Hertfordshire once a year and to the Beauchamp annual summer school (Gloucestershire Academy of Music) for players and singers.

I love to see my conservatoire students thrive (and, by the same token, hate to see them struggling). I also get an equal, if different, buzz from seeing mature students catch the playing bug and start to run with the ball, both individually and in groups. Research continues to reveal fresh sources; clean modern editions, uncluttered with editors' marks, make more repertoire easy to access; teaching and group coaching are encouraging young professionals and serious amateurs; good instruments are easily available. The ball is rolling and it is heartening to witness that.

Tell us about your ensembles, and their repertoire interests.

Whilst a student at the Guildhall School in London I was a co-founder of The Guildhall Waits (1977-82) (illus.3). For some years we had a lot of enjoyment (and success) playing mixed wind band repertoire: Ludwig Senfl, Glogauer Liederbuch, music from Dürer's Germany and such were great favourites of mine and still are. Just a little later we formed His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts (1982-) (illus.4). 'Maj' has been my main performance platform ever since. Now 40 years of age, we have played in 34 countries and have over 30 recordings to our credit. We took the name from Matthew Locke's set of *5 part things for His Majestys sagbutts & Cornetts*, which was composed for the coronation of King Charles II in April 1661. The group has mainly played pan-European repertoire, notably English from Henry VII to Charles II; Italian including the complete instrumental works of Giovanni Gabrieli and virtuosic pieces from Picchi, Castello, Grillo and Guami; our forays

into Spanish repertoire have often been peppered with keyboard transcriptions done for us by Timothy Roberts, who was the group's harpsichord and organ player as well as MD for many years, composers including Arauxo and Ximénez; and Germany, where we have performed music by Schütz, Schein and Scheidt as well as Hassler, both the Praetorius authors, Weckmann and others. Nowadays we are playing more contemporary music (more on that later).

Illus.3 Guildhall Waits, c.1978: Jeremy West, Jonathan Morgan, Martin Pope and Andrew Watts

Illus.4 His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, c.1984: David Staff, Paul Nieman, Stephen Saunders, Susan Addison, Richard Cheetham and Jeremy West

Outside His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts I have played for many of the leading period instrument ensembles, most notably Paul McCreesh's Gabrieli Consort & Players, where I have been the group's principal wind player for their earlier repertoire since Paul's first ever downbeat, whilst he was still an undergraduate at Manchester University. I have travelled far and wide with this ensemble and taken part in multiple recordings. But the project which stands out above all others is *A Venetian Coronation*, a recreation of the music for the coronation of Doge Marino Grimani (1595). This project won a *Gramophone* award, has been performed in more venues than I care to remember and is the only project that I have taken part in that has been recorded twice. The second version, which followed 22 years after the first, makes an interesting comparison with the original, showcasing as it does some of the advancements in historic performance and research which took place in the intervening years. These two recordings were landmark projects for me and I was one of three musicians (and the sole player) to have 'survived' to take part in both recordings. Of all the programmes that I have played a part in, if you were to ask me which one was the single, stand-out star amongst them all I would unhesitatingly say *A Venetian Coronation*. When Paul was devising this programme he was on the phone several times a week asking for my opinion on pieces; situations where he had space for one piece but still had five items on the shortlist, each one worthy of taking its place in the programme. The fact that the programme is the result of so much agonising, so much hand-wringing, such a great deal of research and whittled down from a body of repertoire originally five times or more the size of the final product, is what makes it the stand-out creation that it is: such variety, passion, intimacy, declamation, virtuosity and sheer 'tutti sound'. There is, in my experience, nothing to rival it as a programme. Performing it is always a true delight and privilege.

People sometimes ask me how many recordings I have taken part in as a cornett player. I lost count at 72 back in about 2006 so I guess it must surely be over 100 by now. But, of course, the record industry back in the 80s (with the availability of the CD from 1983; I was one of the first to own a player and I loved it), and the 90s thrived, and groups like ours were properly paid to make recordings of fresh projects as well as to re-record earlier programmes which had only been put down hitherto on black vinyl (illus.5). Other discs were made for the first time featuring early instruments and historically-informed performance. These were golden days and we were frequently to be found in recording sessions as well as at the BBC, which was a great supporter of programmatic innovation, giving us studio time to make complete programmes for Radio Three broadcast. The two BBC venues we most frequently visited were Broadcasting House and Maida Vale, where we would frequently record in the studio next door to the world-famous BBCSO.

Poignantly and topically, Maida Vale is also home to the BBC Singers. Many were the occasions when we would go to their studio and record programmes of 16th or 17th century repertoire, the Singers backed by our instruments. These were happy days with good programmes all well performed and recorded for broadcast. It is a travesty that this fine ensemble, Britain's sole full-time professional chamber choir, is being threatened with the BBC axe. In Germany they have seven such groups. How on this island of ours we can even consider cutting out such a fine group of professional musicians beggars belief and is most disheartening to the entire music profession.

Illus.5 Sleeve of the first record by His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, with the late Charlie Fullbrook, percussion, Meridian Records (1983) (Photo montage: Julian Nieman)

More recently, in 2016, I became a founder member of the ensemble Queen Victoria's Consort (illus.6). Run by Andy Kershaw, this is the quintet which blows life into The Kershaw Collection, now one of the largest and most important private collections of playing brass instruments in the world. Comprising more than 75 original pieces, many of them extremely rare and valuable, the collection's instruments date from 1810 (an English military serpent), map the invention of the valve in all its various early forms, and run all the way through to the early 20th century. The jewel in the crown of the collection are seven instruments of 1846-65 by Adolphe Sax (illus.7). In the performing group we play arrangements of music by Mendelssohn, Bruckner, Albert Prince Consort (himself a keen composer, of considerable ability), Sullivan, Maurer and many others.

Illus.6 Queen Victoria's Consort, 2019: Robert Vanryne, Jeremy West, Susan Addison and Andrew Kershaw (Photo: ZBS)

Illus.7 Seven instruments by Adolphe Sax: BB♭ contrabass to cornet (1846-65)

After such a long time exclusively playing 16th and 17th century repertoire on the cornett, this group gives me a fresh direction and challenge. And here for the first time, rather than playing copies of original instruments, in this ensemble we play actual originals, mainly property of the collection.

With help from Andy I was able to procure my very own original Adolphe Sax horn, 1868. This instrument is one of three known in the UK and of nine in the world. I'm very proud of that instrument and love the vocal sound that it can make with its slender tubing. (And no, it's not for sale!)

At the end of the day, as my colleague Adam Woolf once remarked after a successful concert performance in Edinburgh with His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, 'playing music like that, with colleagues like you, in a building like this and to an audience of wonderful people like them… and getting PAID for it… best job in the world'. He's right, it is the best job in the world when you get a concert performance that seems to take off, probably in a wonderful building and with an appreciative and attentive audience. But a musician's life is not packed from front to back with such events. What eats away at it is the ever-increasing red tape, the stress of the travel, the sheer pile of emails which can be generated by a single concert; even by a single rehearsal. Oh, and let's not forget Brexit: please *never* mention the 'B' word in my presence.

What types of instruments have you used during your career?

When I was a student at the Guildhall in London I principally studied the cornett, but alongside I also took viol with Jane Ryan and assorted wind instruments, viz recorders, crumhorns & etc. and bagpipes. For quite a while I would play a range of winds but, at the end of the day, my heart was very much focused on the cornett and, as the years went by, I gradually contrived to drop out of playing all the others.

That is until I discovered the brass band tenor horn! I took up playing in a brass band at home in the County Durham Pennines, not least at first so that I had something that I could do together with my better half, Susan Smith, but also simply to play some repertoire which lay outside the 16th and 17th centuries. I had not played on modern brass valves for about thirty years but, interestingly, rather like riding a bike, you don't forget; I could remember all the fingerings straight away but I struggled if anything became too virtuosic. One thing leading - in this case most unexpectedly - to another, I then found myself playing in the above-mentioned Queen Victoria's Consort. From cornett to horn? That begs a raft of questions of course but, in brief, it all comes under the umbrella 'historic performance' and it truly is a question of transferring skills and experience from one musical genre to another and backing that with common sense.

In short answer to the question, these days I play cornett, tenor cornett and horn. Although this amounts to considerably fewer instruments than I played when I was young, frankly, between them they pose enough of a challenge to keep me fully occupied.

How has the historical instrument movement changed since you started?

In the 1970's the 'early music' movement, as it was referred to, was largely populated by people who played these instruments as a sideline; specialisation was rather rare both as regards the players themselves and the instruments they played on. Research on and understanding of period performance practice was sketchy (although fast emerging) and the instruments available were more 'rudimentary' (for want of a better word): for example, most of the 'sackbut' players were using narrow bore 19th century trombones with the bell cut off. One defunct manufacturer of such trombones was the company which enjoyed the slightly quaint name of 'Blessing'. These instruments with their bells sawn off were affectionately known amongst us all as 'blessings in disguise'. There's rather more to a sackbut than removing its bell flare, today's best instruments being detailed copies of surviving originals. Historic performance has moved fast over the course of my career and, today, we have players and instruments that are properly informed thus enabling like performances and interpretations.

I had a lot of fun and joy with concerts and recordings of music, much of which had only ever been heard on modern instruments; indeed some of it had never been heard at all. I think we managed, between us all, to attract quite a following of listeners who appreciated the 'new spin' that our performances invoked. These days all this seems to be taken for granted; and perhaps that's no bad thing.

What about your involvement with instrument making?

I had a shock phone call one Saturday morning in early 1991. It was Christopher Monk announcing to me that he had been diagnosed with cancer, had been given until the end of the year to live and please would I take over the instrument making operation when he died. Christopher (or 'X24') never made it beyond that July. He had been incredibly good to me as a young cornetto player, encouraging and supporting me in every way he possibly could and I am indebted to him. Yet I didn't see that Saturday morning phone call coming in any shape or form. My answer to the question 'what happened next?' could likely take the length of a book but, in brief, I formed a partnership with my then father-in-law, craftsman and instrument maker Keith Rogers (illus.8) and, with help from Nicholas Perry, we moved the workshops out of Farnham, Surrey and up to South London where we parked ourselves in New Cross. Anyone who ever visited Stock Farm where

Christopher had the workshops ('the only way I'm ever leaving this place is feet first in a box') and who experienced his generous hospitality and time-consuming 'Cook's Tour' will be able to imagine what a massive upheaval and operation this move was. Keith, like Christopher, died far too young in 2008 but, with Nicholas Perry, I am proud to say that cornetts and serpents (illus.9) in all their various sizes continue in production, sent in small numbers to appreciative and enthusiastic recipients worldwide. And they all carry the name of our founder 'Christopher Monk Instruments'.

Illus.8 Keith Rogers with Christopher Monk at Stock Farm, Surrey, 1991

Illus.9 Serpents at the Christopher Monk workshops

Christopher's eccentric enthusiasm for the serpent has fathered a tidal wave of interest in the instrument. And his original creation of an affordable and reliable cornetto made of cast resin enabled a raft of players to get started, myself included. People often ask me why we do not use 3D printing. The 3D technology is extremely tempting; after all it's easier, it's quicker and it's cheaper than moulding. A few years ago at Christopher Monk Instruments we engaged in a wide ranging process of experimentation and testing, comparing precision moulding and 3-D printing. The precision moulding adopted for the current G4 resin cornetti - carried out in a temperature-controlled and vacuumed environment - produced far better-balanced, more stable instruments. It also allows us to produce bespoke hand-lacquered instruments in red, green and blue (illus.10), as well as black, for those who prefer to avoid leather or simply wish to brighten up the stage. So, whilst we turned our back on 3D some years ago (and we would have been the first to utilise it for cornetts), I am keeping my eye on developments in the technology and, particularly, in the materials that it utilizes, and will certainly move in that direction when, and if, the time is right.

Illus.10 Cornetti in crystal resin at the Christopher Monk workshops (Photo: ZBS)

I feel very proud to have carried on Christopher's work and to have helped keep his name alive. I am not a craftsman as he was, hence my partnerships with Keith and Nicholas; but I am a better player!

What are your ambitions for the cornett?

As noted above, when I started playing the cornett in the early 1970s there were very few of us taking it seriously and playing to a decent level. Nowadays the situation is very

different and, if I can claim to have played a part in the revival of interest which the cornett has undergone then that is, as you might say, 'mission accomplished'; ambition achieved. It is incredibly heartening to see the level of dedication and achievement amongst today's younger players and, frankly, I can think of nothing worse than arriving at the twilight of my career some 46 years down the line only to find that the sole people playing the instrument were the same four who were there at the beginning - Bruce, Roland, Jean-Pierre and me. In fact all four of us are still active today but no longer alone or isolated.

Further to that I continue to find it exciting and challenging that repertoire is still being discovered, researched and edited for performance and recording. To give two examples:

As Musician in Residence at Girton College, Cambridge, and combining with students from the Royal Welsh College of Music and other UK conservatoires, every summer we rehearse, perform and record a project of Renaissance polyphony. Most recently our projects, freshly researched by Director of Chapel Music, Dr Gareth Wilson, have exclusively featured the music of Marc' Antonio Ingegneri (c.1535-1592). Although it would be unfair to say that Ingegneri is a hitherto unknown composer, he has certainly been overlooked to an extent that today very few people know of him. And yet his music is rich and varied, colourful and energetic and, as Gareth Wilson argues, fully deserves to stand up alongside the acknowledged greats of his time, for example and notably his contemporary Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

Secondly, only a couple of weeks ago I was taking part in a recording of the music of Francisco Garro (c.1556-1623). Performed by the young Ensemble Pro Victoria, directed by Toby Ward (for release on Delphian), here is another example of an overlooked Renaissance composer of whom one could honestly say that practically nobody knows. Yet again the music enthralls and breathing life back into it, after a long time languishing in dusty archives, still sends a shudder down my spine.

And then of course there is new (really new!) music. In His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts we have loved getting to grips over many years with the extraordinarily challenging and exciting pieces written for us by Oxford professor of composition, Dr Martyn Harry. This originated as a commission of some 15 minutes duration but snowballed into a project which fills an entire CD, *At His Majesty's Pleasure* (available on SFZ Music). This year the group celebrates its 40th birthday (the actual birthday was in fact in 2022 (illus.11) but party plans were postponed due to the lockdown). For the occasion - a concert recital in the Holywell Music Room, Oxford on 7 May 2023 - we have commissioned a new piece, *Accolade*, by Howard Skempton, professor of composition at the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. We are greatly looking forward soon to blowing life into *Accolade* for the first time and we shall perform it alongside some of Martyn Harry's pieces and others of our all-time favourites from across the range of the group's 40 years together.

To sum up, I feel incredibly lucky to have been in exactly the right place at the right time (although, actually, something deep inside tells me that luck had nothing to do with it). Being in Durham in the early 1970's with the opportunity to meet the cornett, to play it in a student group, to play newly-researched music in good performances in fabulous spaces such as Durham Cathedral Chapter House: and then to have had the career opportunities that I have had … what are the chances of that?

Illus.11 His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts, 2022: Susan Addison, Helen Roberts, Stephen Saunders, Jamie Savan, Jeremy West and Stephanie Dyer (Photo: ZBS)

In the very latest news, The Historic Brass Society has honoured me as the 2023 recipient of the prestigious Christopher Monk Award; His Majestys Sagbutts & Cornetts celebrates 40 years with a party-concert in Oxford in addition to enjoying a busy diary throughout the year with two new recordings: volume 3 of English Verse Anthems and William Byrd with David Skinner and Alamire; *Venetian Coronation* goes to the Aldeburgh Festival at St Edmundsbury Cathedral; Queen Victoria's Consort demonstrates The Kershaw Collection to the National Youth Brass Band, in addition to touring the northeast on a 'brass roots' pilgrimage supported by the Continuo Foundation; Benslow and Beauchamp beckon for teaching; and my annual student project will accompany Girton College Chapel Choir in Cremona, Venice, Lodi, Crema, Mantua, Oxford and London in a project spanning 15 days. I'm still pedalling hard; the journey is not over yet.

Byrd Bibliography, 2020-2021

Richard Turbet

Readers will by now be familiar with the provenance of this series of Byrd bibliographies, which update my three guides to Byrd research (New York, 1987-2012). Two such supplements appear respectively in *NEMA Newsletters*, iii/1 and v/1. In this issue, additions to the Checklist of articles about Byrd are listed first, followed by three articles that provide valuable background information for Byrd studies. A brief concluding Miscellany comes as near as is decorous in Byrd scholarship to a gossip column. No writings that would qualify for inclusion in this Byrd Bibliography were published during 2022.

Checklist of writings about Byrd

2021Cs Cullingford, Martin. "Stepping back in time for Alamire's new album, the ensemble's Artistic Director David Skinner has returned a major Byrd collection to its roots". *Gramophone* (May 2021): 20-23. Note: Interview with Dr Skinner, plus background to recording and to Byrd's publication of 1588.

2020Gf Grimshaw, Julian. "*Fuga* and invertible counterpoint in Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* (1589): some preliminary observations". *Early music* 48 (2020): 539-56.

2021Hh Hewett, Ivan. "How Elizabeth I's favourite composer danced with danger: a new drama sheds light on William Byrd's treacherous activities". *The daily telegraph* (13 July 2021): 25.

Note: Previews *To preserve the health of Man*, a nightly series of short dramas accompanying the daytime programmes featuring Byrd as *Composer of the week* on BBC Radio 3, 19-23 July 2021. Some facts and interpretations – including the subtitle to this article - are unreliable.

2008MAHe/g/m/w Mahrt, William Henry.

Note 2: Reprinted in Mahrt, William Peter. *The musical shape of the liturgy*. Richmond, VA: Church Music Association of America, 2012, pp. 321-32, 311-19, 285-95, 297-310.

2021Mu Martin, Anne. "Undemanding - but with a fascinating history: a new look at Byrd's Fantasia 6/F". *The viol* 62 (2021): 16-23.

2019Nw Nikiforova, Elena Anatol'evna. "William Byrd's Christmas carol *An earthly tree*: the transformation of some of the features of the traditional British vocal genre in compositional creativity", in *Art through the eyes of the young: proceedings of the 11th international scholarly conference on 28 and 29 March 2019*, edited by Natal'a Vladirimovna Perepic and Marina Valer'evna Sablina. Krasnoarsk: Gosudarstvennyj Institut Iskusstv, 2019, pp. 38-41. Note: In Russian. Original text Cyrillic. English abstract.

Byrd Background Material

Butler, Katherine. 'Creating a Tudor musical miscellany: the McGhie/Tenbury 389 partbooks'. *Music and Letters* 102 (2021): 234-70.

Harley, John. 'John Sheppard's Westminster family'. *Musical Times* 162 (Winter 2021): 1-12.

Range, Matthias and Craig-McFeely, Julia. "Forty years in the wilderness: John Sadler of the Sadler partbooks". *Music and Letters* 101 (2020): 657-89.

Miscellany

New edition of *Parthenia, Parthenia in-violata, ex libris,* edited by Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights. Tynset: Lyrebird Music, 2021. Contains T 515, Prelude, no 1, p. 1; T 498, *Tenth pavan and galliard*, nos 2-3, pp. 2 and 8; T 517, Prelude, no 4, p. 11; T 460, *Galliard: Mistress Mary Brownlow*, no 5, p. 12; T 505, *Pavan and galliard: the Earl of Salisbury*, nos 6-7, pp. 16 and 17; T 505, *Galliardo. Secundo Mris Marye Brownlo*, no 8, p. 18. Note: Following the stance adopted in this edition (see p.vi), and *pace* the catalogue in my guide to Byrd research (New York, 3/2012), the final item no.8, above, is a second galliard dedicated to Mary Brownlow, not to the Earl of Salisbury: note the punctuation in the title above. The title *Galiardo. Secundo* and relevant details of published editions of this piece should therefore be transferred from T 505 to T 460, and the notes to both entries erased.

Deus in adjutorium has a claim to be the most majestic of the many fine motets by Byrd that remained unpublished during his lifetime. It is for six voices, of which the tenor does not survive, and is in five sections. Warwick Edwards provided a tenor for its publication in volume 9 of *The Byrd Edition* and The Cardinall's Musick include it on disc 2 of their *Byrd Edition*, with a tenor provided by David Skinner. They also performed it during their Byrd Tour of 2012 (see *NEMA Newsletter* 3, 2019, p.35). However, as an incomplete work, it was not part of David Fraser's remit for his reliable online edition of Byrd's works on Choral Wiki. Such a magnificent work deserves more attention and more performances, so it is a pleasure to report that it is now available on Choral Wiki CPDL no.60970, edited capably by Michael Winter, and as such can be downloaded and printed (and of course performed and recorded) free of charge.

William Byrd Anniversary Concert, 2021. Last year's concert took place on July 6th, in the garden of Blackmore Priory – outdoors: as in 2020, the pandemic prevented the performance taking place inside the usual venue at the Church of SS Peter and Paul, Stondon Massey, Essex, in the churchyard of which Byrd asked in his will to be buried. Amongst other music by Amner, Cornysh, Morley, Taverner, Tallis, East, Bennett and Farmer, the Stondon Singers, under their conductor Christopher Tinker, sang *Ecce virgo concipiet*, *Peccantem me quotidie* and *This sweet and merry month* a6 by Byrd. The concert in 2022 was the last conducted by Christopher Tinker, and the first in three years to return to The Church of SS Pater and Paul, Stondon Massey, Essex. Items by Byrd were *Victimae paschali*, *Ne irascaris*, *Ecce quam bonum* and *Though Amaryllis dance in green*.

