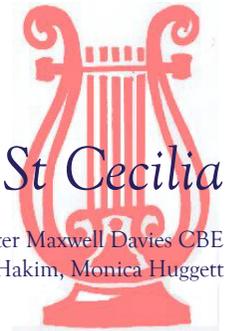


VOX

The Academy of St Cecilia



Patron: The Most Hon. The Marquess of Londonderry Sir Peter Maxwell Davies CBE
Vice Patrons: James Bowman CBE, Naji Hakim, Monica Huggett

Educational Advisor..... John McIntosh, OBE
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From the Master

WELCOME to this issue of *Vox*, the newsletter of The Academy of St Cecilia.

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-----www.academyofsaintcecilia.com-----



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I hope you find the following pages interesting, informative and may it inspire you in to contributing an article on any aspect of early music, pre-1825 of course. Contributions both sacred and secular would be most welcome. Articles could include performances in which you have taken part, a concert series that you would like to advertise, or even a set of Byrd four-part Mass you would like to sell! Many members have promised to submit articles on their application forms and our Secretary General will be sifting through these. You may well receive a phone call asking, politely, for that long awaited tome!

Those who attended the stunning concert in June 2004, featuring the Lay Clerks and Choral Scholars from the Metropolitan Cathedral of St George Southwark, in a concert of English renaissance music including both Gregorian and Sarum chant, will be interested to note that at the time they were planning a practical study week at Solesmes Abbey. This took place in February 2005. You may know that one of our Honorary Fellows, Dom Daniel Saulnier is an authority on chant at the Abbey. This proved a very successful trip and we plan to take a group of Academy members for a similar study course. The cost is surprisingly reasonable and will be discussed later in this edition. It is amazing to note, especially with the current trend towards authenticity, that most performances of plainchant are based on pre-1930's

scholarship and Solesmes is reviewing all its publications, and these are quite different and much more fluent than before. All who are interested in chant would benefit from this practical course from an inspirational teacher. Please let me know if you are interested, in principle, so we can gauge the level of support and can then plan ahead.

The sumptuous surroundings of our November 2004 Convocation, the London Oratory School, made members feel at home to socialise and relax. The full evidence of the afternoon can be found among the photographs on our web site www.academyofsaintcecilia.com

Contributions to the Academy newsletter *Vox* are always welcome, and should be sent to the General Secretary, Mr Graham Hawkes, at:
21 Cecil Road, South Wimbledon, London SW19.
Tel: 020 8540 0401

We will be negotiating with a local hotel to provide accommodation, at a special rate, for those Academy members, who would like to stay overnight on the Friday or Saturday to attend an optional class on the Sunday. Dom Daniel will be at Mass on Sunday and some members might like to attend and join in the chant with the cathedral choir

Early booking is advised. You will be able to book through a special Post Office Box number and a 24hr telephone information line will be available as well.

The day is likely start at 10.00am, with lunch provided at 12pm. Normal Academy Convocation will take place at 2.00pm. The day will culminate with Solemn Vespers at about 4.00pm sung by all participants. Precise details will be included as a flyer with this edition of VOX or sent to you soon after when the plans are finalised.

This occasion should prove a landmark in the history of the Academy of St Cecilia as well as a very fruitful, high profile and enjoyable day. If you have any ideas or suggestions regarding this event please feel free to contact me.

Mark Johnson. *Master.*

The Academy ‘down under’

LATE last year I received an interesting piece of ‘junk’ email. It was a very polite request to publish an article on St Cecilia by our Secretary-General Graham Hawkes, which has been on our web site for a number of years, in the Australian Financial Journal. As Graham was in Hong Kong at the time I tentatively gave my permission. Then having promptly forgot all about it I was intrigued a month or so later when a package dropped on my door matt. It contained a copy of the said publication. There, spread over two centre pages was Graham’s article. The Journal has a circulation of around eighty thousand and it was quite a thrill to see the Academy set out, centre pages with pictures, all be it of Salvador Dali’s version of St Cecilia with legs everywhere! Sadly, it did not generate any more applications, though we do have a sizable number of members in Australia.

Please note our Australian Representative is:

Dr Michael Barkl Michael.barkl@det.nsw.edu.au

Gregorian Chant Symposium June 2006

FOR the Convocation on Saturday 17th June 2006 we plan to change the arrangements in order to incorporate a plainchant workshop day for members of the Academy, and for musicians generally. This event is going to be widely publicised in the musical press and through other distinguished musical organisations so early booking is advised. There will be many distinguished invited guests from all walks of musical life and beyond. This will be a day for all Roman Catholic and Anglican musicians. The event will take place at St George's RC Cathedral, Southwark, in London.

The Chapter have gone to great lengths inviting expert tutors for this occasion. Leading the workshops will be Dom Daniel Saulnier OSB, Director of Palaeography, from the Abbey of Solesmes. Dom Daniel is the world authority on chant and will be teaching the new *Solesmes method* of singing chant. The

Organ workshops with Naji Hakim at the Academy Gregorian Chant Symposium

Abbey has just published the new edition of the Antiphonale. We have also invited the Very Rev'd Dom Cuthbert Brogan OSB, the Prior of St Michael's Abbey, Farnborough, who will give workshops on psalmody; Fr Peter Allan CR from Mirfield will talk about the use of chant in the Anglican Liturgy; Professor Nick Sandon former Professor of Music at Exeter University will look at Sarum Chant. To include organists in the

Festival, our Vice Patron, Dr Naji Hakim, organist Titulaire at Ste Trinité, Paris, will conduct workshops on using chant as a vehicle for improvisation throughout the day. All who have participated in the day's chant, will be invited to join the celebration of Solemn Latin Vespers. We have designed the day to include something for everyone, from beginners to those wishing to learn the new method from Solesmes, and organists who would like to learn more about improvisation.

Letters of invitation are being sent to cathedrals, monasteries, early music departments, members of the RCO, advertising the day and to give them the opportunity of attending.

A new look for the Academy

As you can see from this new edition of Vox, we have decided to revitalise the Academy stationary and brochure. The website has already gone through substantial refurbishment over the last few months. This major work has been undertaken by one of our distinguished Honorary Fellows, Alistair Dixon, who is also Director of *Chapelle du Roi*. This group has just completed recording the works of Thomas Tallis.

Work on a new brochure, now long over due for updating, is being carried out by the monks of Saint Michael's Abbey, Farnborough who have a publishing and printing department with in the monastery. Dom Cuthbert, the superior, is an Honorary Fellow and member of our Early Music Advisory Panel.

Some societies have gone down the commercial road of selling ties, scarves and other adornments. I must confess to having no definite view on this trend. Perhaps we could commission Academy cuff links in silver, with our new crest, or perhaps a tasteful tiepin and silk tie? The chapter are open to suggestions regarding this subject. If sufficient members are interested, there is no reason why we should not persue this avenue. Please do let us know your views, especially anyone with connections in this area.



Singing is good for you

...especially plainchant!

AT the Autumn Convocation in 2003 the Master spoke with enthusiasm of his hopes for a Plainsong-fest in 2005/6. As he did so, a small door in my memory, labelled 'Arcane Minutiae', opened to reveal the name "Alfred A. Tomatis".

Alfred A. Tomatis is (certainly "is" in 2000), or was, a French physician and auditory neurophysiologist who for some fifty years has researched the human ear and its relationship to body, mind and spirit. Vibration occurs within the very cells which make up the human organism, and he believed that the health and well being of people was affected by the pattern and quality of vibrations perceived by the body. [Read Don G. Campbell, *The Mozart Effect: Tapping the Power of Music to Heal the Body, Strengthen the Mind, and Unlock the Creative Spirit* (New York: Avon Books 1997).]

Tomatis believed that the ear has a vital role in maintaining balance, health and integration of the human brain with the entire body, and especially the relationship between ear and voice. He showed that the ear was part of a "neurological loop" linking ear and all the organs involved in vocalisation. He has demonstrated that as well as processing sound and integrating it in speech, the ear regulates the body's verticality, thus affecting all motor coordination; he has also shown that through the brainstem the auditory nerve connects the ear with all the muscles, and through the vagus nerve the inner ear is connected with all the major organs.

Tomatis has put his research into practice by developing therapies within the field of neurology to the extent that there are now over two hundred Tomatis Centres internationally.

Three quotes: "And so we've come to realize that the skin is only a piece of differentiated ear, and not the other way around!"

"What the ancients knew was that once that once one reaches perfect auditory posture, the body reaches out and literally incorporates all the sound that comes from outside . . . It is impossible to arrive at good

Abbey of Solesmes. I shall be returning very soon, and if any member of the Academy would like to make the trip, please let me know. The suggested Tariff for full board at the Guest House is 28 Euro (£19.50). You can pay as your circumstances allow, either more or less. Local trains are very reasonable and the Eurostar cost depends on when you book. If you do decide to go, remember to book your time with Dom Daniel. His time is very precious. A donation for his time would be expected.

For all those serious about plainchant, whether in a cathedral or a small parish behind the gasworks, a visit, I almost said pilgrimage, is a must. Everyone and every institution has their own 'house' style but, to spend time with the monks of the Abbey who down their tools, leave the fields, kitchen or whatever at set times during the day, every single day of the year, to sing the Offices is nothing short of magical. None are 'professional' singers, but all live and breath chant. Their world and values are inextricable intertwined with it. To be part of that world, even for just four days was truly an inspiration.

Mark Johnson. *Master ASC*



oneself especially when one of the readings mentioned the word ` Fascisti and Fascist` at least a dozen times! Not being a fluent French speaker I thought it might have been a speech by Mussolini! This giggling became a problem for a group of young French soldiers also staying in the Guest House. Funny, they were not a deep shade of beetroot when they went in to lunch. I wont dwell any further on this subject; it could all get very silly.

During our four-day stay, in between the Daily Offices, we received practical tuition from the world's expert, Dom Daniel Saulnier. An inspirational teacher, we learnt an awful lot in such a short time. Gone are the editorial markings and additions from the earlier part of the 20th century, which I think tend to interrupt the flow, to a much more fluid word-based interpretation. Dom Daniel's new editions are now available, April 2005, from the monastery bookshop. It is well worth taking a group or choir to the abbey for practical workshops but it is helpful to get your priorities set first. We came with a view to learning through singing the chant, which we achieved, but there may be some in your group who would benefit from a more scholarly or academic approach. All can be accommodated; it is quite clear when in the presence of Dom Daniel that he is a first rate academic, as well as a teacher, with a vast knowledge of chant.

New edition of the Antiphonale Monasticum

On our last day we were privileged to be taken into the palaeography room where Dom Daniel works. A remarkably small room absolutely crammed with files of manuscript from all over the world. Sarum and Worcester chant through to German and Spanish lined the walls. We were given a brief glimpse at the long anticipated edition of the Antiphonale, which was just about to go to press the following week. A number of us were interested in the very high-quality plainchant software package used for editing the chant. Unfortunately it was extremely expensive and developed especially for Solesmes and, above all, not for sale.

It was with reluctance that we departed in a fleet of taxis to the local train station on the following Wednesday. I personally could have stayed much longer, as I know many in our party would have liked to have remained for further study. We arrived at a very special place and left as friends of the

language without verticality, or to stimulate the brain to full consciousness.”

“We have largely overlooked . . . the sounds generated from inside the body, particularly the ear's relation to our own voice. This function I call self-listening or auditory-vocal control.”

He was called to a Benedictine monastery by a very concerned abbot. The monks seemed to be suffering from chronic fatigue, and advice from other doctors – including the abandonment of the traditional simple vegetarian diet in order to eat meat to give them strength – had left things worse than before. On questioning the abbot, Tomatis learned that, in the reforming spirit of Vatican II, the abbot had decided that if they ceased chanting the office they would have an extra six to eight hours each day for more productive endeavours. The result was disaster – when chanting the offices the monks had needed little sleep, now they were permanently tired.

Tomatis's solution was simple, but direct. He cured them with sound by returning them to their former round of chanting the Daily Offices. He had deduced that the monks needed the high cortical charge produced in their bodies through their singing.

Stimulated by his success he studied plainsong more intensively, and deduced that the pace, frequencies and rhythm of Gregorian chant made it idiosyncratic. He went on to state that chanting plainsong is even more beneficial when accompanied by the Latin language and sung within the auditory environment of a Gothic church space, which “bathes people in a generous stream of overtones sounding overhead, drawing the person up vertically.”

So . . . Singing is Good for you – especially if it's plainsong!

Anyone who would like to read more in this area is recommended to first read Bruce T. Morrill, *Liturgical Music: Bodies Proclaiming and Responding to the Word of God* (WORSHIP – 74.1, January 2000), which has a very good bibliography contained in its footnotes.

Ron Fletcher FASC

Convocation and Concert

Saturday 27th November 2004 at 2:00pm

WITH the kind permission of the Headmaster, Honorary Fellow and Education Advisor to the Academy, Mr John McIntosh OBE, we moved venue for this meeting and concert. It was very appropriate to use the Oratory school, and its delightful modern chapel, particularly at this convocation as a number of pupils are being admitted as Associates of the Academy of St Cecilia. This isn't surprising though, as The London Oratory School is one of only a couple of music specialist schools in the whole of the United Kingdom. Its many choirs, in particular the Schola, perform a substantial amount of music relevant to our sphere of interest, and are in great demand and have taken part in music for films, opera and concerts.