A newly noticed early published source of *Non nobis Domine* attributed to Byrd. It appears as *Canon, three voices, W. Byrde. Grace after supper. Non nobis, Domine! Sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, on p.[28] of *A selection of favourite catches, glees, &c. As sung at the Harmonic Society, in the City of Bath. With the rules of the Society, and a list of the members*. Printed by R. Cruttwell; and sold by the Secretary, by all the booksellers in Bath, and by C. Dilly, London. 1797.

Printed reference to Byrd early during his revival post 1840. Discussing *John, come kiss me now* in *Illustrations of the lyric poetry and music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1853), William Stenhouse, the musical antiquary (born near Bowden, Roxburghshire, 1773, died Edinburgh 1827), notes on p.300 that 'The celebrated Wm Byrd, organist of the Chapel Royal in 1575, well known as the author of the musical canon "Non nobis Domine," made fifteen learned and difficult variations upon the air of "John, come kiss me now," which are inserted in Queen Elizabeth's [nowadays Fitzwilliam] Virginal Book, MSS 1576'.

Postscript

A brief discographical note on *The Battle*

Byrd's *Battle* tends to divide opinion. Some critics admire it for being an early example of illustrated narrative music; some are indulgent about its uncharacteristic primitive writing; some are downright dismissive of it. There has been a handful of commercial recordings of the piece as it appears in *My Lady Nevells Book*. Three extra pieces occur in late or posthumous sources, and these are dismissed, correctly, as not being by Byrd. Nevertheless, the very fact that they have been tacked onto *The battle* and attributed to Byrd lends them a passing interest. Two of the pieces – 'The morris' and 'Ye souldiers dance' – appear on *Music for Knole* in the series 'Music with the National Trust', played on the virginals by Nicholas McGegan (NT 003, LP, 1977). The third piece, 'The burying of the dead', has never appeared so far played simply on a contemporary keyboard instrument. However, in 1997 the Rutgers Wind Ensemble recorded Gordon Jacob's free transcription of *The battell* which includes all three extra spurious pieces, and this was therefore the first recording of a version of 'The buriing [sic] of the dead'. More recently in 2022, Bach Consort Brescia released *In arte laudate Dominum: music by A. Vivaldi and W. Byrd* which includes a complete performance of *The battell*, including the three spurious pieces, arranged for organ, 2 trumpets and drum, performed, in part at least though not entirely, by a keyboard instrument (albeit one built in 1803) that would have been played in Byrd's time. For now, this will have to do ...

Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* as a keyboard tutor

Francis Knights

Introduction

Bach's compositional interest in keyboard teaching was evidently stimulated by the burgeoning talents of his eldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann (born 1710), and a series of manuscript works and collections created over the next 20 years are testimony to both the musical support given to and demands his father made of him. It is possible that Wilhelm Friedemann was the first pupil Bach had taught from scratch, which would have given the composer particular focus towards the carefully structured pedagogy that emerged in the 1720s. From the simple preludes included in the *Klavierbüchlien für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (1720), to Book 1 of the *Well-tempered Clavier* (1722) and the Inventions and Sinfonias (fair copy, 1723), a sequential (but not internally graded) series of pieces were intended to polish the young man's skills in performance and in composition, and it is fairly certain that his brother Carl Philipp Emanuel (born 1714) followed the same route. The method and repertoire content of these lessons (evidently comprising mostly Bach's own compositions) was described by his first biographer Forkel (1802) in a chapter dedicated to 'Bach the Teacher',[1] who also mentions the six Organ Trio Sonatas as having been written for Wilhelm Friedemann when (according to the dating of the earliest sources) he was around 19. However, more is known about Bach's clavier teaching method than of his organ teaching method, despite the fact that a number of his pupils went on to become distinguished organists, such as Vogler, Homilius, J. L. Krebs, Altnikol and Kittel, in addition to W. F. Bach. The reason for this is likely to be Bach's move from Weimar in 1717, with his career changing from Organist at Weimar to *Kapellmeister* at Cöthen and then Cantor at Leipzig from 1723; it is possible that training organists may have become a smaller part of his musical activity after Weimar.

As is common today, Bach would have given his organ students a thorough grounding in the clavier (then the clavichord or harpsichord, now the piano) before any of them – and these would probably only have been the pupils demonstrating the greatest ability, application and potential for a professional musical career – moved on to the organ, which was then more of a professional's than an amateur's instrument. The starting point for such instruction would have been works with obligato pedal, especially the collection of chorales known as the *Orgelbüchlein*, from the Weimar period.[2] This circulated in manuscript among his pupils in small numbers, often not in complete form, during the second half of the 18th century,[3] and was unpublished before 1845.[4] It evidently functioned as a some kind of primer for beginning organists, and was included by Forkel as part of a miscellaneous group of chorales 'in manuscript copies only, and … designed for young organists'; modern scholar David Yearsley describes it as 'the core of Bach's organ pedagogy'.[5] However, which components within the music were actually intended for the development of technical skills for the student has not

attracted much interest,[6] and comparison with other such clavier collections which appear to be more obvious on this point (including the Inventions and Sinfonias) is instructive.

The *Orgelbüchlein*'s purposes

The title-page of the collection was added at Cöthen, and describes the contents as follows:

Little Organ Book
(with 48 realized chorales)
In which a beginner at the organ is given instruction in developing a chorale in many divers ways, and at the same time in acquiring facility in the study of the pedal since in the chorales contained therein the pedal is treated as wholly obligato.
In Praise of the Almighty's will
and for my neighbour's greater skill[7]

The purposes are therefore specified as: the study of musical style (likely meaning both composition and improvisation), and pedal technique; the term 'obligato' is significant, as there is barely a bar's rest for the feet - compare Bach's major organ preludes and fugues, where the pedals can be silent for as much as a third of the time. The Preface invites comparison with that for the Inventions and Sinfonias from a few years later:

Upright Instruction
wherein lovers of the clavier, and especially those desirous of learning, are shown a clear way not alone (1) to learn to play clearly in two voices but also, after further progress, (2) to deal correctly and well with three obbligato *parts; furthermore at the same time not alone to have good* inventiones *[ideas] but to develop the same well and, above all, to arrive at a singing style of playing and at the same time to acquire a strong foretaste of composition.*[8]

This description is more precisely graded, placing the two-part works before the three, mentioning composition (specifically, the development of good musical ideas), and also referencing tone production – the 'singing style of playing' mentioned has often been thought to relate to the clavichord. Given that the *Orgelbüchlein* is almost entirely in four parts (three manual and one pedal) it is easy read the sequence of Inventions, Sinfonias and *Orgelbüchlein* as representing a method for developing skills in performing complex music in two, three and then four parts; and the level of difficulty of the latter collection seems to follow on well from the previous two clavier collections, available at least from the end of Bach's time in Cöthen. The discussion below attempts to distinguish the technical components of the *Orgelbüchlein* from the compositional, liturgical and performance ones, although there are obviously many ambiguities and overlaps between these elements: Bach's technical exercises are always embedded in the actual music.

Johann Gotthilf Ziegler (1746) left one comment on Bach as a teacher: 'As concerns the playing of chorales, I was instructed by my teacher, Capellmeister Bach, who is still living, not to play the songs merely offhand but according to the sense [*Affect*] of the words'.[9] Unfortunately, this intriguing historical note led early commentators such as Philip Spitta and Albert Schweitzer to search every minute detail of the *Orgelbüchlein* for patterns of notes which 'meant' or 'represented' something from the chorale texts.[10] While the striking series of descending pedal 7th leaps in *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt*, BWV637, are indeed plausibly

illustrative of 'Adam's fall', mentioned in the first line of the text, the rising and falling scale patterns in *Christum wir sollen loben schon*, BWV611, are more likely to be a simple technical challenge for the pedals than a symbolic representation of 'mystical contemplation', as Schweitzer thought.[11]

Given the vital importance of improvisation in the German Baroque organ tradition, and Bach's legendary skills at this, it is possible that some of the ideas originated in liturgical improvisations week by week, reworked and notated soon after each service. However, Alexander Brinkman's study of melodic shapes in the accompaniments derived from the chorale melodies led him to conclude that 'It is unlikely that many of the more subtle references to the cantus firmus would be made while improvising. The implication is that Bach probably worked many of these pieces out on paper rather than at the keyboard'.[12]

The organ at Weimar

The instrument in the Castle Church played by Bach was in a second floor gallery,[13] speaking to the church below through a small opening in what was otherwise a ceiling. It was rebuilt and expanded by Compenius in 1658 (two manuals and pedal, 20 stops, compasses CD-c^3 and C-e^1) from an unnamed and undated one-manual instrument from Erfurt, and had the winding improved and some additional stops added in 1707-8 and 1712-14. By 1737, but probably after Bach's departure, it even had a 32' *Untersatz* and reeds at 16', 8' and 4', as a part of a more substantial seven-stop pedal department.[14] However, it did not have an 8' pedal trumpet (the only such registration required in the *Orgelbüchlein* autograph, for *Gott, durch dein Güte*, BWV600) at the time Bach was writing the collection, so that stop would have to have been coupled from the lower manual, with the specified accompanying 8' Principal on the upper manual.[15] The linking of specific Bach organ works to particular organs is generally problematic, however: BWV600 also requires the rare top f in the pedal, a note the instrument did not have either.[16]

From the time of Bach's move to Cöthen as court *Kapellmeister* in 1717 he no longer held a church organist position, although it is likely that he would have had some access to organs in the town during his six years there, which included a 25-stop instrument at the Jacobskirche (Thayssner, 1697) and a 27-stop one at the Agnuskirche (Müller, 1707-8).[17]

The issue of practicality and access needs to be considered in respect of Bach's organ students and the *Orgelbüchlein* as a teaching resource: how many of his pupils would actually have been given permission, and by whom, to practice unsupervised on the Weimar Castle Church organ, or have had access to an assistant to blow the organ for such sessions? In addition, the regular round of services, poor lighting and cold winter-time temperatures, would have made this private venue a problematic practice space. It is likely that many such students worked instead at home or school on claviers (harpsichord and clavichord) with separate pedals, or with pedal pulldowns.[18] However, it is not possible to determine whether any musical or technical components of the *Orgelbüchlein* might relate to the suitability of such an alternative type of instrument for domestic practice (or indeed for Bach's own compositional processes).[19]

The 'incomplete' *Orgelbüchlein*

The small (15.5 x 19 cm) autograph manuscript of the *Orgelbüchlein*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Mus.ms. P283, represents the composer's working copy for an incomplete project;[20] it contains many titled and ruled but blank pages, intended for a total of 164 chorales representing the contents of an unidentified hymnbook covering the church year.[21] The great majority are of the type Ernest May categorizes as 'Melody Chorale': a single statement of the tune in the soprano,[22] with no interludes (BWV615 and 617 are exceptions), a sub-variant of which are the 'Short Chorale Canon' (nine examples), with three of the 'Short Ornamented Chorale' type.[23] Although most are fair copies (about two thirds), the others are working copies, and where space was limited (most pieces were designed to fit on one pre-ruled page) Bach add pages or completed the music in German organ tablature.[24] As various scholars have suggested, there may have been a later but now lost fair copy, made available to students as a copy-text. Interestingly, some student and other manuscript copies retain the autograph order of works, while others do not (and the earliest printed edition of 1845 is alphabetical by title). It is therefore possible that, while P283 is clearly incomplete, Bach did make a fair copy including only the composed works, which could therefore be regarded as complete (and one would not expect a formal Preface to have been created for an incomplete collection; perhaps that was also added to P283 after such a fair copy was made).

Why the original project remain unfinished is unknown. After 1717 Bach had less professional need as a performer for liturgical preludes of this kind, and it is possible that he found himself starting to repeat earlier musical ideas, or had by then covered all the organ technique issues he wished to include.[25] Russell Stinson also suggests that Bach's declining employment prospects at Weimar - he was passed over for the *Kapellmeister* vacancy at the end of 1716 - may have made a difference to the level of his enthusiasm for any ongoing musical projects there.[26]

There is one further speculation relating to the 'unfinished' nature of the collection, the possibility that it might originally have been intended as a compositional collaboration. One of the most prolific organ chorale composers of the period was Bach's second cousin and contemporary Johann Gottfried Walter (1684-1748),[27] who was at the Church of St Peter and Paul in Weimer from 1708 until his death, thus overlapping with Bach's Weimar tenure for nine years. Of the 118 chorales that Bach left space for but did not write, no fewer than 57 were set by Walther, so one might wonder if the *Orgelbüchlein* was intended as a collective venture between two composer friends.[28] Interestingly, Bach's pupil Johann Christian Kittel (1732-1809), one of his very last Leipzig students, did complete a set of Bachian 155 preludes and harmonized chorales (1803), which must have owed something to the example of the *Orgelbüchlein*.[29]

Issues in the source

The evidence of Bach's manuscript copies and those made by his pupils suggests that a great deal of performance and interpretation information and instruction was conveyed verbally by him during lessons. Although much can be understood through the actual notation without further explanation, some of the collections include conundrums which need investigation,[30] and this is also true of the *Orgelbüchlein*. Two particular issues relate to pitch and registration.

In dulci jubilo, BWV608 includes a canonic part in the tenor register, clearly marked as for pedal, but not playable as such, the top note being f#^{1} - normal pedal compass was d^{1} at this period, with a few instruments extending to f^{1} (a note the Weimar organ did not have, but is required for BWV618, as mentioned above), but no organ before the 19th century ascended any higher. It has therefore been assumed that the part is to be played at 4' pitch an octave lower in order to fit the pedalboard, in what Peter Williams called 'a kind of model short score to be realized as the organist finds best'. Although he is factually correct to add that 'The effect of every detail in any notation is to limit the performer's choice',[31] as with much else about this collection *for learners*, supplying such straightforward information about pedal pitch is so easily done one wonders why Bach might have omitted it, unless he expected some other solution that has not been identified.[32]

In *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig*, BWV618, not only is the pedal pitch specified but also the registration (8' trumpet).[33] This raises the interesting question as to whether the pedal was normally expected to be at 16' or 8' pitch; this is likely one of those then-understood performance practices that did not need recording in a score (although ambiguities on this subject exist even in Bach's published organ collections). Fortunately, a lightly-edited piano solo version of the *Orgelbüchlein* made by Liszt pupil August Stradal (1860-1930) and published in Leipzig in about 1900 provides a useful reference:[34] the arranger simply compressed the *Bach Gesellschaft* organ score back into two staves with the pedal at written pitch, sometimes indicating the hand distribution for the many wide stretches that resulted. Examination of this score shows that there in fact are only five pieces where second-inversion chords result, and each instance is no longer than a quaver: BWV613.9, 617, 626.21, 26 and 52, 642.4 and 6, and 644.9 (bar numbers are indicated by a number or range after the BWV catalogue number, e.g. 612.7-8, as per the layout of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* edition).[35] In other words, almost the whole set can be played with an 8' pedal, and if these very brief harmonic inversions are tolerated, the entire collection.[36] This is not an option in most other Bach organ music, so may be significant here. Elsewhere, an independent pedal (that is, rather than any type of pull-down mechanism connected to the manuals) to avoid complex crossings[37] is to be preferred for BWV603, 607, 617, 624, 627, 635 and 644 especially, but is still not absolutely essential.

The entire collection (see Table 1) is copied on two staves, not three,[38] except for *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*, BWV634, labelled 'distinctius'; this is placed next to the very similar setting BWV633, and there have been many analytical discussions as to the compositional relationship between the two versions. In fact, the simplest explanation is that Bach recopied the work onto three staves for clarity, making some minor revisions. In order to provide some clearer information about the layout of voices, the composer specified two manuals and pedals ('2 Clav & Ped', '2 Clav. et Ped' or similar) eleven times (BWV604-5, 614, 619, 622, 624, 629, 634,[39] 639, 641), and this not only when the two manual parts overlap, thus having colouristic implications for registration (*f* and *p* dynamics sometimes serve the same function, eg BWV634). Bach writes 'Ped.' or 'P.' 25 times on the lower stave, to show the first pedal entry in BWV600, 601, 607-8, 612, 614-18, 620, 623, 626-28, 630-31, 633, 634-36, 638 and 640-43; it is not clear why this indication is missing elsewhere, as it would have been equally useful in other places, such as the beginning of BWV603.

BWV	*Title*
599	Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland
600	Gott, durch dein Güte *or* Gottes Sohn ist kommen
601	Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottessohn *or* Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset
602	Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott
603	Puer natus in Bethlehem
604	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ
605	Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich
606	Von Himmel hoch, da komm ich her
607	Von Himmel kam der Engel Schar
608	In dulci jubilo
609	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich
610	Jesu, meine Freude
611	Christum wir sollen loben schon
612	Wir Christenleut
613	Helft mir Gotts Güte preisen
614	Das alte Jahr vergangen ist
615	In dir ist Freude
616	Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin
617	Herr Gott, nun schleuss den Himmel auf
618	O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig
619	Christe, du Lamm Gottes
620	Christus, der uns selig macht
621	Da Jesu an dem Kreuze stund
622	O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross
623	Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ
624	Hilf Gott, das mir's gelinge
625	Christ lag in Todesbanden
626	Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand
627	Christ ist erstanden
628	Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ
629	Erscheinen ist der herrliche Tag
630	Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn
631	Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist
632	Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend
633	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier
634	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier
635	Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot
636	Vater unser im Himmelreich
637	Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt
638	Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
639	Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
640	In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr
641	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein
642	Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten
643	Alle Menschen müssen sterben

644 Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig

Table 1 The contents of the Orgelbüchlein[40]

Manual techniques

The two Tables below collect together examples of particular techniques; not every single instance has been included, but an attempt has been made to disregard those components that seem fundamentally compositional,[41] stylistic,[42] interpretational, aesthetic or rhetorical[43] rather than those relating to the physical processes of playing a keyboard or pedalboard.

By way of introduction, comparison of the key sequences of the early clavier and organ sets is made, as the ability to play in many keys, and to modulate freely, seems to have been essential in Bach's didactic method. Due to the modal nature or other harmonic ambiguities of some chorales - where a work may start in one key and apparently finish in another, or end on the dominant (BWV602, 611, 614, 617 and 630) - it is hard to categorize the works simply by key. Nevertheless, nothing exceeds three sharps or four flats, although the keys of A^{b} major, B^{b} major, C major and F# minor within that sequence are not used.[44] However, this is deceptive, as if the single examples in B minor, C minor, E^{b} major and F minor are eliminated then the entire key range is from only three sharps to one flat (major keys) and one sharp to two flats (minor keys), and even those ranges are not complete. The reasons for such restrictions relative to his clavier works are likely to be two-fold: the more traditional meantone organ tuning used in the early 1700s; and Bach's general desire to retain the traditional chorale key (and therefore pitch range) in many cases – important if the chorales were indeed to be used as preludes to congregational singing.[45] Bach's chromatic melodic lines still work in meantone, and the only real instance of extreme modulatory harmony is found at the end of *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross*, BWV622, bar 23, with a (brief) C^{b} major chord.

The components of the 1723 Inventions and Sinfonias relating to manual technique can be broken into about 30 elements, of which the most significant are: continuous semiquaver movement; division of an inner voice between two hands; long scale patterns; extended trills; broken 3rds and parallel 3rds and 6ths; closely overlapping voices; chromatic scales; wide leaps, arpeggios and stretches; part-crossing; legato articulation; two-against-three rhythms; syncopations; demisemiquaver movement; reading double sharps and flats; and complex ornamentation.[46] The distribution of these various components throughout those sets confirms that both must be studied complete if everything is to be covered; it is less clear that this is true of the *Orgelbüchlein*, where some works offer stylistic variety but apparent duplication of techniques.[47]

Table 2 lists the elements relating to the manual parts of the *Orgelbüchlein*; the most significant difference from the 1723 sets is that a four-voice texture is standard, but nearly all the other components are also found in those collections. The main differences for the organ are the use of accompanimental rather than fully contrapuntal textures; some very wide-ranging running left-hand parts; and various notational features. Otherwise, the three-part Sinfonias in particular provide an ideal grounding for the demands of the *Orgelbüchlein*.