The London Oratory School

The meeting commenced at 2pm when members of the Academy gathered from all over the country, many having travelled long distances to attend. There were a number of new members attending for the first time to receive their certificates of membership. There were also many familiar faces attending, to renew friendships, and because we aim to provide concerts of a consistently high standard. The Academy is also noted for the informality, and friendliness of its meetings. The Convocation proper commenced with a Fanfare and the longest procession of Honorary Fellows, Vice Patron and Chapter I think we have ever had. After my welcome to members, the Headmaster of the Oratory School gave an interesting short talk on the history of the school and its outstanding music department. The chapel holds two hundred people and seemed quite full as the procession entered the west door. At least one hundred and forty members and friends attended from all over the UK and Ireland. I would like to express my personal thanks to them for making the journey to London.

We have introduced a new idea into the proceedings by having music from 2:00pm while members gather and robe. The Oratory School Schola, many of whom were receiving their certificates today, provided this admirably. Various motets, plainchant, and Christmas pieces were performed as members gathered in the chapel. I would like to thank Mr Stephen Grahl

Cathedrals and Monastery meet

EARLY on Sunday 14th February 2005 a small group of musicians, the Directors of Music at both Southwark Cathedrals and Lay Clerks and Choral Scholars from the RC Cathedral set off for Solesmes in France. We caught the Eurostar to Paris, the TGV to Le Mans and a local train to Sable, then a very short taxi ride to the village of Solesmes. After a short visit to the village cake shop and a number of gorgeous strawberry tarts, we then settled into our rooms in the Monastery Guest House. We were eventually escorted to the Monastery for supper where the Abbot washed our hands before proceeding into the refectory with the monks. A silent supper followed accompanied by suitable readings.

The first service we attended was Vespers on the Sunday evening. All the monks processed into the chancel area and `Deus in Adjutorium meum intende` followed, which always sends a shiver down my spine. I won't give an account of all the offices we attended, but that first vespers had a profound affect on me. The chant was beautifully and lovingly sung. Every nuance and word exquisitely cherished and delivered by the whole body of monks, who were absolutely at one with the music, that tears began rolling down my face all the way through the service. Outside the church I was speechless and quite overwhelmed. One of the Choral Scholars asked if I was all right, at which I burst into floods of tears, such was the effect of that first service! Of course the chant was sung with a French accent that some might call `affected`, but I must say I secretly adored it. A change from the all-embracing Italianate Latin we are used to!

We attended all the daily offices whilst there, ending with Compline, and became thoroughly absorbed into the routine of monastic life. However, we were given the key to the gate and managed to find the local bar in the evening. What joy, and not entirely monastic! There is a very good 3 star hotel with a 4 star restaurant next to the Abbey, The Grand Hotel, which we used as a base; two of our group were staying there as an overflow from the Guest House. We enjoyed an extremely memorable dinner in the hotel at reasonable prices. You can eat at the monastery, which we did, but all meals are in silence and you need to develop signs for `pass the salt` etc. This can be an enormous problem for those prone to giggling! Which unfortunately I am. It was a struggle and a major effort, above and well beyond the call of duty, to control

Select Bibliography

B. Brauchli, *The Clavichord* CUP Paperback 2005.

J.Speestra, *Bach and the Pedal Clavichord: An Organist's Guide*, University of Rochester Press, 2004. Includes Griepenkerl's detailed description of Bach's technique.

C.Hogwood (Ed.), *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe (... gratefully dedicated to Gustav Leonhardt)*. CUP, 2003. Includes a summary of contemporary approaches to *geschnellt* ornaments by Menno van Delft (assuming that the printers placed the dots correctly!).

P.Simmonds, 'Abtossen, Schleifen and Das Allgemeine Fortgehen', in: *De Clavicordio III*, Magnano 1998. (See BCS website above). This is an exemplary essay on eighteenth-century clavichord technique and keyboard articulation in general.

S.Fortino (Ed.), *Songs to be sung at the clavichord: Leider Beim Clavier zu singen*. Songs set to texts about the clavichord. 2 vols. Drake Mambry Publishing (forthcoming 2005/6).

H.Schott, 'The clavichord revival, 1800-1960', in: *Early Music*, November 2004.

There are many people to thank for making this article possible including those who contributed illustrations; also to the late Dr.Bernard Harrison who left me in no doubt as to the clavichord's suitability for Haydn's music, Peter Bavington for information on instruments attributed to the Silbermanns, Francis Knights of *Clavichord International* and *Early Music* for his discography, the late Dr.Howard Schott for much helpful advice and information including an article in favour of the harpsichord for the works of Froberger, Joris Potvlieghe for the Gerber quotation, Frau Doktorin Regula Rapp who asked me to write this essay twelve years ago, Judith Wardman of the British Clavichord Society, and to its president Derek Adlam, without whose unfailing encouragement and advice this would still not have been written.

Neil Coleman, London 2005.

for his splendid effort. If any member of the Academy would like to provide music from 2 to 2.30pm at future convocations, please get in touch with a member of the Chapter well in advance. Meetings are usually held on the first Saturday in June and the last Saturday in November.

Our society is very fortunate in having amongst its membership, a large number of very distinguished musicians who serve in a variety of capacities as our Patrons, Vice Patrons and Honorary Fellows. We are extremely lucky to have one of our Vice Patrons providing the concert at this convocation. James Bowman CBE is at the very pinnacle of early music making internationally, and we are honoured and delighted he can be with us. James performed a programme of Dowland, Purcell and Handel with his accompanist Andrew Plant. The concert proved to be a very special one in many ways, not least because James managed create a magical atmosphere with his knowledgeable commentary and eloquent delivery throughout the recital. James' voice was truly wonderful and rich, and has lost little since I last heard him live nearly thirty years ago in the choir vestry in Southwark Cathedral where he gave me my first `proper` countertenor singing lesson. His voice, thrilling then as it is now! Purcell's Evening Hymn was a delight. Taken in a very restrained, quiet, almost prayer-like interpretation, which only a superb technique can make spell-binding, brought a tear to the eye and had me on the edge of my seat. The accompaniment complemented the voice beautifully and was sensitive and discreet, never overpowering. The whole afternoon's recital continued in this vein and the audience of members gave a standing ovation at the end of the recital. Refreshments were provided after the proceedings and members had a chance to meet informally and socialise.

Mark Johnson. Master ASC.



The Clavichord – a most necessary caveat.