Three- or Five-voice texture:[48] BWV619, 633-34, 639
Hand-crossing, using two manuals:[49] BWV607, 624, 633-34
Hands overlapping: BWV602.2
Chorale and moving voice in one hand: BWV600
Division of inner parts between hands: BWV611, 612, 628, 640
Complex two-voice accompaniment to chorale melody: BWV604, 605
Wide-compass left-hand voice: BWV607, 617
Parallel 6ths: BWV599.3, 615.19, 622, 629
Parallel 6/3 chords: BWV602.5, 623.8, 17
Wide leaps: BWV611, 615, 617
Varied sized leaps: BWV612
Stretch of a 10th: BWV618.7
Triplets against duplets: BWV608, 612, 624
Chromatic lines: BWV614, 620, 637
Heavily decorated melody: BWV614, 622, 641
Trills in 6ths between hands: BWV615.46-47
Left-hand trills: BWV618.9-10
Registration indications: BWV600
Different time-signatures in each part: BWV617 (C, 24/16, 12/8)

Table 2 Technical components in the manual parts

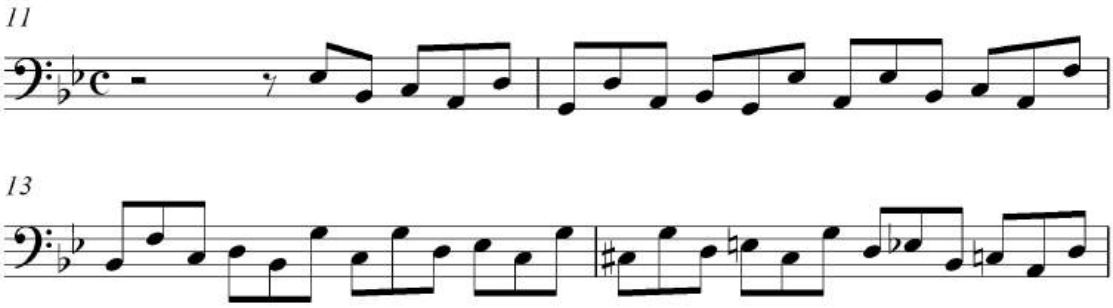
Pedal techniques

For a clavier student coming new to the organ pedals, there were (and are) significant challenges which require special introduction: two unconnected feet are a very different proposition from two sets of connected fingers, and the skills required are not exactly analogous; even those broken 3rds, octave and other leaps or chromatic lines which have clear parallels with manual technique must be approached differently as a result. Accordingly, most of the technical requirements listed in Table 3 are concerned with the accurate location of notes, from one end of the pedalboard to the other, with leaps of all sizes on all intervals and at speed – this is the very core of the organist's skill at this stage. For example, the pedal line of *Wir Christenleut*, BWV612 contains every single major and minor interval up to an octave, except the 7th (see ex.1 for the ending of the work); this looks intentional. Scales (usually in quavers, and sometimes including chromatic notes) are a particular issue, and as alternate toes were very likely the primary method at this date, this creates critical issues of physical balance on the organ bench as the feet pass in front of or behind each other. The *Orgelbüchlein* also includes introductory examples of more advanced techniques which become important in Bach's major organ works: double pedalling, and pedal ornaments. Finally, students would probably have been expected to read both staff and tablature notation – and to do so simultaneously in the case of *Hilf Gott, das mir's gelinge*, BWV624 (illus.1) if they worked from the P283 notation.[50]

High range: BWV603, 608, 609, 618, 630
Low range: BWV602.8-9, 605, 609, 611, 620, 622, 635
Scales: BWV603, 605, 607, 609-11, 613 (semiquavers), 619, 627, 638
Alternate toe scale patterns: BWV602, 625
Changing toe patterns: BWV604.1

Repeated notes: BWV639
Broken 3rds: BWV616
Broken chord figuration: BWV606, 612
Octave leaps: BWV604, 617, 644
Varied sized pedal leaps: BWV635.11, 18
Diminished 7th leaps: BWV637
Wide leaps: BWV603
Chromatic lines: BWV613, 614, 622, 625.7, 637
Syncopations: BWV621
Demisemiquavers: BWV642
Offbeat lines: BWV631
Contrary motion patterns: BWV616.8-9
Change of position: BWV615, 632.13-14
Change of feet on repeated note: BWV601.7
Double pedal: BWV611.14-15
Ornaments: BWV615.48
Tablature and staff notation: BWV624
Pedal within two-stave notation: BWV600

Table 3 Technical components in the pedal part

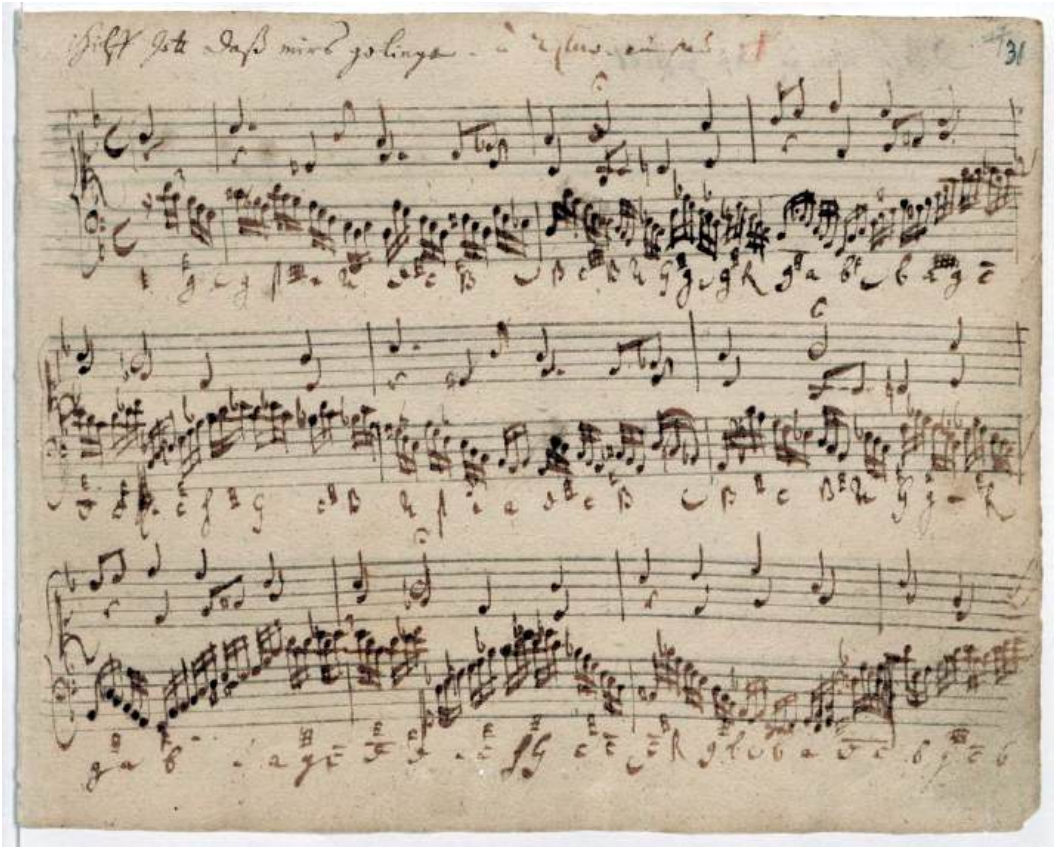


Ex.1 Pedal part of Wir Christenleut*, BWV612, bars 11-14*

Conclusion

As Forkel emphasized in his biography, Bach was foremost a practical musician who saw technical accomplishments as a gateway into musical skills, but also one who was evidently reluctant to write teaching manuals or theoretical works[51] (but it is striking the number of his students, including C. P. E., who published pedagogical material based on what they had learned from him). Even without any such written instruction, many of his clavier sets included an explicitly didactic purpose, and in modern times have even been collectively described as comprising a 'textless' keyboard method. The organ music has been less viewed in this light, probably as it had more obvious public performance purposes in the liturgy and in recitals, but the various levels of difficulty and the technical challenges presented there suggest that a case could also be made for a significant part of this repertoire being designed, or at least usable, as teaching material; the *Orgelbüchlein* represents the obvious starting point of

any such training, as seems to have been Bach's intention. However, the composer's autograph manuscript of that collection should not be viewed as an actual source of prescriptive didactic information, seen relative to the tradition of instrumental treatises published in Germany three decades later: in the middle of the 18th century, the highly detailed tutors for the flute, clavier and violin, by Quantz (1752), C. P. E. Bach (1753) and Leopold Mozart (1756) respectively, in effect released hard-won professional secrets which earlier musicians had kept to themselves, to convey verbally during paid lessons: this knowledge was formerly regarded as a fundamental economic asset, and part of the source of their reputation. While Thomas Mace's complaint[52] half a century earlier about teachers who were universally unwilling to share all their skills with their pupils does not align with what is known of Bach's attitude to teaching, it is regardless not to be expected that his own copy of the *Orgelbüchlein* chorales would have contained, in writing, everything a student needed (or a modern scholar wants) to know, or even that his student's derived copies would have made matters much clearer - compare the absence of fingerings in the manuscripts of the *Well-tempered Clavier*. Nevertheless, the technical demands embedded in the chorale settings of the *Orgelbüchlein* formed a wide-ranging compendium of skills a young organist would need to acquire in order tackle the more difficult organ works of the Baroque, including those of Bach himself.



Illus.1 First page of Hilf Gott, das mir's gelinge*, BWV624, with both staff (manuals) and tablature (pedals) notation. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P283, p.31, reproduced from Bach Digital, https://www.bach-digital.de*

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Notes

[1] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *On Johann Sebastian Bach's Life, Genius and Works* (1802), in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (eds), rev Christoph Wolff, *The New Bach Reader* (New York, 1998), pp.419-482, at 452-458. For a recent and negative assessment of Forkel as a source of Bach evidence, see Claudio Di Veroli, 'Forkel's Bach revisited', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxvii/2 (Spring 2023), pp.12-19.

[2] For the full background to the collection and discussion of the sources, see Russell Stinson, *Bach: The Orgelbüchlein* (Schirmer, 1996) and Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach, II* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.3-102 (revised and shortened as *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge, 2/2003), pp.227-316). Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach, III* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.41-42, wonders whether some works in the collection might have originated in connection with Bach's Halle job application in 1713.

[3] Stinson (1996), pp.145-152; Williams (1985), p.6.

[4] See Stinson (1996), pp.154-155 for the early publication history.

[5] David Yearsley, *Bach's Feet: The Organ Pedals in European Culture* (Cambridge, 2012), p.263.

[6] For a recent study related to the clavichord, see Terence Charlston, 'The *Orgelbüchlein* as pedal clavichord music', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxvii/1 (Autumn 2022), pp.11-16.

[7] Translation and facsimiles in David and Mendel (1998), pp.80-81. The second line of text is in the hand of C. P. E. Bach, whose hands the manuscript passed through, then via G. J. D. Poelchau (1824) to the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (1841).

[8] David and Mendel (1998), p.471.

[9] David and Mendel (1998), p.336.

[10] Many of these observations are documented in Williams (1985).

[11] Williams (1985), p.38.

[12] Alexander R. Brinkman, 'The Melodic Process in Johann Sebastian Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*', *Music Theory Spectrum*, ii (Spring 1980), pp.46-73 at p.73.

[13] It was the structural weakness of this balcony that caused the demolition and replacement of the organ in 1756; the entire castle burned down in 1774.

[14] Christoph Wolff and Markus Zepf, trans. Lynn Edwards Butler, *The Organs of J. S. Bach: A Handbook* (Urbana, 2012), pp.91-93; Williams (1984), pp.124-128. Large pedal departments had existed for more than a century, such as that of 26 stops by David Beck (1592-96) at Gröningen, as cited by Yearsley (2012), p.15.

[15] For what little is known of Bach's registration practice from the musical sources, see William L. Sumner, *Bach's Organ-Registration* (London, 1961), Williams (1984), pp.154-170 and George Stauffer, 'Bach's Organ Registration Reconsidered', in George Stauffer and Ernest May (eds), *J. S. Bach as Organist* (London, 1986), pp.193-211. Forkel notes Bach's skill in imaginative registrations but without giving any examples – see David and Mendel (1998), pp.438-439.

[16] For a list of manual and pedal compasses of organs known to Bach, see Wolff and Zepf (2012), pp.133-136. Curiously, Adlung notes that top pedal d is 'needed more at home than on the church organ'; see see Speerstra (2004), p.45.

[17] Wolff and Zepf (2012), pp.42-44; there was probably also an instrument in the Schlosskirche.

[18] For the pedal harpsichord and clavichord, see Susi Jeans, 'The Pedal Clavichord and Other Instruments of Organists', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 77th session (1950–51), pp.1–15, Karrin Ford, 'The Pedal Clavichord and the Pedal Harpsichord', *The Galpin Society Journal*, l (1997), pp.161–179, Joel Speerstra, *Bach and the Pedal Clavichord: an Organist's Guide* (Rochester, 2004) and Ulrika Davidsson, 'The Pedal Clavichord as a Tool in Keyboard Education', *De Clavicordio*, x (Magnano, 2012), pp.63–81. Speerstra (2004), p.106, cites Kittel as encouraging his students to practice at his home on his pedal clavichord.

[19] Harald Vogel recorded BWV599 and 604 on a pedal clavichord in 1997: ...*Rund um Bach , Volume 1*, Organeum OC-29701 (1998).

[20] For a recent project to 'complete' the set with contemporary works, see https://orgelbuechlein.co.uk, curated by organist William Whitehead; and Sietze de Vries has recorded improvisations of all the un-set chorales as *Orgelbüchlein Plus*, due for release on DVD shortly by Fugue State Films. Other composers that have been inspired to create similar chorale collections include Marcel Dupré, in his *Seventy-Nine Chorales*, Op.28 (1932).

[21] Ernest May, 'The Types, Uses, and Historical Position of Bach's Organ Chorales', in Stauffer and May (1986), pp.81-101, notes that the collection omits seven previously-composed Bach chorale settings that could have been included (p.92).

[22] One exception is BWV611, with the chorale in the alto but no way of registering it independently within the texture; this would therefore not be suitable as an organ prelude to a sung congregational chorale; The fragmented BWV615 and some of the canonic chorales would also have been difficult for a congregation to follow. BWV627 has three verses, uniquely.

[23] May (1986), pp.92-95. Bach's interest in canon here is one of the most interesting features of the set, yet he did not opt to use it – as had Walther - for *Puer natus in Bethlehem* BWV603 (see Stinson (1996), p.79).

[24] BWV605, 612, 616, 617, 620 and 623; the entire bass line of BWV624 is given in tablature.

[25] For a proposed chronological order of creation, see Stinson (1996), pp.15-17.

[26] Stinson (1996), p.24.

[27] For an edition of Walther's organ works, see Klaus Beckmann (ed), *Johann Gottfried Walther, Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998-99), and for a complete recording, *Walther: Complete Organ Music*, Simone Stella (organ), 12 CDs, Brilliant Classics 94730 (2015).

[28] Williams (1985), p.10 notes parallels between the surviving chorales of Bach and Walther, but does not go as far as proposing a collaboration. See also the stylistic discussion of Bach and his German contemporaries in Williams (1984), pp.81-91. Of the chorales set by Bach in the *Orgelbüchlein*, only 17 were not also set by Walther; interestingly, eight of those are for Passiontide and Easter (BWV616, 618-19, 621-23, 625, 627, 630), a key period in the Lutheran organist's liturgical year.

[29] Johann Christian Kittel, *Vierstimmige Chorale mit Vorspielen* (Altona, 1803). The chorale harmonizations are prefaced by preludes with pedal, and double pedalling is even specified in *Ein feste Burg*; the order of works is alphabetical by title.

[30] See for example the occasional pedal parts in a number of works; Francis Knights, 'Bach's pedal clavier: eight problem works', *Royal College of Organists' Journal*, xiv (2020-21), pp.26-34. The Fantasia in B minor BWV563 might be added to that list.

[31] Peter Williams, 'The Snares and Delusions of Notation: Bach's Early Organ Works', in Stauffer and May (1986), pp.274-294 at pp.275-276, original italics omitted.

[32] One obvious practical solution is to transpose the work down a tone in performance.

[33] Or perhaps the fundamental of the registration rather than a solo stop.

[34] Joh. Seb. Bach, arr August Stradal, *Orgel-Büchlein* (Leipzig, n.d.).

[35] Heinz-Harald Löhlein (ed), *Bach: Orgelwerke Band 1* (Kassel, 1984), pp.3-76.

[36] BWV607.5 offers a second inversion chord of this kind, whether the pedals are at 16' or 8' pitch.

[37] For the possibility of Bach having access to some kind of clavier pull-down mechanism at this time, see Knights (2021).

[38] For a discussion of Bach's notational practices in his respect, see Williams (1984), pp.251-254. A new edition using Bach's original notation throughout is forthcoming: Francis Knights (ed), *Bach: Orgelbüchlein*.

[39] Also BWV633, by implication.

[40] There is also a Leipzig-era two-bar fragment of *O Traurigkeit, o Herzleid* in F minor, BWV Anh.200, not listed here; for a composed completion see J. S. Bach, arr Lorenzo Ghielmi, *Organ works preserved as fragments* (n.p., 2020), pp.14-15.

[41] For the role of the chorale itself in Bach's pedagogy, see Robin A. Leaver and Derek Remeš, 'J. S. Bach's Chorale-Based Pedagogy: Origins and Continuity', *Bach*, xlviii-xlix/2-1 (2018), pp.116-150; and for motivic content, Brinkman (1980).

[42] Christoph Wolff, 'Chronology and style in the early works: a background for the Orgel-Büchlein', in *Bach: essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp.297–305.

[43] See for example Vincent P. Benitez, 'Musical-rhetorical figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', *Bach*, xviii/1 (1987), pp.3–21.

[44] Compare the Inventions and Sinfonias, where all major and minor keys from four sharps to four flats are used, with the exception of A♭ major, F# minor and C# minor.

[45] Williams (1985), p.11 mentions the highest pitch of each chorale; only two ascend above f^2, high for a congregation (but note that the organ pitch was likely around A465, a semitone higher than today).

[46] For a full catalogue by bar see Francis Knights, 'Bach's Inventions & Sinfonias and keyboard pedagogy', *Sounding Board*, xiii (2019), pp.24-30; the sum of these techniques also covers nearly all of the *Well-tempered Clavier*: see Francis Knights, 'Learning the 48', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xxiii/1 (Autumn 2018), pp.21-31.

[47] In fact, only four of the works do not appear in Tables 2-3: BWV610, 626, 636 and 643.

[48] Williams (1985), p.50 argues that texturally BWV617 is a 'thickened' trio.

[49] A number of chorales not specified as for two manuals and pedal have awkward hand overlaps which are much more easily executed on separate keyboards: see BWV627, 635 and 644.

[50] The combination of staff and tablature notation for organ music was not unknown; see the 1512 example by Arnold Schlick given in Yearsley (2012), p.43.

[51] Forkel (1998), p.454.

[52] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), p.40, orthography original: 'Nor was there, nor yet is there *Any Thing* more constantly to be observed among *Masters*, than to be Very Sparing in their Communications concerning Openness, *Plainness*, and *Freeness*; either with *Parting* with their *Lessons*, or *Imparting* much of *Their Skill* to their *Scholars*; much more than to shew them the *Ordinary* way how to play such and such *Lessons*'.

Music in the Margravine's Memoir

Glen Wilson

The second King of Prussia, Frederick Wilhelm I (1688-1740), had two remarkable children. His son and successor was Frederick II 'the Great', about whose musical activities nothing needs to be said here. His daughter Wilhelmine, Margravine of Bayreuth (1709-1758) (illus.1), is less well known. The two siblings grew up a conspiratorial pair, both barely surviving the unimaginable abuse heaped upon them by their militarist-fanatic father and their Hanoverian mother, daughter of George I of the United Kingdom. That shocking story is told in great detail in a memoir[1] written by Wilhelmine in her private cabinet. This was found next to the music room which she had built as part of her first expansion of the Eremitage complex outside of Bayreuth. Her husband, Margrave Frederick III, gave her the old hunting box on her first birthday after his succession to the title, and she proceeded to transform it and the rest of her little realm into one of the prettiest and most pleasant courts in Europe.

Illness, infidelity and palace intrigues occupy further large swathes of the narrative; but let us set all that aside and look at sunnier things. Wilhelmine's greatest recreation was music. She was a skilled harpsichordist and lutenist, and left a considerable catalog of concerti, sonatas and vocal music. Only one of several operas is preserved: *Argenore* (1740). This article will assemble all references to music in the memoir. These are surprisingly few until 1735, when the death of her tyrannical, insane father-in-law released the couple from a state of impoverished slavery. In the long account of Wilhelmine's youth at the court of Berlin, her *clavecin*[2] is only mentioned a couple of times, as a refuge from misery. At one point, fleeing for her life from her father's cane, she sat down at the instrument[3] 'and pretended to compose'.

The only really interesting passage from these early years is an account of a 1728 visit to Berlin and Potsdam by August 'the Strong', the Elector of Saxony who had turned Catholic in order to purchase the crown of Poland. He had brought along some of his best musicians to play for the Prussian queen (the king wasn't interested): S. L. Weiss, 'who played the lute so wonderfully that he never had his equal, such that those who followed him only had the honor of imitating him'; Buffardin, 'famous for his beautiful embouchure on the flute' (who would soon use it to play the famous dotted solo in the 'Domine Deus' of what later evolved into Bach's *Hohe Messe*); and Quantz, 'who played the same instrument, was a great composer, and whose extraordinary taste and art found means to raise the flute to the level of the most beautiful voices'.

One passage from the year 1733 deserves mention. Wilhelmine, on a forced visit to her dreaded Berlin family, describes an elderly court lady sharing her bedroom thus: 'Montbail was forced to content herself with a sofa, which made her growl, not between her teeth, since she had lost them a good long time ago, there remaining only one, upon which she *jouoit de l'épinette*'. There is only one translation for this idiom: to have sex. Let the reader think what they will, taking into account the word *épine*.

Illus.1 Wilhelmine, Margravine of Bayreuth, by Antoine Pesne (1683–1757)

The relationship with brother Frederick suffered a sudden decline from around 1734 after the Crown Prince came under the influence of nefarious circles during the siege of Philippsburg. Passing through Bayreuth on the way home from the campaign he was distant and harsh as never before. He counselled his sister to dismiss all her court and live like a simple *bourgeoise* once her husband took the throne. 'I'll have you to Berlin from time to time, that will spare you the expenses of table and *ménage*'. She writes, 'My heart had been near bursting for quite some time, now I could not hold back my tears at hearing such indignities. 'Why are you weeping?' he asked. 'Ah, ah! it's because you are feeling melancholy; you must dissipate this black humour, music awaits us and I will make you forget this access by playing the flute.' He gave me his hand and conducted me into the next room. I placed myself at the harpsichord which I inundated with my tears'.

Later in the same year Wilhelmine writes how she and her husband sought refuge from the reigning Margrave's moods. 'We dined and supped alone. I worked, I read, I composed music every day; we played blind man's bluff where we sang and danced; *enfin* there was no folly we didn't employ in order to kill the time'.

***

Once the old Margrave dies and our writer and her husband come into their own, music frequently brightens the pages of her account. When her husband is absent, she passes the mornings and some hours of the afternoon 'with reading and music'. And yet, 'My dominant passions have always been study, music, and especially the charms of society. I found myself incapable of satisfying all three, my health preventing me from applying myself as in the past, and music and society detesting each other [*étant détestables*]'.

When things are out of the Markgräfin's control, music can just as well be a source of misery. The courts of Bayreuth and Ansbach – Wilhelmine's semi-estranged sister was married to the mad ruler of the latter margravate – were invited to visit the Prince-Archbishop of Bamberg and Würzburg, the vastly wealthy Friedrich Karl von Schönborn, at his country seat near Pommersfelden.[4] While the men went out hunting, boredom reigned for the ladies. 'When the princes returned, all assembled in the large hall for what was called a serenade. These serenades are abridged operas. The music was terrible; five or six cats and the same number of German *raminagrobis*[5] flayed our ears for four hours, during which one nearly froze to death since the cold was excessive. Afterwards one supped, and didn't get to bed until three in the morning, tired as a dog from having done nothing all day'.

For the margrave's birthday in 1736 Wilhelmine organized her first grand *fête* according to her own taste. 'I had a Mount Parnassus constructed; a rather good singer whom I had recently engaged represented Apollo; beneath the Parnassus I had a stage built; Apollo sang a cantata and ordered the Muses to celebrate this happy day; they immediately descended from their places and danced a ballet; beneath the stage was a table of 150 *couverts*, very magnificently decorated; the rest of the hall was ornamented with devices and greenery; we were costumed as all the pagan gods. I never saw anything more beautiful than this *fête*, which received general approbation'. The passage make me wonder whether the couple might have been one of the aristocratic recipients of early copies of Titon du Tillet's *Parnasse Français*.

An earlier Parnassus (1716) was built as the entrance to the Eremitage: 'It is a vault, sustained by four columns, on top of which one sees Apollo and his nine Muses, all of which spout water; this vault is so artfully constructed that one would take it for a real rock' (illus.2). The figures long ago fell victim to the general decline of the Eremitage which set in soon after Wilhelmine's death.

She continues her description of the rebuilt Eremitage: 'Turning to the right is the music room; it is all done in fine white marble, the niches green; in each niche is a musical trophy, gilded and finely worked; the portraits of various beautiful women by the best hands which I have collected are placed above these trophies, recessed into the wall in gilded ornamental frames; the background of the ceiling is white; the reliefs represent Orpheus playing his lyre and attracting the animals; all these reliefs are gilded; my harpsichord and all the instruments are kept in this room, at the end of which is my study;

it is varnished in brown and covered with miniatures of wildflowers; this is where I am still occupied with writing these memoirs and where I pass many hours in reflection' (illus.3).

Illus.2 The remains of the 1716 Parnassus entrance to the Eremitage

Outside, 'Mounting higher, the viewer is struck by a new object; it is a theatre, constructed in ashlars, of which all the columns are detached, in such a way that one can perform an opera *en plein air*'. It is a great shame that the memoir ends in 1742, because a year later Wilhelmine performed there the role of Roxane in Racine's *Bajazet* in the presence of her brother Frederick the Great. The vizier Acomat was played by none other than Frederick's traveling companion, Voltaire.

Our memoirist apologizes for her long description of the building works she continues to carry out: 'I have perhaps tarried too long over this subject, but I am writing for my own pleasure and do not expect that these memoirs will ever be published; I may make an offering of them to Vulcan, or I may give them to my daughter, *enfin* I am a Pyrrhonian[6] in such matters. I repeat, I only write for my own amusement, and take pleasure in hiding nothing of what has happened to me, even my most secret thoughts'.

The Prince-Archbishop Schönborn visited Bayreuth in 1737. Wilhelmine was able to exhibit the beginnings of her famous *Kapelle*: 'The acquisitions we had made of some able musicians and some excellent Italian singers rendered the *chapelle* very fine ... all who came were charmed and the bishop parted, well-satisfied by his stay.[7]

The nearby university town of Erlangen was Bayreuth territory. There had been a Markgrafentheater there since 1715; Wilhelmine had it rebuilt in Italian style 1740-43. On her way to Bad Ems in 1737 she stopped there and 'saw for the first time a *pastorale*, where the famous Sr. Zaghini was admired and enchanted everyone with the beauty and agrément of his voice'.[8]

Illus.3 Eremitage, Music Room

On the return journey from her *Kur* Wilhelmine stopped at Würzburg, where the *Residenz* was still under construction, but could already 'pass for the most beautiful chateau in Germany'. The famous staircase was already built; the Bayreuth couple were met at the bottom by the Prince Bishop. 'The staircase is superb and all the apartments are vast and spacious, but I found the decorations of the rooms detestable'.

In October 1740, after the death of Frederick Wilhelm and the accession of Wilhelmine's brother as Frederick II, Wilhelmine visited Berlin. The new king had been ill, and the court travelled to Reinsberg for a change of air. Frederick kept to his room, transacting state business and enjoying the company of Voltaire, Maupertuis, Algarotti and the pastor Charles-Étienne Jordan. 'In the evenings there was a concert, where in spite of his illness he played two or three concertos on the transverse flute, and without flattery one can say that he surpasses the greatest masters on this instrument. The *après-soupers* were dedicated to poetry, a science for which he has an infinite talent and facility. All these things were mere relaxations for him; the main thing occupying his mind was the conquest of Silesia'.

On this dire note, music is mentioned for the last time in Wilhelmine's remarkable memoir. The splendors of her little court continued to grow, and culminated with the opening in 1748 of her new opera house on the occasion of her daughter's wedding. It survives intact, the most beautiful Baroque theater still extant. Richard Wagner travelled to Bayreuth to see whether the house the *Markgräfin* built would suit his vast purposes. It didn't, but he liked the location. The cult of *Parsifal* and the *Ring* took root, and is now all anyone thinks of when Bayreuth is mentioned.

A century previously Voltaire had loved the place so much that he wrote, 'Bayreuth is a delightful town where one can enjoy the amenities of a court without the annoyances of

the great world'. That high compliment from a man supremely difficult to please was entirely the result of the efforts of the *Markgräfin* Wilhelmine.

Glen Wilson taught until his retirement at the Würzburg Musikhochschule; born in the USA in 1952 and a Dutch citizen since 1988, he looks back on a long and distinguished career as an early keyboard specialist, writer and editor, and was recently limited to the last two occupations by a mild stroke.

Notes

[1] *Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine, Margrave de Bayreuth, sœur de Frédéric le Grand depuis l'année 1706 jusqu'a 1742, écrits de sa main* (Paris, 1967).

[2] The first German translation of 1810 already refers to her *Clavier*.

[3] The incident occurred at the *Stadtschloss* in Berlin, but may have involved one of the Mietkes now at Charlottenburg which were commissioned by her grandmother, Queen Sophie Charlotte, herself a creditable composer and harpsichordist.

[4] The castle, an early model for the Würzburg *Residenz* which was finished by Schönborn after having been commenced by his brother, is still in the family's possession. It holds the largest private collection of paintings in Europe.

[5] A gross male cat in La Fontaine.

[6] An ancient Greek school of sceptical philosophy.

[7] *New Grove* mentions engagements of the singers Carestini, Galletti and Giovanna Paganelli, the lutenist Adam Falckenhagen, the violinist Johann Daniel Lenthardt and the three brothers Kleinknecht. The Grauns, Franz Benda and Hasse were all commissioned to write operas.

[8] 'Sr. Zaghini' was the castrato Giacomo Zaghini.

Piano making, sound and reception in the worlds of the pre-modern concert grand: some influences on, and attitudes to, tone

Andrew Dawes

Introduction

Instrumental tone is an elusive phenomenon, often only registered subconsciously. Yet it undoubtedly shapes a musician's or a listener's responses to music. Good instrument makers have a clear idea of the type of sound they want from their instruments, and composers, performers and listeners make their own judgements on this based on factors such as national traditions, general consensus, conditioning and personal preference to the extent that excellent instruments can either be ignored or become almost taken for granted. An example of the latter is piano makers Steinway & Sons (illus.1), who in the late 19th century revolutionised piano making through combining unprecedented scientific and technical expertise with traditional craft skills in order to create a concert grand that has, arguably, been the world's most versatile instrument of its kind ever since - one that has, as a consequence of its popularity and imitators, shaped listeners' expectations of piano tone for generations.

Illus.1 Steinway concert grand, 1875 (reproduced with kind permission from the Chris Maene Collection)

In spite of an increasingly colourful and developing piano landscape, Steinway still dominates the concert hall and recording studio because it is a high-quality instrument[1] backed up by technical support and other expertise that can be relied on by pianists in many locations across the world - among modern pianos it has equals in quality,[2] but not in global back-up, partly because the rival firms are smaller.

These modern instruments are descendants of several lineages of older pianos, and different ideas about tone are as old as the instrument itself: they have evolved in response to many factors, such as those mentioned above, and in addition there has increasingly been a need for maximum sound projection in large concert halls.[3] It is only since the Second World War, however, that musicians, scholars and the listening public have shown very much interest in pre single-piece cast-iron-framed pianos and their ability to express the music of their times in a more authentic way than the modern piano. Restoration of such pianos has gradually increased in expertise as restorers have become better informed about the instruments and the music written for them. Therefore, a piano such as the Broadwood grand presented by the company to Beethoven in 1818, expertly restored by fortepiano maker and piano restorer David Winston in 1991, sounds as close as is possible to how it did when it was new, allowing for some inevitable changes over time in the wood used to construct it. The period instrument/performance 'authenticity movement'[4] has also inspired a breed of maker determined to recreate accurately instruments of previous eras in order to better understand these and the music written for them. An example is early Italian keyboard instrument-making specialist Denzil Wraight's reconstruction of a Cristofori-style fortepiano,[5] meticulously researched and crafted and therefore able to convey an accurate sound picture of some of the earliest pianos.[6] Today we are thus in a very fortunate position, as we are able to experience, judge and compare the timbres of pianos that span the entire history of the instrument, in large part through very accurate and vivid CD, vinyl and download recordings. Part of this is the ability to evaluate the timbres of very similar period instruments, or copies of them, by different makers - this is not only enjoyable, but allows us to judge the sounds of early pianos with greater certainty.

The central topic of this article is the attitudes to grand piano tone of makers, composers, musicians and other commentators, from Cristofori's invention to the generation of pianos before Steinway's introduction of the single-piece cast-iron frame combined with overstringing.[7] Following an examination of the sound-world of the early piano, focusing on Cristofori and Silbermann, the alternative philosophies of piano tone that developed in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries will be compared: the emphasis in London being on power and projection, in Vienna on clarity and elegance. The influence of these different philosophies on subsequent makers will then be touched upon.

Closely related to this is the interaction between composer and instrument - certain composers have had a direct influence on piano design by persuading makers to change their instruments in some way; others have inspired change through the qualities or demands of their music; others still have exploited the tonal characteristics of particular types or makes of instrument in their compositions to the extent that the music would lack its full expression if played on another kind of piano; and many composers' music sounds equally effective, although of course different, when played on a variety of instruments, and therefore the choice of piano by the performer becomes an interesting question in its own right. Many admirers of earlier pianos criticise the single-piece cast-iron-framed pianos (the 'modern' instrument) for lacking distinctiveness or personality, while those who favour the modern piano often regard earlier grands as lacking in power and expressivity

and therefore think them unequal to much of the music that was written for them - these prejudices can be challenged with the argument that particular types of instrument are more suitable for particular kinds of music than others due to their inherent tonal characteristics (illus.2).

Illus.2 John Broadwood concert grand, 1847 (reproduced with kind permission from the Chris Maene Collection). This piano is of the same design as that chosen by Chopin for his English recitals in 1848, now in the Cobbe Collection

Included in the discussion will be the influence of wider economic and social developments on piano making, such as the growth of public concerts (and therefore the need for pianos with ever greater sound projection) and progress in making and materials.

The emphasis throughout is on the concert grand piano: it is not only acoustically superior to smaller instruments by virtue of, for example, its longer string length, but has been the medium through which pianists have expressed themselves most eloquently to the public, whether in concert halls or recording studios. Repertoire is confined to that for solo piano, as it is of course easier to judge piano tone without the presence of other instruments. Due to lack of information available, discussion of some instruments, particularly original historic ones, is based primarily on evidence of how they sound in one or more recordings - the extent of the intervention carried out in a rebuilding, restoration or toning process, and therefore the degree of authenticity of the instrument, can usually not be gauged. The standard of the finest restoration today is very high, and artists have become better informed about the issues surrounding it. Thus, it is generally assumed here that the pianos used as examples are well looked after and in good repair. It is also assumed that tuning has been carried out using a historically informed technique appropriate to the instrument.[8]

What constitutes a 'historic' instrument, and to what extent can a historic instrument sound 'authentic'? There are a number of factors that need to be taken into consideration, in particular whether the instrument has been conserved, restored, rebuilt - or involves more than one of these processes - or is a copy.[9]

Conservation involves minimum intervention and normally applies to instruments displayed in museums - only essential repairs are carried out so that as much of the original fabric as possible can be preserved for viewing and studying purposes. Instruments in this state cannot sound to their full potential, if at all, as vital parts will have deteriorated and will very likely not have been restored or replaced.[10]

Restoration is concerned with reviving the original instrument, and usually involves bringing it back to playing condition. Restoration may require a fair amount of intervention. A restorer must have a very good knowledge of not only the general principles of the original construction of the instrument, but the details that make a particular instrument or maker unique; he or she must also be aware of whether the instrument has been restored on a previous occasion, the extent of intervention and whether that work was sympathetic.[11]

Rebuilding involves more invasive work than restoration, and, often, replacement of vital parts of the instrument with new ones that are not necessarily of the same design as the originals. Such work is generally carried out in large factory-style workshops, and is more concerned with selling a viable musical instrument than with retaining the integrity of the original.

Copies are well-researched new instruments, meticulously recreated from historic ones that were built by noted makers (illus.3). These can, potentially, present a more accurate sound picture than restored originals. One reason for this is that the materials are fresh and have therefore not degraded; another is that there has been no intervention.[12]

Terminology

Several different terms are in general usage for pianos of different periods, therefore it is necessary to clarify the terminology used here: 'early piano' refers to pre-classical period grands; 'fortepiano' refers to German/Viennese classical period grands; 'pianoforte' refers to classical period English grands; 'modern piano' means a grand with single-piece cast-iron frame, irrespective of date; and where the meaning is unambiguous, 'piano' is often used.

In her comprehensive recent book on the fortepiano, Eva Badura-Skoda pays close attention to terminology (for example, period use of the term 'hammer harpsichord') and the meaning of the same, or similar, terms in different places and at different times.[13]

Illus.3 Copy by Kerstin Schwarz (1997) of the 1726 Cristofori piano (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

Some historical performance issues

> *… the day has still to come when Mozart on a Steinway will be regarded, though perhaps artistically viable on its own terms, as necessarily a kind of transcription, like Bach on the piano* (Christopher Kite).[14]

> *Whether or not they [authenticists] believe or claim to offer 'authentic' performances in the sense of matching an ideal historical model, they will probably all agree that they aim at bringing to life a work true to the spirit in which it was conceived* (Frederick Neumann).[15]

In the current context, the first quote, written in 1985, is a good example of the thinking of the more purist advocates of historical performance; at that time, use of a historical instrument, or a copy of one, was seen as essential to a historically accurate performance, and for many this still holds true. The second one represents the more current view. Today, historically informed performances using modern instruments, combined with performance techniques learned from the authenticity school, are normal practice. This is a healthy development, allowing progress while respecting tradition - new sonorities can bring added musical dimensions to old music. Having said that, it is arguable whether more performances of Mozart on Steinways can really add anything new to the music; does the timbre of a contemporary Hamburg Steinway[16] express music of the classical period in a natural, idiomatic way? Surely not, generally. Unfortunately, very few artists choose a more appropriate modern instrument, such as a Blüthner or Bösendorfer, that sounds like a closer relative of classical-period pianos.

There are certainly cases where it would be difficult to deny that a historic instrument or copy is more musically satisfying than a modern piano: for example, Edwin Good convincingly argues the case[17] for the piano works of Mozart and Haydn to be performed on instruments such as those they would have known, for the reason that the modern grand is not tonally stretched in such works and therefore cannot fully express them. However, Beethoven's solo piano music, because of its far wider expressive range, often does stretch the modern grand tonally - certainly it can do if the pianist wants to evoke a period instrument.

An important question, where a historic instrument is being used, is how authentic it actually is. For example, Michael Latcham argued in 1997 that some of the surviving pianos by Anton Walter (1752-1826) (and, it therefore follows, copies of them) used in concerts and recordings are not appropriate for the performance of Mozart's music because they are later instruments (or copies of these) very different to Mozart's own, or have been altered.[18] He advanced a controversial argument that Mozart's Walter piano, kept at the Mozarts Geburtshaus in Salzburg, is not the instrument Mozart knew, owing to the action having been altered after Mozart's death. A number of academics, notably Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, contested this assertion and the debate continued, vigorously. Eva Badura-Skoda argues very persuasively that the action was likely altered by Walter before Mozart bought the piano from him in 1782, and that Mozart, as a highly discerning customer, must have been very happy with the instrument.[19] It certainly sounds convincing in Robert Levin's new recordings (see illus.11, below).[20]

In 2023 it is, arguably, more conservative to be an authenticity purist, rather than a musician like Andràs Schiff who, although often performing on a modern piano, is influenced by ideas of the authenticity movement and therefore opens up new performance perspectives on the modern instrument. Interestingly, he has become more and more inclined to play historic pianos, and his most recent recording is of music by J. S. Bach on a copy of a period clavichord.

Increasingly, performers are turning both to period pianos and to makers of the modern piano other than Steinway, but the latter still dominates, and many people must automatically expect that sound when they listen to piano music, finding other sonorities - especially those of earlier centuries - odd or difficult to get used to.

Reception and piano tone

Introduction

> *It is very difficult, if not impossible, to agree upon what constitutes a really beautiful instrumental tone since everyone has a more or less different idea about it. For this reason, some prefer a* sharp, cutting, *or* shrill *tone; others, on the contrary, prefer a* full, well-rounded *tone* (Andreas Streicher).[21]

There are many factors that influence our expectations of, and responses to, instrumental timbre. Previous experience - what we are used to - affects our reactions to hearing new sounds. Thus, performance style and choice of instrument, and their suitability to the music being performed, are crucial to an individual's response to a piece and can determine whether or not that reaction is one of excitement, boredom or even anger. The character of the instrument needs to be able to bring out in some way the character of the music, and the sounds inherent in an instrument make

up its character. We often describe this sound character synaesthetically, that is by using adjectives associated with a sense other than hearing (for example, 'mellow', 'bright', 'full', 'dry', 'brittle', 'clear', 'colourful'), or using imagery from nature (for example 'crystalline'). This section will look briefly at some of the factors that influence our responses to instrumental timbre, concentrating on the still-divisive issue of whether pianists should use a period grand or a modern one for performance of a large part of the piano repertoire.

Reception theory

As a starting point, I have used Mark Everist's stimulating article[22] on reception theory - this concentrates on musical works rather than instruments, but to some extent can be applied to the latter and to the synthesis between them: is a work the *same work* to people listening to it decades apart, or even longer? Can a recorded performance of a Beethoven piano sonata played by Artur Schnabel on a Bechstein in the 1930s convey a similar meaning to one played by Ronald Brautigam on a copy of a Walter fortepiano in 2004? It cannot, as the qualities we value in Beethoven today are not quite the same as those valued in Schnabel's time, and the instruments and performance styles are therefore entirely different (even taking into account the fact that performances by two different artists will always be different, and that the 2004 recorded sound will of course convey Brautigam's instrument much more vividly than the 1930s one will for Schnabel).

Everist also discusses the concept of the 'canon' - the list of works within a musical tradition generally accepted as 'essential' listening: the 'conservative' approach sees the canon as a set of works that have shaped our culture, have an enduring influence and transcend historical circumstances; this says more about us now than it does about the times in which the work was written, in which it may have been less respected or popular than works the conservative critic now dismisses as being of less value than the canonical work; the 'liberal' approach criticises the canon as having an authoritarian or even coercive status, and demands it be widened, or that alternative canons be set up - allowing, in this context, piano works by Dussek (1760-1812) and Kozeluch (1752-1818), for example, to be appreciated alongside those of Mozart (1756-91) and Haydn (1732-1809).