“BUT whoever said this was a two horse race?” a radio interviewer once asked wisely during the preamble to an interview with Christopher Hogwood, featuring his recent disc of J.S. Bach’s keyboard music played on no fewer than three clavichords. ‘Wisely’ as it was, and indeed still is, a common assumption that the choice of instrument for this incomparable repertoire is between the harpsichord and the piano. Rhetorical question or not, a list of the guilty could be drawn up of radio presenters and many more besides in reply; yet reports of Bach’s time and shortly afterwards make it abundantly clear that for him and others besides, it was the clavichord that was the instrument of choice for their private studies and performances too, especially, but not exclusively, as we shall see, in the German-speaking countries. Several other important keyboard instruments of the eighteenth century remain almost unknown today, but it is the clavichord that remains, as a modest yet clear *primus inter pares*, the most unjustifiably neglected. The ‘baroque piano’ surely comes a close second.

The copy of the little-known Liszewsky Bach portrait (fig.1) is probably based on an original painted by Haussmann shortly after Bach’s arrival in Leipzig in 1723. Although modernized in the style of the 1770s, it shows the authentic background of Bach’s studio or *Komponierstube* with desk, writing set, manuscript paper, and a fur-trimmed coat (Anna Magdalena’s people had connections in the fur trade) which is perhaps the same one referred to as “a splendid velvet coat” in the portrait which belonged to Bach’s pupil Kirnberger. The one shown here is analogous to the Mercier portrait of Handel painted about the same time. The original has not been seen since 1945 but this copy at least gives us an artistically valuable idea of the composer at work as a younger, perhaps more approachable man than that shown by the later Haussmann portrait. However, the right-hand corner of the keyboard instrument, the identity of which remains uncertain or at best contested by organologists, is of less help, but what could it have been? The rather bare bones of the list of instruments entered in the inventory of Bach’s estate have been well picked over - An ossuary for an *instrumentarium*! Suffice it to say here that the clavichord is not mentioned, most probably for one or more of the following reasons: The ‘three claviers with [nebst] a set of pedals’ given to J.C. Bach by his father, which the eldest sons were already contesting, may well have been a double-manual clavichord with pedals of a sort to which we will

E.J. Haydn: *Acht Sauschneider müssen sein* (69’). Derek Adlam. Guild GMCD 7260 (2003).

After the early capriccio on a folk-song about hog castrators is dispatched with great aplomb, Adlam continues with a variety of works including the late *Variations in F minor*, which he believes may have been intended as a *tombeau* for Mozart.

The Secret Mozart. Christopher Hogwood with Derek Adlam. Works for one and two keyboards played on original instruments including Mozart’s own (Forthcoming).

Johann Gottfried Mützel: *III Sonates et II Ariosi avec XII Variations pour le Clavessin*.

2 CDs: Teknon (www.teknon.nl) TK 12-252 (2004). Menno van Delft, Clavichord by

J.A. Hass (Hamburg, 1763), Russell Collection, Edinburgh.

Mützel (1728-88), Bach’s ‘last pupil’, was active in Riga. Burney wrote of him: ‘When a student upon keyed instruments has vanquished all difficulties to be found in the lessons of Handel, Scarlatti, Schobert, Eckart, and C.P.E. Bach: and, like Alexander, laments that nothing more remains to conquer, I would recommend to him, as an exercise for patience and perseverance, the compositions of Mützel: which are so full of contrivance, that I should not hesitate to rank them among the greatest productions of the present age.’

‘I strongly recommend these discs to everyone.’ D. Adlam, BCS Newsletter, February 2005.

Ernst Wilhelm Wolf: *Keyboard Sonatas* (76’). Ars Musici AM 1206-2 (1997). Clavichord by Karin Richter after Hubert. Wolf (1735-92) was Court Kapellmeister at Weimar. This disc gained a special mention from the *Preis der Deutschen Schallplattenkritik* jury in 1997. ‘Impossible to fault.’ Francis Knights, *Clavichord Discography*.

Pedal Clavichords – music by Sweelinck, Scheidemann, Buxtehude, Ritter and J.S. Bach (55’), Erik van Bruggen. (55’). Pedal clavichords by Dick Verwolf after Gerstenberg, 1760 (pedal, 2×8’, 2×16’) and a conjectural seventeenth-century instrument. Music Recording Service M.R.S. 032001-2. Available from BCS bookshop, www.bcs.nildram.co.uk

‘Strongly recommended’, Francis Knights, *Clavichord International* May 2005.



Fig.3 Fortepiano by Michael Walker, Neckargemünd (Germany) after Gottfried Silbermann, 1749. www.walker-cembalo.de

Discography

J.S. Bach: Masterworks for Clavichord, Derek Adlam (77'). Guild GMCD 7232 (2001). Performed on a clavichord after J.A. Hass, Hamburg 1763 built by the artist, Welbeck, 1982.

The Secret Bach, Christopher Hogwood (72') Metronome MET CD 1056 (2003). Includes the 'Rust' version of the Chromatic Fantasy and violin partita arrangements.

J.S. Bach: 6 Partitas Richard Troeger (142') Lyrichord LEMS-8038 (1999) 2 CDs. 'A most welcome addition to the catalogue', Francis Knights, *Clavichord Discography*. Complete works series.

Bach as Teacher: Keyboard Works from the Cöthen period (141'). Hänssler CD 92.607(1999). Robert Hill on lute-harpsichord and clavichord. "...well worth getting for the delightful lute-harpsichord disc alone."

Francis Knights, *Clavichord Discography*.

C.P.E. Bach: The Solo Keyboard Music - Volume 12, 'Sonatas and 'Petites Pièces' 2. BIS-CD-1198. Miklós Spányi. Clavichord built in 1999 by Joris Potvlieghe, Tollembeek, Belgium after Horn, Dresden 1785. Complete works series. Some very fine playing of sonatas and French-style character pieces, including what may be a self-portrait and the exquisite *rondeau, La Gleim*: '... a model of refined musicianship', Julian Perkins, BCS Newsletter, February 2005.

C.P.E. Bach: Complete Keyboard Concertos - Volume 10 (69') BIS-CD 914. *Concerto Armonico* with Miklós Spányi, Tangent Piano, built in 1993 by Ghislain Potvlieghe, Ninove (Belgium) after Baldassare Pastore, 1799.

C.P.E. Bach: The Solo Keyboard Music - Volume 11 Sonatas from 1746-7 (70').

BIS-CD-1195. Miklós Spányi, fortepiano built in 1999 by Michael Walker after Gottfried Silbermann (See fig.7). The instrument, playing and repertoire make this a most significant recording. All works are world première recordings.

Fig.1 J.S. Bach by Liszewsky (possibly after Haussmann).



return later; Anna Magdalena or other family members may have similarly appropriated or been bequeathed instruments prior to probate; Notaries who draw-up such documents are unlikely to be the best commentators on, or judges of, their contents.

So what case is there for the clavichord as a suitable or even preferable instrument for the keyboard music of J.S. Bach? Let us turn to Forkel, Bach's first biographer, who drew much of his material directly from his friend and Bach's second son, C.P.E. Bach, who held him in high esteem and W.F. Bach, the eldest son, who had been his teacher. The biography, first published in 1802, appeared in translation here as early as 1820 and Bach's views on the main types of stringed keyboard instruments are worth quoting in full, even at two removes:

"He liked best to play upon the clavichord; the harpsichord, though certainly susceptible of a very great variety of expression, had not soul enough for him; and the piano was in his lifetime too much in its infancy and still much too coarse to satisfy him. He therefore considered the clavichord as the best instrument for study, and, in general, for private musical entertainment. He found it the most convenient for the expression of his most refined thoughts, and did not believe it possible to produce from any harpsichord or pianoforte such a variety in the gradations of tone as on this instrument, which is, indeed, poor in tone but on a small scale extremely flexible."

It is a cause of great regret that Bach himself did not, as far as we know, write more about music and instruments himself but he was, in all probability, much too busy to do so.

The amount of documentation from his lifetime is indeed 'chicken feed'

alongside that of other composers and there is no specific mention extant from his own hand of the clavichord, least of all in his “*Short But Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music, with Certain Modest Reflections on the Decline of the Same*”, written for the Leipzig town council in which Bach specifies minimum numbers of singers of instruments for use in church. Yet it is clear that the clavichord was of primary importance to organists and I see no justification in doubting Forkel’s first statement. The third concerning the piano is, as we shall see, a different matter.

The earliest reference to J.S. Bach playing the clavichord specifically is dated 1775, and comes from Johann Friedrich Agricola who had studied with Bach and, perhaps surprisingly, recalled how his teacher had often played the unaccompanied sonatas and partitas for violin on the clavichord, adding harmony and, of course, counterpoint as he found necessary. In a similar vein, it will be found that the suites for violoncello solo have their practical uses for the keyboard player’s left hand. Another source close to Bach in which the clavichord is mentioned is his cousin J.G. Walther’s *Musikalisches Lexicon* of 1732 under the article ‘Clavicordo’ which states that the instrument is the ABC (*erste Grammatica*) for organists and the one on which all keyboard players begin their studies. An account of Bach entertaining at the instrument, not previously available in English, is worth quoting:

A celebrated Italian composer came to Germany biased against the clavichord [‘le clavicorde’], which he regarded as an imperfect instrument, which is still the generally held view. One of his compatriots who had lived long in this country [in Dresden?] took him to the house of a great master, (Sebastian Bach, father of all the Bachs, as far as I can recall). Already astonished by the preludes [this may indicate improvisation] of this skilful teacher on the clavichord, he was moved to tears by an adagio which followed, and hardly waiting for the end of the piece, threw himself around the artist’s neck and cried: it is the king of instruments ...’

La Borde’s *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 1780
(Quoted in the *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 1988.)

The apparent history of relegation to the nursery along with the comparative scarcity of good or well set-up instruments has led to that other ill-founded notion that the clavichord was little more than a practice instrument, an undernourished younger brother to harpsichord and organ, whose merits found their eventual realisation only in the pianoforte. Bach’s logorrhoeic Hamburg contemporary, Johann Mattheson, spells-out the contemporary professionals’ view for the ‘*Galant Homme*’ unequivocally in his *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*

the clavichord over the piano. He suggests the use of the soft pedal, should the piano be the only option, which may be the first documented account of historical performance practice. So, when did it all end? If ‘it’ did end, it was not long after the last giant instruments were built in Norway in the 1820s till the revival, beginning with Dolmetsch, in the 1890s. In the meantime, the Scandinavian instruments at least continued in regular use and Brahms and Bruckner are said to have owned clavichords too. As I hope is clear, the greatest musicians had the clavichord at the centre of their creative lives.

Even if instruments such as Fortbians and Clavecins Royals do not merit the formation of a national society, surely they deserve better attention than they have enjoyed thus far. And if the Early Music movement has taught us anything, surely it is that naïve Darwinianisms do not apply where musical instruments are concerned. A great deal of work remains to be done: Michael Cole mentions in the *Envoi* to his excellent monograph on the early piano, of the proposed two to three percent of instruments that survive, not all have yet been fully examined. The combination of players and instruments that has restored the music of the Baroque to life has had limited effect on the later part of the century. This is the period when the clavichord had its greatest vogue and yet how often do we hear it in this repertoire? It was Christopher Hogwood who pointed-out that much of the music of Haydn and Mozart published for ‘Clavecin’ or ‘Fortepiano’ is in fact clavichord repertoire *incognito*. But let us not forget the hard work necessary in order to realise all of this in sound. In a letter written about 1529 by the poet and scientist Pietro Bembo to his daughter Elena, the industry required of those who would begin to play has no bones made about it:

“With regard to your request to learn how to play the monochord, I must tell you that since you are so young, you cannot yet know that playing is only good for frivolous and idle women. It would give you little pleasure and fame if you were to play badly. But in order to play well you would have to spend ten to twelve years without thinking about anything else. If your friends want you to play for their pleasure, tell them that you do not want to become ridiculous, and had better remain satisfied with science and needlework.”

Quoted in Bodky’s *The Interpretation of Bach’s Keyboard Works*.

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In memoriam Howard Schott.



Fig.5 Clavichord by Peter Bavington, London, 2002 after attrib. J.H. Silbermann, n.d. www.bavington.nildram.co.uk

One of our advocates, writing in the later part of the century, complains about the scarcity of good clavichords in his area of South Germany and berates the locals for the prevalence of ‘fortepianos, *clavecins royaux* [sic] and *fortbiens*’. The comparatively late development of the tangent piano or *Tangentenflügel* by Späth and Schmah, with something of the clavichord and

harpichord about its tone, is an interesting one but we still have no examples in this country (See discography). This instrument was presumably known to Mozart who compared Späth’s instruments with Stein’s fortepianos in a famous letter of 1777. The instrument he bought, possibly second-hand (he *would* have that expensive red coat) and used weekly for public concerts, however, was a fortepiano by Walther that was fitted on top of a second pedal instrument, which, according to Leopold, was about two feet longer and ‘amazingly heavy’. Evidence of its use is found in the autograph of the D minor piano concerto. (See R.Maunders, “Mozart’s Keyboard Instruments”, *Early Music*, 20/2 (1992), 207-19 and *ditto* with Rowland.D, “Mozart’s Pedal-Piano”, *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 287-96.)