In the conservative approach, the existing 'members' have objective status. A problem with the liberal critique is that this objective value has to be recognised by liberals so that the non-member works they are promoting can be admitted; consequently, liberals can then turn conservative by guarding 'their' works and excluding others.

A positive *reception* of a work, dependent on many circumstances, will lead to a growth in its perceived cultural *value* and its admittance to the *canon* before other works.

The theory applied to piano tone

On the first page of the article, Everist states the following:

> *The study of music has always been rooted in the study of history, and music history balances precariously between an account of musical compositions and an account of musical cultures.*[23]

It is interesting to reflect on the role of instruments within history, culture and music. They are, of course, integral to all three on a number of levels, but the role of instrumental tone in relation to music has often been ignored. However, it is getting progressively more attention as time goes on, and for many musicians and listeners today the following quote does not hold as true as it did when it was written in 1984:

> … *even to the listener who is well disposed and open-minded, the best early piano still sounds as exotic as a good Bösendorfer or Steinway would have sounded to an enlightened listener of 1780 or 1810* (Paul Badura-Skoda).[24]

The authenticity movement has inspired people to think afresh about timbre, not only in relation to historic instruments, but modern ones also - for example, how can qualities associated with grand pianos of earlier times be evoked on a contemporary instrument? Writing in 1992, pianist András Schiff, describing the choice of instrument for his cycle of Schubert's piano music, made some interesting comments on these issues:

> *Schubert's piano music has luckily not yet been discovered by specialists playing copies of Graf fortepianos. His music is most sensitive to tonal quality, especially in soft and softest dynamics. He's also a quintessentially Viennese composer, and for this reason a Bösendorfer Imperial has been chosen as the instrument for these recordings. Nowadays almost all listeners and critics associate piano tone with the Steinway sound. Maybe it's worth considering that there are other sonorities, which are not in the range of the excellent but objective Steinway. Schubert's music is full of such sounds, like the opening of the G major Sonata, D894.*[25]

The quote is fascinating on many levels, not least because Schiff makes a very conscious link between the tonal qualities of his chosen instrument and the music he is playing. To adapt Everist's ideas on reception, Schiff is here a conservative defender of the canon - that of the modern piano - holding out against the liberals of authenticity; but he is also, within the Steinway-dominated canon of the modern piano, a liberal fighting for inclusion of other makers, in this case Bösendorfer. This is unusual, given that pianists generally either perform mostly on a modern Steinway, or concentrate on period instruments, and in each camp there is prejudice against the other. Since writing the above comments, Schiff has broadened his approach and often performs and records using a period instrument - increasingly, other pianists are thinking likewise and using an older piano if they feel the music can be expressed more idiomatically with it.

The early Italian piano

Introduction

The search for a more *expressive* keyboard instrument than the harpsichord, and a bigger, more *powerful* one than the clavichord, is at the heart of the beginnings of the piano. In Italy, the strong operatic and string instrument-making traditions were influential in this: a keyboard instrument was needed that more closely matched the dynamic variation possible with the human voice and in string instruments.[26]

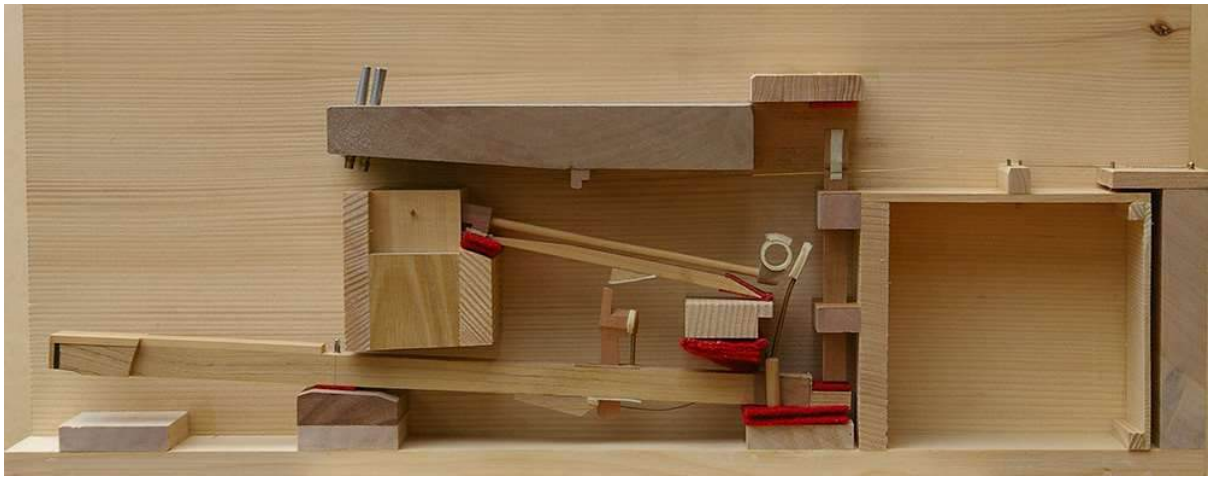
Bartolomeo Cristofori (1655-1732) was not the first instrument maker to think of building a hammer-action keyboard instrument: earlier designs, including drawings of hammer actions, form

part of a detailed manuscript on instrument-making by Henricus Arnault produced in Burgundy in 1440, and there is documentary evidence of other earlier attempts to build hammer-action keyboard instruments. However, it is not known if any of these earlier designs were actually used to make instruments, and even if they were, none survive, there is no lineage stemming from them and no playable copies of them have been made. Cristofori can thus be credited with being the inventor of the piano. His most sophisticated action design (illus.4-6) has most of the essential ingredients found in today's grand piano action, and remarkably, therefore, the contemporary concert grand is a direct descendant of his most developed instruments.

A successful hammer action would rely on the hammer being able to quickly rebound from the strings, including while the key is still depressed, so as not to block the strings and damp their vibrations:

> *By 1700 Cristofori had overcome this problem by introducing an intermediate lever that could escape from underneath the hammer just before it struck the string, decoupling it from the pressed key and so letting the string vibrate freely. The use of an intermediate lever also had the advantage of increasing the distance through which the hammer travelled for the same depth of key travel, giving a much increased impact velocity and so attaining a volume louder than that of the clavichord* (John-Paul Williams).[27]

By means of a check, the hammer must be caught and thus prevented from rebounding onto the strings; the damper must be raised simultaneously with the key so that the strings are free to vibrate after the hammer has struck them, and when the key is released must fall immediately to its original position on the strings in order to damp them.



Illus.4 Model of the Cristofori hammer action of 1726 (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

Illus.5 Hammer action of the 1997 copy by Kerstin Schwarz of the 1726 Cristofori piano (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

Illus.6 Hammer action of the 2000 copy by Kerstin Schwarz of the 1726 Cristofori piano (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

Cristofori's hammer action was the invention of a highly skilled and artistic instrument maker. Kerstin Schwarz, keyboard instrument maker, and restorer and conservator of historic keyboard instruments, has made detailed studies of his surviving instruments:

> *These few surviving instruments by Cristofori exemplify three different types of keyboard instruments: the spinet, the harpsichord and the piano. The variety of instruments is increased when we add the instruments attributed to Cristofori, like the* spinettone *(Musikinstrumenten-Museum Leipzig) and the clavichord (private ownership in Hamburg). Looking more closely at these instruments we find all sorts of special features: 1. The spinet is not an ordinary one but an oval shaped instrument, unique in both its geometrical construction and artistic layout [illus.7]; 2. The* spinettone *is a mixture of a harpsichord and a spinet; 3. One of the three harpsichords is made in ebony, a wood rarely used for harpsichord cases [illus.8]. There is also an unusual disposition of the registers in one of his harpsichords; the 1726 harpsichord has one 8', one 4' and one 2' register with numerous possibilities for combining them; 4. The clavichord has an inverted stringband with the shorter keylevers in the treble and fretting only in the bass notes; 5. The two harpsichords and the three pianos from his later life have a very unusual case and inner construction; 6. The piano action is the invention of a genius, already displaying all the fundamental elements of our highly developed modern piano action.*
>
> *This short overview gives an idea of Cristofori's enormous creativity.*[28]

Illus.7 Copy by Kerstin Schwarz of the 1690 Cristofori oval spinet (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

Illus.8 Copy by Kerstin Schwarz of the Cristofori Ebony Harpsichord (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

These detailed studies, closely connected to the making of her first copy of the 1726 Cristofori piano, demonstrated that - apart from their different actions, plucking/striking points and some other important details - his pianos and harpsichords from the 1720s were made following the same principles, including the double bentside:

> *I would like to emphasise that it was probably much more the search for a certain sound than a search for a stronger construction system that led Cristofori to the special construction of the double bentside. This construction, with all its braces seems to be very stable but because of the separation of soundboard and bentside, the inner framework has to support all the tension from the strings alone, a function which is normally shared between soundboard and bentside. As a consequence of the highly flexible 4mm inner bentside to which the soundboard is glued, Cristofori had to minimise the pressure of the bridge on the soundboard. In consequence, he located the hitchpin rail higher, and, in his pianos, double-pinned the bridges. Seeing the late Cristoforis with their lightweight poplar cases, their thin bellyrails and their thin wrestplanks (especially so in the pianos in comparison to a similar long-scaled Italian harpsichord with normal inner-outer construction) one has to assume that Cristofori made his late instruments as heavy as necessary for the string tension but as light and flexible as possible for the sound.*[29]

With regard to the stringing of her copy, Schwarz researched and experimented with different string diameters until she was happy with the sound of the instrument; her final scheme corresponded very well with that of a 1746 combination harpsichord/piano by Cristofori's pupil and principal assistant Giovanni Ferrini (*c.*1700-1758), which has a very similar construction but gauge markings indicating much thicker strings. However, the 'light and elastic' construction of

Cristofori's hammers shows that '[t]he idea of hitting the strings with heavier hammers to produce a louder sound was not yet born'.

The tone of Cristofori's pianos

This section discusses how Cristofori's pianos sounded, Domenico Scarlatti's likely involvement with them and Denzil Wraight's copy of a Cristofori/Ferrini piano with a larger compass than some other Cristofori reconstructions, the impetus for which was performance of the widest possible range of Scarlatti sonatas.[30] Although three original Cristofori instruments survive,[31] these have been either drastically altered or are not in playable condition. In addition, there is very little primary material as to what contemporaries thought and felt about the sound of Cristofori's pianos. Wraight's instrument is one of a number of copies of Cristofori pianos made in recent decades,[32] and therefore it has become possible to get an accurate sound picture of the tone and expressive powers of these early pianos.

Cristofori described his new instrument as a *gravecembalo col piano e forte* - 'harpsichord with soft and loud', and an inventory of Prince Ferdinando's instruments carried out in 1700 describes it as an *Arpicimbalo … di nuova inventione, che fa il piano e il forte* - 'harp-harpsichord … of recent invention, which plays softly and loudly'; the term 'harp-harpsichord' may refer to the shape and layout of the instrument,[33] or, more interestingly, to its tone.[34] The latter will be discussed below mostly in relation to Denzil Wraight's reconstruction of a *c.*1730 Cristofori/Ferrini piano.

Just as it is fascinating to be able to hear very similar sounds to those of Cristofori's pianos by listening to Wraight's, it is also intriguing to speculate on the reception of the Cristofori instruments by contemporaries. In 1709 Scipione Maffei, a Veronese intellectual and one of the general editors of the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*, visited Cristofori's workshop while on a trip to Florence, and in 1711 published in the journal an article about his visit that gives valuable insights into what Cristofori said to him about the new invention:

> *Some professors have not given to this invention all the applause that it merits; first, because they have not understood how much ingenuity was required to overcome the difficulty, and it has appeared to them that the voice of the instrument, being different from the ordinary, is too soft and dull; an impression produced on first placing the hand on the instrument, given that we are accustomed to the silvery sound of other* gravecembali*; but the ear quickly adapts itself to it, and becomes so charmed that one never tires of it, and the common* gravecembali *no longer please; and we must add that it sounds even more sweet at some distance. There has been further opposition raised that this instrument does not have a powerful tone, and is not quite so loud as other* gravecembali. *To this one may answer, first, that it has more power than they give credit, when someone wishes and knows how to produce it, striking the keys with force; and secondly, that it is necessary to accept things for what they are, and not to consider, as regards one end, something which is designed for another. This is properly a chamber instrument, and it is not adaptable for church music, or for a large orchestra. How many instruments are there, used in such occasions, that are not held as being among the most delightful? It is certain that to accompany a singer, and to support an instrument, or even for a moderate ensemble, it succeeds perfectly; though this is not its principal intention, but, that is, rather to be heard alone, like the lute, the harp, the six-stringed viol, and other most sweet instruments. But truly, the major opposition that has been raised against this new instrument is the general lack of knowledge at first of how to approach playing it, because it is not enough to play perfectly the ordinary instruments with a keyboard, but being a new instrument, it requires a person who to understand*

> *its strengths, has made a particular study of it, so as to regulate the strength of the varied pressure which should be given to the keys, and the graceful diminishing, at the [right] time and place, and to choose pieces suited to it, and delicate ones, and especially to separate and make the parts progress, and to make heard the subjects in various places.*[35]

This extract from the article constitutes the first known text to deal with reception of a piano, and the article also describes several other related matters, including the importance for music of the invention, with its ability to create *piano* and *forte* and gradations of sound; construction of the instrument - particularly, of course, the hammer action, of which there is a diagram and associated list of parts; acoustics; and tuning. Reading Maffei's essay, it is easy to empathise with the evident fascination and excitement he felt about the new instrument and its creator.

Denzil Wraight's copy of a c.1730 Cristofori/Ferrini piano

When the English musician and author Charles Burney visited the singer Carlo Broschi ('Farinelli') in Italy in 1770, he heard Broschi play a Florentine piano that the singer said was made in 1730 and reported that '… he *sings* upon it with infinite taste and expression'.[36]

Broschi's piano had been bequeathed to him by Queen Maria Barbara of Spain on her death in 1758, and is one of five pianos listed in an inventory of her musical instruments made after she died. It is very likely that this piano was built by Giovanni Ferrini, Cristofori's assistant and successor, some two years before the latter's death in 1732.

Denzil Wraight's instrument is a reconstruction of this piano. In the two articles on his website already cited, Wraight describes the historical background, rationale, construction and tonal qualities of his instrument. The following is a summary of what he says regarding the relationship between construction and tonal qualities.

The degree of hardness of the leather hammer coverings and precise weight of stringing cannot be exactly determined, therefore experimentation was required in order to get the best possible tonal results. Wraight's knowledge of Cristofori's harpsichord-stringing practices, and the similarity with these of the original gauge markings on the surviving Cristofori-inspired Antunes piano[37] of 1767, helped achieve a historically accurate scale design,[38] giving a more powerful yet 'sweet' tone than many would have expected.

These tonal qualities, and others (see below) are achieved by careful use of particular materials (for example cypress wood for the soundboard) and methods, and help demonstrate that Cristofori had highly developed ideas and knowledge about how to create good piano tone,[39] establishing many of the design principles still in use today.

Personal impressions of the sound of Wraight's instrument

This section relies on Linda Nicholson's recording of sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), played on Wraight's reconstruction.[40] It is very likely that Scarlatti was one of the first composers to have extensive knowledge of Cristofori (and Cristofori-style) pianos; the case for this has been persuasively argued by, for example, David Sutherland and Eva Badura-Skoda.[41]

Linda Nicholson's performances and Denzil Wraight's instrument make a very good case for Scarlatti's sonatas to be played on the early piano, in contrast to the harpsichord. This piano's tonal qualities are well summed up by the term *Arpicimbalo* ('harp-harpsichord' - for example in K213),[42] and Nicholson's choice of dynamics[43] brings out vividly the capabilities of the instrument to produce 'soft and loud' (for example in K203 and K215), enhancing both the drama and lyricism in the music (notable in, for example, K492). The following impressions were noted down whilst listening to the recording:

- bass has a rich, buzzing quality (for example, K197, K203, K490)
- bright treble sings beautifully (for example, K197, K208, K213, K215, K490)
- tone can be projected powerfully (for example, K215, K490)
- frequently, other instruments are evoked:
    - harp (for example, K203, K215)
    - harpsichord (for example, K159, K216)
    - spinet (for example, K213)
    - guitar (for example, K215)
    - lute (for example, K158)
    - mandolin (for example, K158, K248)
- there is tonal clarity across the full range of the instrument (for example, K490)
- chordal writing comes across very clearly, and often evokes the more metallic sound of the harpsichord, particularly in fanfare-like passages at *f* or *ff* (for example, K209, K491, K492)
- occasionally there is a hard edge to the sound at *f* or *ff*, but this is rare and only adds to the tonal variety of the instrument.

In summary, there is much tonally colouristic and dynamic variety available from this instrument - it is very characterful and sounds like a satisfactorily evolved musical instrument in its own right.

It is interesting to compare the tone of Denzil Wraight's instrument with that of Kerstin Schwarz's 1997 copy discussed and illustrated above.[44]

The spread of Cristofori's ideas to Germany[45]

> *The whole eighteenth century was a period during which the passion for quickly changing sound colors in keyboard instruments increased tremendously. Organs were supplied with new stops and more registers than before, and harpsichords got additional stops or were turned into combined instruments, either with a small organ or a hammer action and with stops imitating other musical instruments. It became increasingly fashionable to supply harpsichords with all kinds of mutation stops to allow more sound colors. Clavichords also began to be built with possibilities for sound changes* (Eva Badura-Skoda).[46]

Cristofori's ideas were already influential in Portugal and Spain when Maffei's article was published in German in 1725, although it is possible that pianos were being made in German states before this. It is likely that the great organ builder Gottfried Silbermann (1683-1753) (illus.9) started making pianos in the 1720s, and that it was around 1727 when he asked J.S. Bach (1685-1750) to try one of his instruments. Bach was initially not impressed, criticising the touch of the action and the weak tone of the top treble. Using the 1726 Cristofori piano as a model, Silbermann went back to the drawing board,[47] and by 1732 or 1733 it appears Bach was satisfied, because, as Eva Badura-Skoda has discovered, as early as 1733 Bach played some, possibly all, of his clavier concertos with his Leipzig Collegium Musicum on a fortepiano.[48] Johann Friedrich Agricola, his pupil between 1738 and 1741, stated that his teacher owned a Silbermann piano that he was pleased with, and when in 1747 Frederick the Great invited Bach to try his Silbermann pianos, the composer's opinion was positive; given a theme by Frederick on which to improvise, Bach extemporised a fugue that became the basis for *The Musical Offering*. As late as 1749, Bach was apparently acting as an agent for Silbermann.

J.S. Bach was therefore a pivotal figure in the progress of the early piano in Germany, and in light of this it is surprising that performance of his music on the piano is still controversial in some quarters.

The work of Gottfried Silbermann in the middle years of the eighteenth century illustrates well the diversity of keyboard instruments in use at the time. J.S. Bach would have been very familiar with Silbermann's organs, and one of his sons, C.P.E. Bach (1714-88), owned a Silbermann clavichord he was very attached to.

Silbermann also made instruments for virtuoso musician Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1669-1750), giant nine-foot hammered dulcimers ('pantaleons') with approximately 186 strings. Hebenstreit performed all over northern Europe, and one of the qualities most admired in his playing was its *expression*, including the washes of sound he created from the undamped strings. This inspired some serious experiments with hammer-action keyboard versions of the pantaleon, and 'pantalons' soon became widespread, mostly in Germany, in a multitude of different configurations. They represent a completely different keyboard aesthetic from the pianos of Cristofori - one of bright, undamped sound produced by a simple action and tonally modified by stops.

How Silbermann's pianos differed from Cristofori's marks a significant shift in the evolution of the instrument, in terms of design and, therefore, tone:

> *The sound is very much influenced by the way the case and the soundboard is made. Silbermann copied the inverted wrestplank …, but the general concept of his construction is completely different. Cristofori uses for his pianos a very light and extremely flexible case (double bentside!) identical to the one he used for his harpsichords. Silbermann chose a very heavy case construction, probably especially reinforced. Signed harpsichords by Gottfried Silbermann did not survive but in confront to other German harpsichords of the same period, this is a very heavy construction ... The soundboard construction is very different as well. Cristofori's soundboards are quite thick (3-4mm), Silbermann's soundboards are very thin (2-3mm) ... Cristofori's pianos have brass scaling, Silbermann's pianos have iron scaling. The strings in the Silbermann piano are much thicker, the overall tension is three times bigger than in a Cristofori piano* (Kerstin Schwarz).[49]

Illus.9 Copy by Kerstin Schwarz (2022) of the 1749 Silbermann piano (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz)

The tone of Silbermann's instruments is quite different to that of the Cristofori (or Cristofori-inspired) pianos:

> *Gottfried Silbermann copied closely Cristofori's action but he did not improve it, something which has often been published in recent years by various scholars. Cristofori's action works on its limit in the Silbermann piano case but it produces a very different and much stronger sound, a sound which I would describe as the introduction of the 'piano sound'* (Kerstin Schwarz).[50]

Crucially, the following other main design differences show that Silbermann was aiming at a different sound aesthetic to Cristofori's, one that included the undamped colouristic possibilities of Hebenstreit's pantaleon and the pantalon:

> *Cristofori's pianos have no means of disengaging the dampers all at once and nor are there timbre stops as such ... In the 1726 piano the shifting of the keyboard can be done easily and quickly without moving a block [as in the 1722 piano, possibly as an aid to tuning]. Here the keyboard shift thus appears to have been intended as an* una corda *device for the player.*
>
> *Cristofori's* una corda *was copied by Silbermann, in his case certainly as a device for the player. Furthermore, Silbermann added two stops to his three* Hammerflügel. *One of these stops engages or*

disengages all the dampers by means of two stop levers, positioned left and right in the keywell. These can be used separately, thus more or less dividing the stop bass and treble. The second stop lowers ivory plates onto the strings to give a vibrant effect. This stop, operated by levers behind the nameboard above the wrestplank, can be either engaged or disengaged in its entirety.