Yet it was a clavichord by Stein for use while on travelling that Mozart possessed. While in Paris in 1778, Leopold again wrote to Wolfgang: ‘If you could get hold of a good clavichord [*Clavicord*] like ours, you would find it better and more useful than a harpsichord [*Flügel*].’ Wolfgang played on all sorts of keyboards during his travels but it was not a simple progression from harpsichord to fortepiano: For instance, he is known to have delighted an audience in Dresden on both fortepiano and clavichord during a visit there as late as 1789. A second, larger clavichord was the instrument, Constanze later attested, which he used during the composition of *The Magic Flute*, *La Clemenza di Tito* and the *Requiem*. His friend Haydn had left for London without him and, although he later returned with a fine English grand pianoforte, it was a five-octave clavichord by the local Bohak bought, probably in 1795, that was the instrument he continued to play until his last illness. The 1819 Peters edition of Friedemann Bach’s twelve exquisite polonaises published, due to popular demand it would seem, by Forkel’s pupil Griepenkerl, again favours

of 1713. Stating that the clavichord was ‘beloved above all’ (*vor Allem beliebt*) other keyboard instruments for the performance of ‘overtures, sonatas, toccatas, suites, etc, Mattheson gives the best possible reason for this: because it permits a ‘singing style’ with overholding and softening of notes much better than was possible on the spinet and harpsichord. This ‘singing style’ was the instrumentalist’s sonic goal and is reflected in Bach’s preface to his Two- and Three-part Inventions (1723) where the didactic aim of the music is specified as being ‘above all to achieve a *cantabile* manner of playing ...’ (*eine cantabile Art im Spielen*). This may well point to an articulated keyboard style reflecting the effect of phrasing and consonants in singing rather than a blanket legato. It may also point to the unsurpassed flexibility of the voice in dynamic nuance as Mattheson, himself a singer, notes how the clavichord excels here in contrast to the ‘always equally loud, resonant harpsichord’. That other well-known treatise, C.P.E. Bach’s *Versuch*, is prescriptive:

The whole approach to performance will be greatly aided and simplified by the supplementary study of voice wherever possible and by listening closely to good singers.

C.P.E. Bach ‘*Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*’ Berlin, 1753, Introduction, paragraph 20. Translated by William Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, New York, 1949.

Mattheson is useful for providing further pieces of evidence that help clarify the clavichord quandary. Nomenclature has dogged the question of ‘which instrument?’ for early keyboard music and whereas it has become generally known that ‘The Well-tempered Clavier’ suggests any keyboard instrument including the organ (cf. Walther, *Claviatura*, op.cit), the term is still variable in the extent of its application: For the Viennese, the harpsichord seems to have been the commonest clavier up to and including the time of Haydn and Mozart. See Maunders, R. *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*, Oxford, 1998, which includes a masterly disentangling and rationalisation of terminology. In the German-speaking lands, when the Italian terms ‘*Clavicembalo*’ or simply ‘*Cembalo*’ *tout court* or the French ‘*Clavecin*’ appear on publications and manuscripts of keyboard music, then the clavichord is still a legitimate or preferable option, especially when there are dynamics that cannot be performed on a harpsichord. These terms are simply the generic equivalents of the word *Clavier*.

Hubert Henkel has shown that in Bach’s Leipzig the clavichord was

the commonest household keyboard instrument. Unfretted or *bundfrei* instruments, in which each key has its own strings, were known from at least the 1690s. A four-octave instrument from C to c''', reflecting the normal compass of the organ manual, seems to have been commonest but should we then conclude that unfretted instruments (of which only three are known for the period before 1742, the earliest dated 1712) or indeed larger types of instruments were 'extremely uncommon before 1740'? Fretted instruments, in which two or more adjacent notes share the same strings, only seem to have been the norm if the surviving proportion of instruments is anything to go by; but what has come down to us is a seemingly random and surely minute cross-section from which it is dangerous to draw as many positivist conclusions as has recently been attempted. As Derek Adlam has pointed out, the instruments from Bach's environs are not known to have survived and 'fretted clavichord' does not necessarily mean either 'smaller' or 'inferior': the limitations imposed by fretting are not insurmountable; the lessons to be learnt from the increased need for articulation many; Even *The 48* presents few problems of playability on such an instrument. They continued to be made in the later eighteenth century by good makers who must have appreciated that they often sound freer and more beautiful than unfretted instruments.

There have been attempts to ascribe various keyboard works by Bach to specific instruments. This flies in the face of what is known to have been a flexible situation with composers not generally willing to ascribe music to any one instrument until C.P.E. Bach's *Probestücke*, written to illustrate his 'Versuch' published in 1753. While calling for clavichord-specific effects here, the composer still gives advice on how to treat his many dynamic markings on a double-manual harpsichord. Very few works are assigned to the double-manual harpsichord by any of the Bachs and even the 'Italian Concerto' was originally conceived without the changes of manual that are, in any case, unsatisfactory as designated in *Clavier-Übung II*. The proviso that the clavichord was the most readily available, is illustrated by Adlung, a pupil for whom Bach had played music including Marchand's magnificent suite in D minor:

A clavichord is the best clavier for learning; and indeed, to play, for those who want to perform the Mannieren and the Affects properly. Although the word Clavier has a general meaning, the clavichord is principally understood thereby. For teaching purposes, a pedal board could easily be fitted underneath. A description of them is not necessary here, because every child is familiar with such instruments, so we

Adlung suggested the addition of pedals to the clavichord for teaching purposes and adds that both types were common. The pedal clavichord had been known since the fifteenth century and there is evidence of Bach using such an instrument at home:

He was also able, if a single bass part was laid before him (and often it was a poorly figured one), immediately to play from it a trio or quartet; nay, he even went so far, when he was in a cheerful humour and in the full consciousness of his powers, as to add extempore to three single parts a fourth part, and thus to make a quartet of a trio. For these purposes he used two clavichords [manuals] and the pedal, or a harpsichord with two sets of keys, provided with a pedal.

Forkel, op.cit, p.28

A great deal of work has been carried out in the last ten or so years on copying and playing the one extant double-manual clavichord with pedal. This is nicely summarized in Joel Speerstra's fascinating and thorough book. It certainly deserves the attention of more than organists or those interested in the clavichord and manages to dispel myth while avoiding myopic arguments about 'which instrument' for the *Passacaglia* and Trio Sonatas.

Clearly many horses were jostling for position in what was ultimately an overcrowded race.

The inventory of Bach's estate mentions two lute-harpsichords, probably those he had commissioned from Hildebrandt (See discography). We know Emmanuel Bach possessed a clavichord as well as a *Clavecin Royal* by C.E. Friederici of Gera in Saxony, bought from the family after the maker's death in 1780. Friederici, who worked alongside his brother, was one of the most celebrated and innovative, not to mention expensive, clavichord and harpsichord builders of the era. He was also famed for another type of piano called the *Fortbien*, which was square and possibly fitted with several stops; but who has ever heard one? We know that the Mozart family in Salzburg possessed a Friederici harpsichord of the 'classic' disposition; probably their large, five-octave clavichord listed in an inventory, was by the same maker. Certainly, when Leopold wrote to Wolfgang about visiting Stein's workshop, he advised him 'not to mention our instruments from Gera' as he believed Stein to be jealous of their maker.

others because they are not yet in general use, there are two which have been widely acclaimed, the harpsichord and the clavichord ['die Flügel und Clavichorde']. The former is used in ensembles ['zu starken Musicken'] the latter alone [although he later noted the preference shown by several singers for accompaniment from a clavichord or pianoforte and is known to have played clavier trios with muted violin and cello]. The more recent pianoforte, when it is sturdy and well built, has many fine qualities, although its touch must be carefully worked out, a task which is not without difficulties. It sounds well by itself and in small ensembles. Yet, I hold that a good clavichord, except for its weaker tone, shares equally in the attractiveness of the pianoforte and in addition features the vibrato and portato which I produce by means of added pressure after each stroke. It is at the clavichord that a keyboardist may be most exactly evaluated."

C.P.E Bach, op.cit, Introduction.

Bebung refers to finger vibrato, made possible only on this instrument because the tangent remains in contact with the string while the key is depressed. Türk, in his *Clavierschule* (1789) associates this effect exclusively with pieces of a mournful character, asks that it should not be used too frequently and that exaggeration should be avoided.

In the fifteenth paragraph of the introduction he notes that a good clavichordist makes an accomplished harpsichordist, but not the reverse. Most interestingly perhaps, this is amplified by an observation possibly heard first from his father: Those who play only the harpsichord become accustomed to playing in only one colour [*in einer Farbe zu spielen*], and, in spite of the ostensibly automaton nature of the instrument, the varied touch which a good clavichordist can easily bring-out, remains hidden. Hiller wrote a lengthy treatise on singing, which demands the most of any and leaves us to conclude that this era witnessed the greatest refinement in *Bel Canto*, which few of today's voices can approach. This is reflected in contemporary clavichord treatises. Quite apart from each player sounding different, a phenomenon which Quantz notices even at the harpsichord, Emmanuel Bach and Wolf ask for the performance of ornaments with certain notes separated by a pulling back of the fingers away from the ends of the keys. This technique, known as 'Schleifen' or 'Schnellen' or today, *Kratzen* (scratching), was a distinguishing marker of the German school as exemplified in J.S. Bach's playing; it allows for great refinement, both in ornamentation and articulation (See bibliography).

simply annex some information about improvements that can be added to them... [He continues by describing a lute-stop, which brings small pieces of leather into contact with the strings] ... Clavichords with the Pantalon stop are found nowadays in great number everywhere: that is, when under each pair of strings, to the right of the tangents, metal jacks are worked with a stop. They are sometimes called The Celestial [Cölestin] perhaps from their beautiful and almost heavenly sound.

Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit*, Erfurt, 1758.

There are only two such instruments currently in a serviceable state. The mingled harmonies of sympathetic and undamped strings have a charming effect and were a tribute to the renowned dulcimer virtuoso, Pantaleon Hebenstreit. This effect was imitated on Silbermann's pianos, which have stops to lift the dampers off the treble and bass registers, to the player's right and left. This was considered by C.P.E. Bach to be the instrument's most pleasing registration.

Adlung was well acquainted with both clavichord and organ construction and having written 'The clavier is the most noble and perfect instrument' the restrictions of many had then to be mentioned: 'Some have disdained it because of its quietness [literally: 'hoarseness']; and it is certainly true that many [clavichords] are much too soft ...A number of clavichords sound loud, others soft. These former deserve praise, the others do not.' He continues: 'A clavichord must sound strong, but not in that banging way, but sweet and harp-like. It should also *sustain* sweetly and *long* [my italics]. This is the very point that causes instrument builders much concern, and it is rare that the clavichords turn-out as they would like.'

Adlung, *Musica Mechanica Organoedi*, Berlin, 1768, pp.144, 146, 148 and 152.

Organ-builders known to Bach, including Gottfried Silbermann and Zacharias Hildebrandt, built other keyboard instruments including clavichords. This is clear from Hildebrandt's 1745 inventory of the sixteen stringed keyboard instruments that he and his assistants made on their holidays ("bey Feyer Abende"), mainly for the burghers of Leipzig and Dresden, while building the organ in the Wenzelskirche (!). The term *Clavir* is used for the least expensive type of instrument, costing 10 to 15 Taler. *Spinets* are priced at 24 Taler, and *Clavicymbels* i.e. harpsichords, at 100 to 185 Taler. *Clavir* obviously refers to clavichord, which would cost a buyer between two and three times as much as the printed edition of 'The Art of Fugue' issued in 1751,

priced 5 Taler. These clavichords are not known to have survived although five thought to have been built by Gottfried's nephew Johann Heinrich, and no fewer than fourteen by his apprentice, Specken, have (figs.4 and 5). This central German or Saxon school of building is distinct from the Hamburg school, not only in appearance (plain oak was apparently the norm) but also in touch and tone. It has been suggested that the instrument reportedly given by J.S. Bach to C.P.E. Bach on his leaving home in 1736 may have been the celebrated Silbermann instrument:

“Thus Hr. Kapellmeister Bach in Hamburg owned an instrument by him [Silbermann] for almost fifty years, which because of its wonderfully loud and singing tone, is famed throughout Europe”.

Gerber, *Musikalisches Lexicon*, 1790-92, p.515

Just how exceptional this instrument was, is vividly described by J.F. Reichardt:

Not only does Bach play a slow, singing adagio with the most touching expression (to the embarrassment of many instrumentalists who could imitate the voice with less difficulty on their own instruments), he sustains, even in this tempo, a note six quavers long with all degrees of loudness, both in the bass and the treble. But this is perhaps possible only on his very fine Silbermann clavichord for which he has written sonatas in which sustained notes occur. And it is the same with the extraordinary power which Bach can give to a passage: it is the utmost fortissimo. Another clavichord would go to pieces under it. Likewise his most delicate pianissimo would not sound at all on another clavichord.