The greater distance the hammers have to travel in the Hammerflügel *of Silbermann has to do with their higher cases. As with the keyboard and action of Cristofori's instruments, the keyboard and hammer action in each of Silbermann's* Hammerflügel *together slide in on the baseboard of the instrument. As Silbermann's cases are 3cm higher than Cristofori's, the hammers have to travel further to reach the strings above. This greater distance also has consequences for the sound: the greater energy that can be acquired travelling the greater distance allows for more volume* (Kerstin Schwarz).[51]

Another important difference is the range: Cristofori's 1720 piano originally had a range of four and a half octaves, and his pianos of 1722 and 1726 have a four-octave range; Silbermann's 1746 and 1749 instruments have a range of nearly five octaves (illus.10).

Illus.10 Copy by Kerstin Schwarz (2022) of the 1749 Silbermann piano (reproduced with kind permission from Kerstin Schwarz). Note the compass, and stop levers to left and right of the keyboard

Two recordings using different Silbermann copies illustrate very well the qualities of his pianos: Toby Sermeus's performances of music by J.S. Bach show - for example in the *Concerto nach Italienischem Gusto* ('Italian Concerto'), BWV 971 - how suitable the instrument is for both extrovert and contemplative music;[52] and the performances constituting one of Miklós Spányi's recordings of the complete keyboard music of C.P.E. Bach vividly convey the sharp dynamic contrasts possible with the instrument, and the sonic potential of the raised dampers to create dramatic washes of sound in fast, intricate passagework (for example, in the fantasia-like Sonata in G minor, W. 65/17 (H. 47)):[53]

> *The clavichord and the fortepiano are the best instruments for playing fantasies … the stop for lifting the dampers of fortepianos is the most pleasant register, if the player takes the necessary care for avoiding unwanted aftersounds; it is the most charming one for improvisations* (C.P.E. Bach).[54]

Both the Cristofori aesthetic and that of Silbermann would prove influential for the next generation of grand pianos. However, it must be stressed that the older forms of keyboard instrument - for example the harpsichord, spinet and clavichord - would remain in widespread use until late in the eighteenth century. Only then did the fortepiano seriously begin to replace the harpsichord as instrument of choice for the wealthy and artists.

The piano in the classical era

Introduction

This section concentrates on the English grand and the German/Viennese[55] grand from approximately 1760 to 1830 - the instruments known to Haydn (1732-1809), Dussek (1760-1812), Mozart (1756-91) and Beethoven (1770-1827), and the influence of these instruments on their music.[56] Very different ideas about piano tone evolved in London and Vienna, ideas that have influenced the sound of the concert grand and the music written for it ever since. The fundamental differences are explored below, and because of the influential nature of both music and instruments, and therefore the large quantity of source material available, use of contemporary comment about tone is made in preference to personal observation.

The English and Viennese grand compared

Differences in tonal characteristics

Contemporary commentators give some valuable insights into the different ideas about piano tone in London and Vienna. Crucial to the contrasting timbral characters of the two types of piano are the stringing, damping and touch weight:

> *German/Viennese instruments had a light, clear, ringing tone; English ones a fuller, more resonant tone. Apart from the mechanical differences of the action, the heaviness of the strings, and the size and construction of the hammers, this discrepancy is the result of the differing ideals and execution of the damping. The immediate decay of the sound after releasing the key was a* sine qua non *of the German/Viennese fortepiano, whereas the advocates of the English instruments liked a kind of 'halo' around the sound. Both were for musical reasons. The rhetorical,* sprechend *manner of German keyboard music could only be communicated through perfect articulation; the more 'public' and flamboyant concert style of the London Pianoforte School, on the other hand, sought volume and a legato effect* (Katalin Komlós).[57]

The following two quotes also provide insights into the techniques required to bring out the tonal qualities of English grands to the full. The German pianist-composer Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849),[58] characterised these instruments as follows:

> *English pianos possess rounder sounds … they have caused the professors of that country to adopt a grander style, and the beautiful manner of singing which distinguishes them; to succeed in this, the use of the loud pedal is indispensable, in order to conceal the dryness inherent to the pianoforte.*[59]

And the remarks below are attributed to Dussek:

> *To acquire a rich, a full, and mellifluous* TONE *is the* DESIDERATUM *beyond all other qualities in a Performer; … The mellow, impressive, Organ-like Tone is superior in significance and effect to that quilly and vapid sound produced by the Generality of Piano Forte Players.*[60, 61]

In around 1788, in order to equalise the scale in string tension and striking point, John Broadwood (1732-1812) significantly altered the design of his grands by dividing the bridge; this evened out the tone-colour across the range (as is the tendency with the modern piano), but compromised the colouristic variety between the treble and bass registers.

By contrast, in Germany and Austria at this time, a different range of sounds across the registers was essential: the sound aspired to by makers of the best grands was flute-like in the treble and bassoon-like in the bass; the following quote from Andreas Streicher's *Kurze bemerkungen …*[62] makes an interesting comparison with that attributed to Dussek above:

> *If the tone of the fortepiano is both to move and please the listener, it should, as much as possible, resemble the sound of the best wind instruments. … The tone of the Stein fortepiano is modelled completely according to this ideal, so that in its keyboard, everything that the player needs for every type of musical performance is already prepared.*[63]

Differences in construction affecting tone

Many northern-German makers used the English grand action or a variant, but in southern Germany and Austria a different action developed, quite unlike Cristofori's or the English one. This 'Viennese' action has a more efficient leverage ratio than the Cristofori/English mechanism, with a shallower key-dip and smaller hammers, and is hence lighter and more responsive to the touch.

English grands of the period have much heavier hammers than the Viennese instruments and a deeper key-dip, and therefore a considerably heavier touch weight. Another feature of the English grand, particularly those by Broadwood and Clementi,[64] is the long length of the natural keys in front of the sharps as compared to those of the Viennese grands:

> *Longer keys result in smoother playing and fingering; the heavy action and the deep fall of the keys, at the same time, produce a robust and resonant sound. Both of these characterize modern piano playing. The early English grand is much closer to the modern piano than the contemporary Viennese fortepiano is; naturally, this likeness is manifest in the manner of playing as well* (Katalin Komlós).[65]

This quote is interesting not only for its insights into the action features of the English grand that affect touch and tone, but also because it highlights important connections between the 18th-century English grand and the modern grand.

Another similarity between the English grands of this time and the modern instrument is the stringing: English grands were triple-strung over the entire range, with heavier wire than that

employed in Viennese grands. The English instruments therefore generally have a slightly louder sound and richer tone than their lighter-gauged, double-strung Viennese counterparts.

The damping on the two types of grand was very different: Viennese instruments had leather dampers that immediately stopped after-vibration of the strings, whereas English pianos employed 'feather-duster' style dampers that did not quite stop it, allowing for some continuing resonance.

The influence of tonal and constructional differences on music of the period

> *The finely articulated language of classical Viennese keyboard music found its medium in the perfectly damped, light sound of the 'Viennese' fortepiano. The quick touch of the German action is ideal for passage-work, and shows up the basically linear structure of the music clearly and transparently. Since the high and low registers have distinct colours, the sound spectrum is delightfully varied. On Walter's instruments the bass register is quite powerful. Due to the sharp, percussive attack, sforzatos and other accents (so important in Beethoven's music) give a sudden, biting effect* (Katalin Komlós).[66]

> *The more sluggish action of the English pianoforte, with a deeper fall of the key, made the instrument more suitable for heavier and fuller textures* (Katalin Komlós).[67]

Music by Dussek and Mozart vividly illustrates the differences between the two types of grand, Dussek's weighty harmonic textures and use of extreme dynamics contrasting with Mozart's sparer, linear style and more restrained dynamics.[68]

In Andreas Staier's recording, the 'Rondo. Molto allegro con espressione' of Dussek's Sonata in G, Op.35,2/C.150 expresses well his powerful, dramatic contrasts of mood and dynamics; the singing treble, powerful bass and 'halo' of undamped sound of the 1805 Broadwood grand are vividly conveyed.[69]

By contrast, the 'Alla turca. Allegretto' movement of the Sonata in A K331 (300i) by Mozart, played by the same pianist, demonstrates the clarity (in all registers), crisp damping, lightness, singing tone and responsive touch of the Viennese piano, here a copy by Monika May of a Walter fortepiano of *c.*1785. The piano is also effective in loud passages, not wanting any power in the bass.[70]

Haydn is the only composer whose keyboard output is strongly influenced by the different characteristics of both the Viennese (illus.11) and the English grand piano (illus.12). It is documented in several of his letters that in Vienna he was particularly impressed by the instruments of brothers Wenzel and Johann Schantz. During his second stay in London in 1794-95, he wrote three solo piano sonatas, fourteen accompanied sonatas (trios) and over a dozen songs, many of these pieces employing 'frequent use of repeated thick chords, and a fuller texture in general, in contrast to his former, leaner writing'.[71] Some of them use both styles in combination.[72]

Haydn's liking for English grands led to him buying, on his return in 1795 to Vienna, a five-and-a-half octave Longman & Broderip grand.[73]

Illus.11 Copy by Paul McNulty of an Anton Walter grand, c.1790 (Paul McNulty Fortepianos, https://www.fortepiano.eu)

Illus.12 Longman Clementi & Co grand, 1798 - copy by the Chris Maene Workshop (reproduced with kind permission). Note the pedals, in contrast to the Walter piano above, which has knee levers instead

The copy by Paul McNulty of a *c.*1795 Walter fortepiano, played by Ronald Brautigam in his complete Haydn sonatas series, is very similar in tone to that of Monika May. In the 'Presto' of Haydn's Sonata No.53 in A minor Hob.XVI/34 its clear and crisp response, clarity in all registers in both harmonic and linear textures, dynamic variation, bright treble and mellow bass are all in evidence.[74]

The piano and public concerts

Dussek was one of the first international piano virtuosos, touring Europe and astounding audiences in the biggest concert halls with his dramatic compositions and pianistic technique.[75] He wrote mostly for his instrument, and there was a reciprocal relationship between his art and the Broadwood fortepiano:

> *Dussek was perhaps more inspired by the rich sound of the fully developed Broadwood grand than any other composer … Whether to attract more attention, or out of real musical concern, Dussek induced John Broadwood to extend the standard five-octave compass of his instruments, first to five and a half, then to six octaves* (Katalin Komlós).[76]

Dussek was one of the central figures of the 'London Pianoforte School', which also included J.B. Cramer (1771-1858),[77] Steibelt (1765-1823) and Field (1782-1837). These musicians were influenced by Haydn and Mozart, but developed a more flamboyant style - London and Paris were cosmopolitan capitals with long traditions of public concert-going, and music was correspondingly more intelligible and effect-orientated than that of the Viennese composers. By contrast, Vienna, where concert music was patronised by the nobility, had a generally private, aristocratic musical scene and public concerts were still scarce.

Some of the most important piano music of the time was written by composers of the London Pianoforte School. Simon McVeigh has characterised this music as follows:

> *The music of the London group already shows 'romantic' leanings well before 1800, with a mix of grand nobility, idiomatic bravura, sentimental naiveté, minor-key intensity, and striking dramatic effects. Some of these features can be linked with developments of piano manufacturing in London … but it is also clear that these composers wished to bring to the solo repertoire the same stature and expressive variety they discerned in current symphonic and operatic repertoire. In this their influence extended well beyond London.*[78]

As indicated in the above quote, such expressive, 'orchestral' piano music (for example Clementi's three solo sonatas Op.2 of 1779) was inextricably linked with the development of the English grand piano.

However, according to composer-pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837),[79] the clear timbre of the Viennese grand could be heard more distinctly when playing with an orchestra than the more sonorous tone of the English instrument, although he praised the latter's 'durability and fullness of tone'.[80]

Beethoven and the piano

Illus.13 Conrad Graf grand, 1823 (reproduced with kind permission from the Chris Maene Collection)

Beethoven is sometimes credited with pushing forward grand piano design in the early nineteenth century, but there is no surviving evidence of any direct influence he may have had on makers:[81]

> *Beethoven looms over the pianos of the years 1800-1825 just as he does over the music of those years. Although it would be claiming too much to argue that he himself caused the changes that were taking place, he, perhaps better than any other pianist of the day, represented and reflected them … Beethoven … owned and played several kinds of pianos that show interestingly the developing state of the craft in all of Europe during those years* (Edwin Good).[82]

Technically, the main advance in piano design during Beethoven's time was a continual expansion of the instrument's range and size (illus.13). Another important change was the adoption of triple-stringing[83] by Viennese makers, and a heavier construction (including small iron tension bars) to withstand the extra tension.

Until the late 1790s Beethoven's music for piano generally remained within the five-octave compass of the earlier English and Viennese grands described above, but after that the range expanded along with that of the instruments he possessed or had access to.

Beethoven's piano music shows the influences of both the Viennese tradition exemplified by Mozart and Haydn, and the London Pianoforte School:

> *The achievement of musical coherence with elements of similar diversity [to those of the London composers] was left to Beethoven, a composer whose debt to the London school of the 1790s has been increasingly recognised* (Simon McVeigh).[84]

However, unlike the music of these composers, Beethoven's stretches the expressive limits of the pianos of his time to their utmost, and therefore can sound more natural played on a modern concert grand.[85]

Beethoven was often frustrated by the shortcomings of the grands he had access to, but very much admired the pianos of Streicher and Walter. In 1803 he was given a very advanced piano by the Erard firm, but disliked the heavy and deep touch; by then he had been going deaf for about five years, so could not in any case appreciate this instrument properly. When he received his new Broadwood in 1818 (illus.14), the situation was of course much worse. The piano was a gift from Thomas Broadwood, who had met Beethoven in Vienna and heard him play:

> *The piano chosen for Beethoven was selected by a small group of the most well-known pianists living in London in 1817: Frederich Kalkbrenner, Ferdinand Ries, JB Cramer, JG Ferrari and Charles Knyvett (the latter being organist at the Chapel Royal), all of whom signed their names on Beethoven's instrument. Their choice, grand piano serial number 7362, was a six-octave grand with a keyboard compass CC up to c4. As most of Beethoven's piano compositions from 1815 extend in the treble register above c4, it is debatable how much Beethoven might have used his Broadwood as a composing or performing instrument, although there is no doubt that he was delighted and honoured to receive the gift, and spoke highly of the piano to his musical friends and acquaintances* (Alastair Laurence).[86]

In 1825, Conrad Graf (illus.13) loaned him a powerful, quadruple-strung instrument, but even this was insufficient due to the composer's now almost complete deafness.

Illus.14 John Broadwood grand, 1817 - copy by the Chris Maene Workshop (reproduced with kind permission). This piano is a copy of the instrument presented to Beethoven by Thomas Broadwood, and given by Liszt to the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

Towards the modern piano

Introduction

> *The piano is an American invention. Histories of the piano traditionally start with Cristofori in Italy in the late seventeenth century, proceed to the eighteenth-century Vienna known to Mozart and Beethoven, and to London where in the early nineteenth century the first factories produced pianos in quantity.*
>
> *But in America iron entered the piano. The cast-iron frame was developed here, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the piano as we still know it was built by Americans* (Henry Z. Steinway).[87]

While it is certainly true that the single-piece cast-iron frame was invented and developed in America, iron entered the piano in England as early as 1772. From the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, with the growth of public concerts in London and Paris and subsequent spread of such concerts to the rest of Europe, the United States and beyond, there was an ever-increasing need for louder instruments that could fill bigger spaces with sound and compete with orchestras, withstand the force of more powerful music and musicians and match increasing pitch standards of other instruments. Thus, greater use of iron became a necessity in order that the structure of the grand piano could withstand the ever-growing string tension required, including that resulting from enlargements to the instrument's compass. Makers responded with more iron to withstand higher tension of heavier strings struck by heavier hammers. The quantity of iron in grand pianos gradually increased, although makers - Viennese ones in particular - were initially reluctant to use more than the barest minimum required, as it was thought to be detrimental to good tone.

This section will explore the developments outlined above, with reference to selected piano music.[88]

New technologies for new music

When use of iron within grands became large scale - when it was no longer a matter of small gap-spacers or bracing rods, but became integral to the strung back in the form of part-iron, part-wooden frames, and later, composite iron frames and hitchpin plates bolted together, it was the start of the end of the classical piano and the beginning of the development of the modern piano. This transitional period was one in which massive change occurred, and its pace was rapid - grands of the 1830s sound very different to those of the 1850s, for example.[89, 90] The gap between the Viennese tradition and that of the English piano was maintained and arguably began to widen, with the tonal characteristics of the latter finding favour in a number of other countries as the need for tone projection increased, while the Viennese ideal of clarity of sound became largely confined to Austria and its empire. The proliferation of new technologies and the search for new sounds went far beyond the orbits of the classical English and Viennese ideals of tone, and the amount of change that the grand piano underwent in this period poses special challenges to restorers, players, recording producers and sound engineers, as their tone can be elusive and difficult to capture on recordings.[91]

New technologies played a major part in this process of change - development of actions, hammers and strings went hand in hand with the increased use of iron, revolutionising piano design, making

and sound. In 1808 Erard of Paris had patented the agraffe, a brass stud that accurately determines the speaking length of the strings and prevents them from being pushed upward and unseated by the hammers. The firm continued its innovations with the double escapement action, patented in 1822. This action was based on Cristofori's, and became the basis of the modern grand action still in use today. Erard introduced an intermediate lever with repetition spring - after the hammer has rebounded from the strings, the hammer shank lands on this sprung lever and is thrown upwards again so that the note can be quickly repeated without the key returning to rest. The new action not only aided speed of repetition, but was lighter and more reliable than the English grand action.

In the 1820s, with the development of high-tensile steel, piano makers had at their disposal a far stronger and much more flexible material for making strings. Jean-Henri Pape (1789-1875) of Paris was one of the first to experiment with this, in 1826, and continual improvements were made as the century progressed. The new strings could withstand the blows of larger, heavier hammers and be tuned to a higher tension, and were therefore a vital step in the creation of a louder sound.

Hammers, too, were in a process of flux, despite a generally common aim:

> *The art in hammer making has ever been to obtain a solid, firm foundation, graduating in softness and elasticity toward the top surface, which latter has to be silky and elastic in order to produce a mild, soft tone for pianissimo playing, but with sufficient resistance back of it to permit the hard blow of fortissimo playing* (Alfred Dolge).[92]

Up until the 1830s, many different types and combinations of leather had been used to achieve this aim, but with the development of heavier stringing and the single-piece cast-iron frame, leather no longer served its purpose. In 1833 Alpheus Babcock (1785-1842) of Boston, the inventor of the single-piece cast-iron frame, took out a patent on a hammer covered with felt. However, the credit for its initial development belongs with Jean-Henri Pape while he was working for Pleyel in Paris; instead of a top layer of doeskin, Pape experimented with a dense covering of rabbit hair and lamb's wool over harder layers of leather beneath. Soon, different felts with the required sound-producing qualities entirely replaced leather, and the next major step, starting in approximately 1835, was machine-covered hammers that could produce more consistently shaped, denser felt than was possible by hand. One of the most important figures in the development of hammer-covering machines was Alfred Dolge (1848-1922), whose fascinating account of the history of the piano appeared in 1911 (see n.92).

The most dramatic single development occurred in 1825, when Alpheus Babcock patented a one-piece, cast-iron frame for a square piano; Jonas Chickering, another Boston maker, produced the first grand piano with such a frame in 1843. Steinway continued to perfect the process, the culmination of which was the 'Centennial' concert grand of 1876 which included various improvements in addition to the single-piece cast-iron frame combined with overstringing patented in 1859, and by the end of the century the United States, closely followed by Germany, became the leader in piano design and making according to this system. Steinway's concert grand was so complete for its purpose that not only are today's Steinway Model D concert instruments essentially the same, but those of all makers are modelled on it to the extent that a single-piece cast-iron frame with overstringing is largely the standard for grand-piano design the world over.

In recent decades, once again, after about a century of near-stasis in piano design following Steinway's revolutionary concert grand of 1876, makers are experimenting with new sounds, having decided that however excellent it may be, Steinway is not the last word in grand piano design.

Some aspects of piano tone as it relates to piano music of the 19th century

It is interesting to reflect that over his lifetime Brahms experienced the most dramatic changes that have ever taken place in the design of the piano: the grands that were used at the time of his birth were very old fashioned by the time of his death, and those he played in his last two decades may have come as a shock to Chopin, with their single-piece cast-iron frames, overstrung scales, heavy stringing and hammers, and increased size and compass.

One of the first steps in the direction of the modern grand took place in the late 1780s: in order to equalise the scale in string tension and striking point, John Broadwood divided the bridge of his grands; this compromised the colouristic variety between the treble and bass registers in favour of a more even tone-colour across the range. Viennese makers were slower to adopt this technique. The overstrung scale, also reluctantly taken up by Viennese piano makers, was another factor in making tone more homogeneous across the registers and the full range of dynamics.

However, the tone of the grand piano certainly did not lose colour altogether as a result of these changes, and it gained in power and fullness of sonority as well as in length of sustain, which is crucial to a singing tone.

Chopin

Frederic Chopin (1810–49), both as composer and player, was the first to bring out the full potential of the piano to 'sing'. The following is an extract from a description of Chopin's approach to the *Nocturne* in E-flat major, Op. 9 No. 2 by his occasional pupil Wilhelm von Lenz:

> … *the theme and second variation were to be sung full voiced, expressive but without any sentimentality. The style should be modelled upon [Giuditta] Pasta and the great Italian school of singing, and the pathos should increase throughout the variations.*[93]

Part of Chopin's inspiration from the Italian *bel canto* singing tradition involved a style of rubato 'in which the accompaniment remained steady under a freely declaimed melodic line'.[94] The sustaining qualities of the piano are a part of this inspiration:

> *He had an instinct, amounting to genius, for inventing melodies that would be actually ineffective if sung or played on an instrument capable of sustaining tone but which, picked out in percussive points of sound each beginning to die as soon as born, are enchanting and give an illusion of singing that is often lovelier than singing itself* (William Sumner).[95]

Another vital part of Chopin's melodic construction is ornamentation:

> *The study of Chopin's ornaments in their relation to tone production on the piano is important … Chopin's ornaments give great tone-colour as well as expression to his melodies. The rich interplay of the harmonics*

of the ornaments with the notes of the melody produce new tonal hues: sometimes the melody itself is suggested by rich ornamentation and rich filigree figures (William Sumner).[96]

Regarding Chopin's tone in general, a pupil of his, Carl Mikuli, stated the following in the preface to his 1890 edition of Chopin's works:

The tone which Chopin drew from the instrument, especially in cantabile passages, was immense and a manly energy gave to appropriate passages an overpowering effect … energy without coarseness; but, on the other hand, he knew how to enchant the listener by delicacy, without affectation.[97]

Illus.15 Pleyel concert grand, 1843 - copy by the Chris Maene Workshop (reproduced with kind permission)

Chopin's preferred grands were those by Pleyel (illus.15), although he found Erard's (illus.16) easier to play when his health was afflicting him most. This is due largely to Pleyel's persistence with the English action, in contrast to Erard's use of their double escapement action: in the Pleyel grands of this time, with subtle variations of finger pressure much more control of the movement of the hammers to the strings is possible.[98]

Illus.16 Erard concert grand, 1836 (reproduced with kind permission from the Chris Maene Collection)

For his 2011 recording of Chopin piano works, Wojciech Świtała played an 1848 Pleyel grand in remarkably original condition, purchased by the Fryderyk Chopin Institute from the Chris Maene Collection in 2005.[99] Another Pleyel, made in the same year and probably played by Chopin in his final Paris concert, is in the Cobbe Collection.[100]

Brahms

Johannes Brahms (1833–97) was a composer of very different temperament to Chopin:

> *In his playing, as in his music and in his character, there was never a trace of sensuality* (Fanny Davies).[101]

Other important traits in his compositions and performance style were as follows:

> *One could hear that he listened very intently to the inner harmonies and of course he laid great stress on good basses* (Fanny Davies).[102]

There has been much debate as to whether Brahms preferred the straight-strung, part iron-framed Viennese pianos of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, such as the Streicher he owned and those by Bösendorfer, to the new, single-piece cast-iron framed Steinways and Bechsteins:[103]

> *The letter record suggests strongly that Brahms had a decided preference for performing on what is essentially the modern grand piano, with a specific liking for Bechsteins and American Steinways* (Styra Avins).[104]

This is not at all surprising, given the wide range of expression and dynamics in Brahms's piano music; his 'good basses' and massive sound at *f* or *ff* demand instruments with powerful projection. Steinways are therefore very suitable for his piano works; Bösendorfers too, with their clarity of tone across all registers conveying Brahms's dense harmonic textures very effectively, and their deeply resonant bass adding power to the climaxes. In his recording of the late piano music, Jan Michiels plays an 1884 Bösendorfer restored by Chris Maene in 1996 (illus.17), these qualities coming across vividly in his playing of this instrument. A palpable sense of energy, even anger, is strongly evident in the 'Capriccio. Presto energico' from the *Fantasien*, Op. 116.[105]

Illus.17 Bösendorfer grand, 1884 (reproduced with kind permission from the Chris Maene Collection)

Conclusion: beyond the modern piano

In recent decades, serious and very successful attempts have been made to widen the colouristic range of the piano and therefore offer pianists new kinds of piano tone - interestingly, one of these is a new straight-strung grand,[106] a piano that both takes the piano forward and reverts to the method of arranging the strings that preceded the American innovations culminating in the modern Steinway.[107] Wayne Stuart & Sons in Australia have been making pianos with an increasingly wider compass and a new method of coupling the strings to the bridges, with associated, intentional effects on tone. And Phoenix has built a grand made almost entirely of carbon fibre. Alongside these and other innovations in piano design and making, interest in historic pianos and period performance has continued to grow, inspiring expert craftspeople to move through the centuries with their copies of instruments from Cristofori to Pleyel - just as historic performance practice has taken performers to ever more recent music. The level of expertise in copies of historic instruments has reached a level where it cannot be exceeded, and players have an unprecedented variety of sounds at their fingertips. These are certainly very exciting times in the world of the piano.

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Notes

[1] In fact, two instruments, as the New York and Hamburg pianos have distinct sound qualities particular to piano making in each location.

[2] For example, Blüthner, Bösendorfer, Chris Maene, Fazioli, Stuart & Sons and Yamaha. Chris Maene's and Wayne Stuart's innovations are particularly interesting - see www.chrismaene.be and www.stuartandsons.com. Other developments include a piano made almost entirely of carbon fibre (see www.phoenixpianos.co.uk) and small hybrid instruments with a real grand piano action for playing digital samples of concert grands.

[3] See 'Reception and piano tone' below.

[4] Although the roots of this are pre-war, it gained substantial momentum in the 1950s. Its most purist followers are dedicated to 'historically accurate' performances based on (sometimes flawed) scholarship, its most enlightened to performances that attempt to bring to life a work true to the spirit in which it was composed. See Frederick Neumann, 'Some controversial aspects of the authenticity school' in *New essays in performance practice* (Rochester, NY, 1992), pp.17-31, and 'Some historical performance issues' below.

[5] Bartolomeo Cristofori (1655-1732), inventor of the grand piano action, and as far as is known, the first to make a successfully working piano (see 'The early Italian piano' below).

[6] See www.denzilwraight.com.

[7] Patented in 1859.

[8] Tuning, of course, is vital to tone quality, but is a major subject in its own right and therefore not discussed in any detail here. It is sufficient to say that unless a piano is well tuned to the correct temperament, its tone quality cannot be fully projected; in addition, pianos of different eras were designed with particular pitches and tuning systems in mind, so to tune an instrument using an inappropriate system will alter the tone by, for example, putting too much or too little string pressure (downbearing) onto the bridges. Equal temperament, the tuning system in which all twelve notes of the chromatic scale are tuned to be the same distance apart, was applied to the piano in Britain in the mid-19th century and in the early 20th century proved ideal for the new atonal, twelve-tone and jazz musical languages, all three of which depend on the octave being divided equally so that chromatic shifts do not present any surprising pitches or intervals.

[9] The information on these subjects was gained in relevant module lectures at London Metropolitan University.

[10] See, for example, Kerstin Schwarz's description and accompanying photographs at www.animus-cristofori.com of her restoration of Cristofori's oval spinet made in 1690; the '[a]im of the restoration of 2012 was to improve its state of conservation'.

[11] See www.animus-cristofori.com for Schwarz's restoration to playing condition of a Thomas Culliford (Longman & Broderip) harpsichord of 1785. There is an interesting piano by Longman & Broderip, made ten years later, in the Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands Park, Surrey (https://www.cobbecollection.co.uk). It is one of only three surviving grand pianos by this maker that has a five-and-a-half octave compass (see 'The piano and public concerts' below).

[12] See www.animus-cristofori.com and Illus.7 for Schwarz's copy of Cristofori's oval spinet of 1690; '[t]he decision was taken to carry out only minor conservative work on the original instrument, but to build a working copy to illustrate the potential of Cristofori's ideas, following a series of detailed studies of the original instrument'. And see below, 'The early Italian piano', for a discussion of Denzil Wraight's copy of a Cristofori/Ferrini instrument.

[13] Eva Badura-Skoda, *The eighteenth-century fortepiano grand and its patrons - From Scarlatti to Beethoven* (Bloomington, IN, 2017), for example at pp.1-7.

[14] Christopher Kite, 'The day has still to come when Mozart on a Steinway will be regarded … as necessarily a kind of transcription' in the series of articles 'Playing the early piano', *Early Music*, xiii (1985), pp.54-56.

[15] Neumann (1992), p.18.

[16] Most Steinway concert grands in Europe are those made in Hamburg; the New York instrument is, arguably, better suited to older repertoire, the Hamburg one to 20th century and contemporary music.

[17] Edwin M. Good, *Giraffes, black dragons and other pianos: A technological history from Cristofori to the modern concert grand* (Stanford, CA, 2/2001), p.89.

[18] Michael Latcham, 'Mozart and the pianos of Gabriel Anton Walter', *Early Music*, xxv/3 (August 1997), pp.383-400.

[19] Badura-Skoda (2017), pp.417-420.

[20] 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – the piano sonatas on Mozart's fortepiano' (ECM, 2022).

[21] Andreas Streicher, *Kurze bemerkungen über das spielen, stimmen und erhalten der fortepiano, welche von Stein in Wien verfertiget werden*. Quoted in Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and their music: Germany, Austria, and England, 1760-1800* (Oxford, 1995), p.24.

[22] Mark Everist, 'Reception theories, canonic discourses, and musical value' in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds), *Rethinking music* (Oxford, 1999), pp.378-402.

[23] Everist (1999), p.378.

[24] Paul Badura-Skoda, 'Playing the early piano', *Early Music*, xii (1984), pp.477-480 at 477.

[25] Booklet notes to Schubert Piano Sonatas vol.1, p.4.

[26] Good (2001), p.33.

[27] John-Paul Williams, *The piano - An inspirational guide to the piano and its place in history* (London, 2002), pp.15-16.

[28] Kerstin Schwarz, 'The late Cristofori - Creativity with a common base', 'Matière et Musique' - The Cluny Encounter (Proceedings of the European Encounter on Instrument Making and Restoration, Cluny, 1999) (Antwerp, 2000), pp.63-87, at 63-64, www.animus-cristofori.com.

[29] Schwarz (2000), p.69.

[30] The main sources for this section are Stuart Pollens, *Bartolomeo Cristofori and the invention of the piano* (Cambridge, 2017); Schwarz (2000); Good (2001); David Sutherland, 'Domenico Scarlatti and the Florentine piano', *Early Music* xxiii (1995), pp.243-256; and Denzil Wraight, 'A Florentine piano c. 1730 for early piano music' and 'Cristofori's piano e forte - the first pianoforte or fortepiano', www.denzilwraight.com.

[31] 1720, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 1722, Collezione degli Strumenti Musicali, Rome; and 1726, Grassi-Museum, Leipzig.

[32] Including David Sutherland's copies of each of the three surviving Cristofori pianos, and Kerstin Schwarz's copies, of which she has made several.

[33] Good (2001), p.34.

[34] Wraight, 'Cristofori's piano e forte'.

[35] Translation in Pollens (2017), p.125.

[36] Quoted in Wraight, 'A Florentine piano c. 1730'.

[37] National Music Museum, Vermillion, SD, USA.

[38] In all stringed instruments, the scaling rule dictates that if two notes an octave apart are sounded on strings of the same tension and mass per unit length, the lower-pitched string will be twice as long as the higher-pitched one. In order to build pianos that combine good tone quality, as much volume and sustain as possible and acceptable dimensions, makers have had to modify this scaling rule by experimenting with strings of different lengths, thicknesses and tensions. With a longer string length, tone quality is improved and loudness is greater - hence the large size of a concert grand. The way in which the strings are laid out in relation to the soundboard, i.e. straight strung or overstrung, is also of crucial importance to the tone of the piano.

[39] See Wraight, 'Cristofori's piano e forte' and 'A Florentine piano c. 1730'.

[40] *Domenico Scarlatti: Sonatas*, Linda Nicholson (Capriccio, 2004).

[41] Sutherland (1995); Badura-Skoda (2017), pp.48, 88-120.

[42] See first paragraph above, under the heading 'The tone of Cristofori's pianos'.

[43] The scores, not being intended solely for the piano, are largely free of dynamics.

[44] *Bartolomeo Cristofori - Sei Sonate di varij Autori*, Luca Guglielmi (Stradivarius, 2002).

[45] The main sources for this section are Badura-Skoda (2017); Kerstin Schwarz, 'The pianos by Bartolomeo Cristofori and Gottfried Silbermann - Two different worlds of sound produced by the same hammer action' (Rencontres harmoniques Lausanne/Geneva, November 2014), www.animus-cristofori.com; Kerstin Schwarz, 'The pianos of Bartolomeo Cristofori and Gottfried Silbermann: Different instruments with the same hammer action' (Il cembalo a martelli da Bartolomeo Cristofori a Giovanni Ferrini. Atti del convegno internazionale di organologia in ricordo di Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, Bologna, 21-22 ottobre 2017) (Bologna, 2019), www.animus-cristofori.com; Good (2001); and Williams (2002).

[46] Badura-Skoda (2017), pp.129-130.

[47] He must have had access to a Cristofori piano very similar to the surviving 1726 instrument, as both Silbermann's two surviving instruments (1746, 1749) have an action almost identical to Cristofori's most advanced one. There is also a third instrument that is attributed to Silbermann.

[48] Neumann (1992), p. 27. See Badura-Skoda (2017), ch.5.

[49] Schwarz (2014), p.11.

[50] Schwarz (2014), p.12.

[51] Schwarz (2019), pp.13-14.

[52] 'Johann Sebastian Bach - Bach's Piano Silbermann 1749', Toby Sermeus (copy by Kerstin Schwarz, 2013) (ET'CETERA, 2022).

[53] *C.P.E. Bach - The Solo Keyboard Music Vol. 11: Sonatas from 1746-47*, Miklós Spányi (copy by Michael Walker, 1999) (BIS, 2004).

[54] C.P.E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, German facsimile edition, p.327, quoted in Badura-Skoda (2017), p.254.

[55] The term 'Viennese grand' became standard for both German and Viennese instruments.

[56] The main sources for this section are Good (2001); Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993); Komlós (1995); and Williams (2002).

[57] Komlós (1995), p.24.

[58] Kalkbrenner lived in London between 1814 and 1823, joined piano makers Pleyel in Paris in 1824, and was a respected teacher numbering Chopin among his pupils.

[59] Quoted in Komlós (1995), p.28.

[60] Komlós (1995), p.27.

[61] '[Q]uilly and vapid sound' is unlikely to refer to the Viennese piano, as it was very rare in England, and therefore not used by the 'generality' of players.

[62] See n.21.

[63] Quoted in Komlós (1995), p.26.

[64] The composer and pianist Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) became active in piano making in London.

[65] Komlós (1995), p.19.

[66] Komlós (1995), p.53. It is interesting that much of what is said in this quote also applies to a modern Viennese concert grand, the Bösendorfer 'Imperial' - until recently, the company's website proclaimed: 'Viennese Culture of Sound Since 1828'.

[67] Komlós (1995), p.17.

[68] See Komlós (1995), pp.54, 64.

[69] *Dussek, piano works*, Andreas Staier (Deutsche Harmonia Mundi, 2005).

[70] *Mozart, Piano works*, Andreas Staier (Harmonia Mundi, 2014).

[71] Komlós (1995), p.74.

[72] For example, Trio in D minor (Hob. XV:23); see extract, Komlós (1995), p.74. Sylvia Berry has recorded the London piano sonatas using a Broadwood piano of 1806, restored by Dale Munschy (Acis, 2013).

[73] Malcolm Bilson has recorded the E-flat Major London sonata, Hob. 52, together with works by Dussek and Cramer, using a copy by the Chris Maene Workshop of a similar piano made in 1798 by Longman & Clementi (Bridge, 2008).

[74] *Haydn, Bossler Sonatas (Complete Solo Keyboard Music Vol. 2)*, Ronald Brautigam (BIS, 1999).

[75] Dussek was the first pianist to have the instrument turned around so that instead of having his back to the audience, his right-hand side and the bentside of the piano faced them; this, although possibly done for reasons of vanity, had the tonal benefit of allowing the sound of the piano to be projected towards the audience.

[76] Komlós (1995), p.64. And see Mora Carroll, 'Dussek, Broadwood and the additional keys', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, viii/1 (Autumn 1999); Mora Carroll, 'Jan Ladislav Dussek and his music for the extended keyboard compass', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, ix/2 (Summer 2001).

[77] Cramer's 1816 six-octave Broadwood grand, nearly identical to that given by the firm to Beethoven in 1817, is in the Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands Park, Surrey (https://www.cobbecollection.co.uk).

[78] McVeigh (1993), p.123.

[79] Hummel studied with Mozart, among other eminent teachers, and his piano writing influenced Chopin.

[80] Quoted in Komlós (1995), p.29.

[81] Good (2001), pp.91-119.

[82] Good (2001), p.91.

[83] In some cases quadruple-stringing, as, for example, in the *c.*1819-20 instrument by Conrad Graf (1782-1851) in the Cobbe Collection, Hatchlands Park, Surrey (https://www.cobbecollection.co.uk); it is also one of the earliest known grands with wound bass strings (the bottom three notes).

[84] McVeigh (1993), p.164.

[85] For example, Stephen Kovacevich's performance of the Sonata No.30 in E, Op.109 (EMI, 1996).

[86] Alastair Laurence, *The evolution of the Broadwood grand piano 1785-1998*, PhD thesis (University of York, 1998), p.77.

[87] Henry Z. Steinway, foreword to Ronald Ratcliffe, *Steinway* (San Francisco, 2002), p.9.

[88] The main sources of this section are Michael Musgrave and Bernard D. Sherman, *Performing Brahms - Early evidence of performance style* (Cambridge, 2003); William Leslie Sumner, *The pianoforte* (London, 1966); and Williams (2002).

[89] In a conversation in 2006, David Winston, fortepiano maker and piano restorer, emphasised the importance of this transitional period between the classical piano and the full cast-iron-framed instrument (see Period Piano Company: https://periodpiano.com).

[90] An 1866 Erard grand restored by David Winston has tonal qualities associated with older instruments (for example, distinct tonal characters in each register) together with qualities particularly valued in the modern piano (for example, a relatively long sustain, singing treble and resonant bass).

[91] I am grateful to David Winston for this information.

[92] Alfred Dolge, *Pianos and their makers* (Covina, 1911; R/New York, 1972), p.97.

[93] Quoted in John Rink, 'In respect of performance: the view from musicology', *Psychology of Music*, xxxi/3 (2003), pp.303-323 at 318.

[94] Rink (2003), p.318.

[95] Sumner (1966), p.160.

[96] Sumner (1966), p.169.

[97] Sumner (1966), p.164.

[98] I am grateful to David Winston for this information.

[99] *Chopin piano works*, Wojciech Świtała (The Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2012). See also Chris Maene, 'Chopin's piano built anew', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xv/1 (Autumn 2010), p.7; Paul McNulty, 'An introduction to the making of a Pleyel', *Harpsichord & Fortepiano*, xiv/2 (Spring 2010), pp.6-7 and xv/1 (Autumn 2010), p.6.

[100] https://www.cobbecollection.co.uk.

[101] The pianist Fanny Davies, quoted in Michael Musgrave, 'Early trends in the performance of Brahms's piano music', in Musgrave and Sherman (2003), p.304.

[102] Fanny Davies, in Musgrave and Sherman (2003), p.304.

[103] Musgrave, 'Early trends in the performance of Brahms's piano music', in Musgrave and Sherman (2003).

[104] Styra Avins, 'Performing Brahms's music: clues from his letters', in Musgrave and Sherman (2003), p.11.

[105] *Brahms, Klavierstücke & Intermezzi Opus 116-119*, Jan Michiels (Eufoda, 1997).

[106] Developed and built by Chris Maene.

[107] See the quote from Henry Z. Steinway that begins 'Towards the modern piano' above.

Composer Anniversaries in 2023

John Collins

In 2023 there are quite a number of keyboard composers whose anniversaries can be commemorated, although for some of them their dates are uncertain; some of those listed below need no introduction, but there are also quite a few lesser-known names whose compositions are well worth exploring. No claim is made for completeness, and there is no guarantee that every edition mentioned here is still in print; while there may also be editions by other publishers. Publishers' websites have been given where known. An increasing number of pieces, ranging from original publications or manuscripts (which present the usual problems of multiple clefs as well as original printer's errors) to typeset versions of complete or individual works, are to be found on various free download sites, most noticeably IMSLP and Free-scores; however, the accuracy of some typesetting there is questionable, and all should be treated with caution before use.

William Byrd (c.1540-1623). Organist at Lincoln Cathedral and later at the Chapel Royal, he composed much sacred and secular vocal music which was published. Many of his around 150 or so keyboard pieces – the majority being Pavans and Galliards, mainly in pairs, and variations on popular tunes, with a handful of plainchant settings, fantasias, preludes, voluntaries and grounds - are found in two manuscripts, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* and *My Ladye Nevell's Book*. Eight pieces are also found in *Parthenia*, published in 1612/13. In addition to the Fantasias and plainchant settings, clearly intended for liturgical use, many of the dances and variation sets sound well on a chamber organ or on a modern organ using appropriate registration. The collected keyboard works in two volumes have been edited by Alan Brown in Musica Britannica volumes MB27 and 28 for Stainer and Bell. New editions of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, *Ladye Nevell's Booke* and *Parthenia* have recently been edited by Jon Baxendale and Francis Knights for Lyrebird Music as LBMP-0000, 014 and 021 respectively. Desmond Hunter has edited a selection of Fantasias and related works for Barenreiter BA10897, with an excellent introduction.

Thomas Weelkes (c.1576-1623). Organist of Winchester College and later of Chichester Cathedral, he left several volumes of madrigals, Anglican church services and verse anthems, as well as some consort music. A few keyboard works survive: a Galliard, Pavan and two Voluntaries were edited by Desmond Hunter for Boethius Press in 1985, including facsimiles and a modern transcription. The two Voluntaries are included in Faber's *Early Organ Series, England, volume 2*, edited by Geoffrey Cox. A Ground and variations on Rowland from British Library Add. Ms. 30485 – a manuscript possibly compiled by Weelkes - have been attributed to Weelkes, and along wih the Galliard in D minor are included in Musica Britannica, vol.55, *Elizabethan Keyboard Music*, edited by Alan Brown for Stainer and Bell.

Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c.1623-80). Best known for his virtuoso violin pieces, he also composed a large number of suites, masses and scared and secular vocal music. Three multi-movement Partitas are included in *Organ and keyboard music of the Imperial Court Chapel, Vienna*, edited by Siegbert Rampe for Barenreiter, BA9214. Five Arias and three Sonatas are included in *Viennese Organ Music from around 1650*, edited by Erich Benedicht for Doblinger, DM1355.

Johann Martin Radeck (c.1623-84). Organist in Copenhagen. Five keyboard works are available in modern editions, a Suite in G has been edited by Siegbert Rampe in *German organ and keyboard music of the 17th century, volume 1* for Bärenreiter BABA8426. A Praeambulum in D minor and a Canzona manual in D have been edited by Klaus Beckmann and included in Free organ works of the North German Baroque era for Breitkopf and Härtel 8395. A ricercar on Jesus Christus unser Heiland and a setting with variations on the same chorale are included in North German Chorale Settings from the Baroque Era edited by Klaus Beckmann for Breitkopf & Härtel 8534. .

Jan Adam Reincken (1623-1722). A student of Scheidemann, he became organist of the Katharinenkirche, Hamburg in 1663. Famous for being impressed by J. S. Bach's playing, a few keyboard pieces have survived in manuscripts, including eight dance suites each with the four main movements, two lengthy sets of variations and a Holländische Nightingale plus variation more suited to stringed keyboard instruments, edited by Klaus Beckmann for Breitkopf & Härtel, 8290. He also left two lengthy chorale fantasias for organ, two toccatas and a Fugue in G minor which contains repeated notes in its subject, as well as two further Toccatas, the much-discussed A major (attributed to a number of other composers) and one in G attributed clearly erroneously to Frescobaldi. Apart from the chorale fantasias, all are suitable for stringed keyboard instruments as well as organ, and have been edited by Pieter Dirksen for Breitkopf & Härtel, EB8715. The two chorale fantasias and two toccatas have been edited by Klaus Beckmann for Schott as *Masters of the North German school for organ*, vol.11, ED9783.

Carlo Pollarolo (c.1653-1723). Organist of Brescia cathedral, he is mainly known for his operas, mostly written in Venice, and oratorios, Only three organ works have survived in manuscript, the Capriccios in C and D in the Andreas Bach manuscript (an edition of pieces from this source and the Möller manuscript has been edited by Robert Hill for Harvard University Press), and a Sonata in D minor is included in Giulio Arresti's *Sonate da Organo di varii Autori* of 1687, also as Voluntary II in *Voluntarys and Fugues made on Purpose ffor the Organ* published by Walsh in London, availabe as Performers' Facsimiles, PF64, They have been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin, AMM 142.

Johann Eckelt (1673-1732). A pupil of Pachelbel in Efurt, he became organist in Wernigsrode and Sondeshausen. Unfortunately the bulk of his compositions are lost. Compiler of an important manuscript containing pieces by Pachelbel and Froberger, his only known composition is a lengthy Ciacona with 61 variations which has been edited by Maurizio Machella for Armelin as AMM205, and also by Siegbert Rampe in *German organ and keyboard music of the 17th century, volume 1* for Barenreiter, BA8426.

Conrad Michael Schneider (1673-1752). Organist in Ulm, he left a *Clavierübung*, comprising *Sei Partite per Organo o Clavicembalo*, originally published individually, edited by Laura Cerutti in two volumes for Armelin, AMM 008/009. Individually, Partitas Nos.3, 1 and 2 have been

edited by Berthold Buchele in volumes 1, 3, 4 of *Brocke Orgelmusikaus dem Wurttemburgischen un bayerischen Oberberschwaben*, published by Buchele. The Partitas contain a variety of movements, some including the usual dances and other *galanterien* including minuet, bourree, gavotte and passepied, but also including a three-movement Concerto in No.3, a chaconne in 5/4 in No.2, and a Capriccio, Vivace, Arioso Adagio in No.6. A facsimile edition is available from Musica Repartita, MR66F.

Agustini Tinazzolli (c.1660-1723). Born in Bologna, he became organist in Ferrara and after a priod of imprisonment he travelled widely. His surviving keyboard pieces in a manuscript now in Munster comprise 18 pieces, mainly Sonatas, some single-movement, some multi-movement, and an exciting *Passagallo* with 50 variations. Only three pieces, two Offertorios and an *Elevazione*, are specifically headed 'Per Organo', but a *Sonata Post Agnus* is clearly also intended for organ. Four Capriccios and a Toccata are not assigned to a specific instrument but are more suitable for the harpsichord. All the pieces have been edited by Jörg Jaobi in two volumes for Edition Baroque, eba4020/26.

William Babell (1688-1723). Violinist and harpsichordist in London, he confirmed his reputation as a virtuoso violinist through his two sets of *Solos for violin or oboe* and his skills on the harpsichord through his published collections of arangements from operatic Arias from operas by Handel and others. Facsimiles of *Suits of the most Celebrated Lessons collected and fitted to the Harpsichord and Spinnet* have been published in the Performers' Facsimiles series as PF208 by Broude, and also by Jacks, Pipes and Hammers. The pieces in the Third and Fourth Books of *The Lady's Entertainment or Banquet of Musick, being A choice Collection of the most celebrated Airs and Dances in the Operas, curiously set and fitted to the Harpsichord or Spinnet* are far less demanding and are available in facsimile as Performers' Facsimiles, PF 206/207.A collection of Toccatas, Suites and Preludes, including 11 Toccatas, two Suites of dances and seven Preludes, has been ascribed to Babell by Andew Woolley, who has edited the manuscript, now in Bergamo, for Lyrebird Music, LBMP-017.

Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787). Primarily known as a virtuoso on and composer for the viola da gamba, he arrived in London in 1759 and published symphonies and chamber music as well as a small number of pieces for harpsichord, including *Six easy sonattas* for harpsichord or for a viola da gamba or German flute with a thoroughbass accompaniment, edited in two volumes by J. Bacher in Hortus Musicus, Nos.39 and 40 for Bärenreiter, and also in facsimile with an introduction by Leonore and Gunter von Zadow, Heidelberg, 2005.

Christlieb Siegmund Binder (1723-1789). Organist and harpsichordist in Dresden, he composed chamber and keyboard music, and published one set of *Sei Sonate per il cembalo*, which, along with three other sets of Sonatas and one of Divertimenti, mostly in three movements, are also in manuscript now in Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden. These have all been edited by Laura Cerutti for Armelin, AMM 087/088/148/149 and 150. Four other Sonatas were published, two in the Haffner anthologies vols.VIII and X, one in *Six easy lessons for the harpsichord*, published by Joseph Hill in London, and one in *Musikalisches Magazin, in Sonaten, Sifonien, Trios… fur das Clavier bestehend.* He also left a set of *72 Praeludia vor der Orgel oder Cembalo aus Fugen und aus gefuhrten Choraelen bestehend* in manuscript, also in Dresden, from which Seven Praeludia have been edited by Eberhard Hofmann in *Classical and early Romantic Organ Music. Volume 1* for Bärenreiter,

BA6447, and 12 chorales have been edited by Eberhard Hoffmann in *Classical and early Romantic Organ Music, Volume 2* for Bärenreiter, BA6448.

Guillaume Boutmy (1723-1791). The eldest son of Josse Boutmy, he was also an organist and harpsichordist in Brussels. He published *Sei sonate per il cembalo* in two or three movements. These have been edited by Laura Cerutti in *Opere per Clavicembalo by Josse Boutmy* for Armelin, AMM103; the volume also contains his father's *Second Livre de pièces de clavecin contenant six Suites*.

Giovanni Marco Rutini (1723-1797). From Florence, he travelled widely, and is better known for his many operas. He also published a sizeable number of keyboard sonatas in from two to four movements, many of which are available in modern editions, including Six Sonatas Op.1, Six Sonatas Op.2, Six Sonatas Op.8, Six Sonatas Op.9, all edited by Laura Cerutti for Cornetto Verlag as CP358, CP340, CP466 and CP467. Six Sonatas Op.3, Six Sonatas Op.5 and Six Sonatas Op.6 have all been edited by Hedda Illy for Edizioni Desantis, DS1051, DS1063 and DS1053 respectively. Two collections were both published as Op.6 orignally, and a facsimile of the other one is available as Biblioteca Classica, Rotterdam, 130.

Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel (1756-1823). Originally from Strasbourg, he moved to London after the French Revolution, and published 26 Sonatas for either solo keyboard (five) or with violin accompaniment (17 being 'ad libitum' and four 'oblige'). in seven sets plus two single pieces. Modern editions include a facsimile of *Divertissements ou Suites de petits air pour le piano forte ou clavecin Op.7* from Biblioteca Classica, Rotterdam, 27. Several movements from the Sonatas are included in *Klavierstucke und Sonaten mit Violin ad lib* edited by Oberdoerffer for Edition Peters, 6981. A new complete edition is needed.

In addition to the composes listed above, 2023 sees the anniversary of two important publications including *Recercari, Mottetti, Canzoni Libro Primo* by Marco Antonio Cazazzoni, knon as Marco Antonio di Bologna, which was published in Venice in 1523 and is the first publication in Italy of a volume of keyboard music by one named composer and of pieces not based on vocal models..An excellent edition complete with facimile has been edited by Liuwe Tamminga for Il Levante Libreria Editrice TA23

In 1623 Jean Titelouze, organist of Rouen cathedral, published his *Hymnes de L'église*, a volume of 12 Hymns with either three or four verses, the first publication of pieces specifically for organ since the series of publications in the 1530s by Pierre Attaignant. A new edition, also containing the composer's Le Magnificat (with a series of verses for the Eight Tones) of 1626, has been edited by Jon Baxendale and published by Lyrebird Music as LBMP-026.

Websites

Armelin: www.armelin.it
Edition Baroque: www.edition-baroque.de
Doblinger Verlag: www.doblinger.at
Breitkopf & Härtel: www.breitkopf.com
Bärenreiter: www.baerenreiter.com
Cornetto Verlag: www.cornetto-music.de
Lyrebird Music: https://lyrebirdmusic.com

Stainer & Bell: www.stainer.co.uk
Broude Bros Performers Facsimiles: www.broudebros.com
Schott Music: www.schott-music.com
Ut Orpheus: www.utorpheus.com
Edition Peters: https://www.editionpeters.com
Editio Supraphon: available via Bärenreiter, see above

Listings

EARLY MUSIC ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES

Early Music Fora and events

Border Marches Early Music Forum, http://www.bmemf.org.uk

Early Music Forum Scotland, http://www.emfscotland.org.uk

Eastern Early Music Forum, http://www.eemf.org.uk

29 April 2023 - Master and pupil: Ingegneri and Monteverdi, Ipswich, tutor Patrick Craig

10 June 2023 – The Sadler partbooks, Cambridge, tutor Rory McCleery

14-15 October 2023 - Francisco Valls weekend, Thaxted, tutor Patrick Craig

North East Early Music Forum, http://www.neemf.org.uk

2 April 2023 - Annual NEEMF Northern Performing Day, Barnard Castle

15 April 2023 – Byrd, Four-part Mass, Clements Hall, York, tutor Deborah Catterall

23 April 2023 - Annual NEEMF 'Day Out', Temple Newsam, Leeds

17 June 2023 - Transalpine Vespers, High Heaton, tutor Andrew Fowler

8 July 2023 - Cousen playing day, Clements Hall, York

2 Sepember 2023 - Music from the Odhecaton, Clements Hall, York, tutor Lizzie Gutteridge

North West Early Music Forum, https://nwemf.org

11 March 2023 – *Felix Austiae: music from Habsburg Vienna*, Quaker Meeting House, Lancaster, tutor Gawain Glenton

15 April 2023 – Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli, Manchester, tutor James Weeks

13 May 2023 - Sweelinck & Scheidt, Sale, tutor George Parris

17 June 2023 - *Byrd 400th*, Chester, tutor Angus Smith

23 September 2023 – Recorders, tutor Grace Barton

14 October 2023 - Morales, Guerrero & Victoria, tutor Peter Syrus

11 November 2023 - Voices and instruments, tutor David Hatcher

Midlands Early Music Forum, http://memf.org.uk

25 March 2023 - The Music of Robert Parsons, Tamworth, tutor Bill Carslake

20 May 2023 - Music from Rome, Barnt Green, tutor Peter Leech

3 June 2023 - Sweelink and Scheidt, tutor George Parris

Southern Early Music Forum, https://semf.org.uk

11 March 2023 – *Music from 16th-century convents*, Bosham Village Hall, tutor Laurie Stras

30 April 2023 – *Workshop for instruments*, Normandy Village Hall, tutor Emily White

17 September 2023 - Bach's B minor Mass, Headcorn, tutor John Hancorn

28 October 2023 - *Thomas Weelkes and his contemporaries*, Bosham, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Banks

18 November 2023 – Workshop, Scaynes Hill, tutor David Allinson

South West Early Music Forum, http://www.swemf.org.uk

6 May 2023 – *Monteverdi, Vespers*, St Thomas of Canterbury, Thorverton, tutor Philip Thorby

22 April 2023 - Music for Renaissance Wind Band, Cheltenham, tutor Tim Bayley

20 May 2023 - Venetian Coronation - Renaissance Polyphony, tutor Graham Coatman

10 June 2023 - Purcell Anthems, Backwell, tutor Ben England

29 July 2023 – 18th century music, tutor Peter Leech

30 September 2023 - *Missa Dominus Regnavit* by Lambert de Sayve, Thorverton, tutor Philip Thorby

Thames Valley Early Music Forum, http://www.tvemf.org

18 March 2023 - Motets by Pierre de Manchicourt, Pinner, tutor Peter Syrus

15 April 2023 - Byrd & the Birth of the Consort Anthem, Northwood, tutor Bill Hunt

20 May 2023 - *Music for a Royal Occasion*, Ballinger, Nr. Great Missenden, tutor John Hancorn

11 June 2023 - David Fletcher Celebration, Bourne End, tutor David Allinson

30 September 2023 - Weelkes 400, Somerville College, Oxford, tutors Will Dawes and Katie Bank

10 December 2023 - *Christmas with the shepherds*: Mouton's Quaeramus cum pastoribus, Amersham, tutor Rory McCleery

Early Music Organizations

American Bach Society, https://www.americanbachsociety.org

American Musical Instrument Society, http://www.amis.org

Asociación Amigos del Clavecín, http://clalsan.wix.com/amigos_clavecin

Bach Network, https://www.bachnetwork.org

Benslow Trust, http://www.benslowmusic.org

Boston Clavichord Society, www.bostonclavichord.org

British Harpsichord Society, http://www.harpsichord.org.uk

British Institute of Organ Studies, http://www.bios.org.uk

Cobbe Collection, http://www.cobbecollection.co.uk

Dolmetsch Foundation, https://www.dolmetsch.com/dolmetschfoundation.htm

East Anglian Academy of Early Music, http://www.eastanglianacademy.org.uk

Early Music America, https://www.earlymusicamerica.org

Fellowship of Makers and Researchers of Historic Instruments, http://fomrhi.org

FIMTE, International Festival of Spanish Keyboard Music, http://www.fimte.org

Finnish Clavichord Society, suomenklavikordiseura.blogspot.com

The Friends of Square Pianos, http://www.friendsofsquarepianos.co.uk

Galpin Society, http://www.galpinsociety.org

Handel Institute, https://handelinstitute.org

Handel Friends, www.handelfriendsuk.com

Historical Keyboard Society of America, https://www.hksna.org

Keyboard Charitable Trust, http://www.keyboardtrust.org

L'association Clavecin en France, http://www.clavecin-en-france.org

Les Amis du Clavecin, http://www.amisduclavecin.be/¬index.htm

London Bach Society, http://www.bachlive.co.uk

London Handel Festival, http://www.london-handel-festival.com

National Centre for Early Music, http://www.ncem.co.uk

National Early Music Association UK, http://www.earlymusic.info/nema.php

Het Nederlands Clavichord Genootschap, www.clavichordgenootschap.nl

Netherlands Bach Society, https://www.bachvereniging.nl/en

REMA, European Early Music Network, https://www.rema-eemn.net

Royal College of Organists, https://www.rco.org.uk/

Schweizerische Clavichordgesellschaft, www.clavichordgesellschaft.ch

Southern California Early Music Society, http://www.earlymusicla.org

Spanish Association of Early Music Groups, http://www.asociaciongema.com

Stichting Clavecimbel Genootschap, http://www.scgn.org/¬index.php

Swedish Clavichord Society, http://goart.gu.se/gcs

Thomas Tomkins Society, http://www.thomastomkins.org.uk

Japan Clavier Society, www.claviersociety.jp

Vlaamse Klavecimbel Vereniging, http://www.vlaamseklavecimbelvereniging.be

Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies, http://westfield.org

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AUCTIONS

Brompton's (UK), https://www.bromptons.co

Christie's (USA), https://www.christies.com/departments/Musical-Instruments

Gardiner Houlgate (UK), https://www.gardinerhoulgate.co.uk

Gorringe's (UK), https://www.gorringes.co.uk

Ingles Hayday (UK), https://ingleshayday.com

Peter Wilson (UK), https://www.peterwilson.co.uk

Piano Auctions (UK), http://www.pianoauctions.co.uk

CONFERENCES

The conference **Bach and Timbre** will take place at the University of Massachusetts Amherst on 21-22 April 2023. Contact: eknyt@music.umass.edu

The conference **Rabab & Rebec: Skin-Covered Bowed String Instruments of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance and their Non-European Relatives** will take place in on 28-30 April 2023. Website: https://www.hkb-interpretation.ch/rabab-rebec

The conference **Music and the Figurative Arts in the Baroque Era** will take place on 10-12 May 2023. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

The 58th **International Congress on Medieval Studies** will take place at Western Michigan University on 11-13 May 2023. Contact: musicology.kzoo@gmail.com

The conference **Early Modern Sensory Encounters** will take place on 8-9 June 2023 at Kellogg College, University of Oxford, website https://www.open.ac.uk/arts/research/medieval-and-early-modern-research/sensory-experiences

The conference **Musical Competitions in Europe, 1700-1920** will take place in Lovere on 9-11 June 2023. Website: https://www.luigiboccherini.org/2022/10/24/musical-competitions-in-europe-1700-1920

The symposium **Byrd at Lincoln** will take place in Lincoln on 3-4 July 2023. Contact: Katherine.butler@northumbria.ac.uk

The conference **Lost & Found: Traces of Early Music. An International Colloquium on Fragmentology** will take place in Cascais, Portugal on 19-22 July 2023. Contact: lostandfoundcolloquium@gmail.com

The 59th Annual Conference of the **Royal Musical Association** will take place at the University of Nottingham on 14–16 September 2023. Contact: RMA2023@nottingham.ac.uk

The virtual conference **'Sicut in cælo, et in terra': Commissioning and Production of Sacred Music in Italy from the Middle Ages to Today** will take place on 6-8 October 2023. Contact: conferences@luigiboccherini.org

The conference on **Historical embodiment in music** will take place at the Hochschule der Künste Bern on 2–4 November 2023, website: https://www.hkb-interpretation.ch/embodiment

The thirteenth **Handel Institute Conference** will take place at Bridewell Hall, London, on 17-19 November 2023. Contact: natassa.varka.handel@gmail.com

FESTIVALS

4–11 June 2023 Boston Early Music Festival, USA, http://www.bemf.org

8–18 June 2023 Bachfest Leipzig, https://www.bachfestleipzig.de/en/bachfest

30 June–4 July 2023 Byrd 400, Lincoln Cathedral, website www.lincolncathedral.com