When Emanuel gave this instrument in 1781 to a nobleman who had hearing problems, he wrote his celebrated *Farewell to my Silbermann Clavier* implying that by this time the term was synonymous with clavichord. Early uses of clavier to mean clavichord are Valentin Trichter's 1742 *Lexicon* for elegant young men and the 1751 edition of Marpurg's *Die Kunst das Klavier zu Spielen* or 'The Art of Keyboard Playing', a rewriting of Couperin's *L'art de toucher le clavecin*. This is supplemented by numerous uses from the later eighteenth century but also by Mattheson who specifically mentions 'the tangents ... of the Clavier', in the *Mittlere Stufe* of his *Grosse General-Baß-Schule* or 'Great Thorough-Bass School' of 1731 (near-complete translation in *Johann Mattheson's Forty-Eight Thorough-Bass Test Pieces* ...Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1956 by Harvey P. Reddick). This compendium of improvisatory techniques, addressing the aspiring professional, is a most worthwhile treatise, not least because it works through all the keys twice. The original

What a pity it is that the baroque piano is such a *rara avis* whose distribution hardly extends to this country. This is all the more when we hear how well good copies can sound (see fig.7 and discography). 'The harpsichord is an expressive and lyrical instrument', was Kenneth Leighton's cant and he was not wrong but one does detect a certain relief at the piano's ascendancy among professional musician writers of the time. Emmanuel Bach does not mention the single-manual harpsichord other than to say that it was the accompanist's biggest embarrassment. He continues:

Consequently ...because of the various ways in which their loudness and softness may be gradually changed, the clavichord and the pianoforte have many advantages over the harpsichord and organ ... (Versuch, Part II, Berlin, 1763).

Hiller, who was Bach's successor in Leipzig and first conductor of the Gewandhaus there, was specific about the harpsichord's limitations:

A raven-quilled and well-scaled harpsichord has for long proven to be the most useful instrument for accompaniments, solo pieces and concertos. What one could find rather to reproach it is that, if it is not equipped with two manuals, one cannot perform forte and piano except through increasing or decreasing the parts in a very unsatisfactory manner.

J.A.Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik Betreffend*, Leipzig, 1769, p.32

Hiller then relates how he and Monsieur Daquin of Nôtre-Dame in Paris had shared the pleasure of playing on a piano by Silbermann who, until then, had been the only one building them. He then praises the efforts of Stein of Augsburg, whose fortepianos later so excited Mozart's admiration.

Distinguished players of today, including Derek Adlam and Menno van Delft, who is Leonhardt's replacement at the Sweelinck Conservatoire, have commented that the sound of the clavichord is not inherently beautiful, as it has to be created by the player. Any unevenness of touch is made all too clear and any lack of focus roundly rejected by the instrument. This is why the clavichord prepares us for performance on all other keyboard instruments so well. Let us turn back to the foremost authority of the clavichord's heyday:

“Of the many kinds [of keyboard instrument], some of which remain little known because of defects [partly an oblique reference to the Cembal d'Amour?],

perhaps in 1732, Bach gave Silbermann his 'warmest praise' and Forkel reports that fifteen of the improved fortepianos were sold to the Prussian court. As is well known, Bach was given a theme by Frederick the Great on which to improvise a fugue on one of these instruments which later became part of 'The Musical Offering.' Less well known is that the 'harpsichord concertos' and other works from the 1730s onwards may also have been originally intended for the piano.

The name 'pianoforte' or the German 'Fortepiano' took some time to catch on: Bach wrote a receipt for the sale of 'an instrument called *Piano et Forte*', in 1749 (See Bach-Dokumente III, Kassel, 1972, no.633, transl. in *The New Bach Reader*, New York and London, 1998, no.262.) This is the term inscribed on the Silbermann instrument still standing in Frederick's Palace of *Sans Souci* at Potsdam. This instrument was restored and subsequently afforded some measure of vindication by Paul Badura-Skoda who describes it as 'a fully developed fortepiano' with a fluent and light enough action which 'sounds enchanting.' (See his book 'Interpeting Bach at the Keyboard', Oxford 1993, pp.157-69). This must have been the type of instrument Frederick's flute teacher Quantz had in mind when he wrote:

It is true that on the harpsichord, especially if it has only one keyboard, volume of tone cannot be augmented or diminished as well as upon the the instrument called pianoforte, in which the strings are not plucked with quills, but struck with hammers.

After describing some of the harpsichordist's tricks of the dynamics trade, which may have been a reaction to the massive Italian style described by Heinichen, he does admit Mattheson's octave-doublings as standard for a *mezzo forte* and continues:

On a harpsichord with a two keyboards, you have the additional advantage of being able to use the upper keyboard for the Pianissimo. But on a pianoforte everything required may be accomplished with the greatest convenience, for this instrument, of all those that are designated by the word keyboard, has the greatest number of qualities necessary for good accompaniment, and depends for its effect only upon the player and his judgement. The same is true of a good clavichord with regard to playing, but not with regard to effect, since it lacks the Fortissimo.

Joachim Quantz *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen*
...Berlin, 1752 XVII, Section VI, 9 & 17, Translated as 'On Playing the Flute', by Edward R.Reilly, London 1966, rev.ed.1998.

version was published in 1719 as *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* and so pre-dates the first part of Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier*. In the commentary to the first piece for two claviers, he advises that this medium is the ideal for instruction. *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (roughly 'Complete Conductor') of 1739, in which Mattheson issued a challenge in fugal writing which may well have been aimed at Bach, and Heinichen's *Der Generalbaß in der Composition*, for which Bach was the Leipzig agent, both mention, albeit fleetingly, the clavichord as an instrument of accompaniment; Mattheson reminisces about one Kapellmeister who sat daily at his clavichord and played as he sang new ornamentations to arias. In a publication of 1725, having commented that the English harpsichordists did not care for the clavichord, Mattheson adds:

"Clavichords must be found in England, at least among the many Germans there. Here in Hamburg there are people who annually send as many clavichords as they can manufacture to England, Spain and Holland. Where are they indeed?"

Critica Musica, pp.150-1

They may be represented by several found in collections here (figs.2-4). Mattheson notes that the English harpsichordists did not care for the instrument but later in the century clavichords are mentioned in instrument builders' newspaper advertisements. Nor was the instrument unknown in France: A list of professional musicians' inventories of the period 1557-1793 tallies 144 stringed keyboard instruments of which 14 were clavichords including one belonging to Armand-Louis Couperin. Could this have been some reflection of what remained a typically German phenomenon? See Knights, F., *The Galpin Society Journal* Number XLIV, March 1991: *Some Observations on the Clavichord in France*; Also, Hogwood, C., *De Clavicordio*VI, Magnano 2003: *The Clavichord and its repertoire in France and England before 1700*.

Handel reportedly told Bernard Granville, on presenting him with a copy of Krieger's *Anmuthige Clavier-Übung*, that he had 'in his youth formed himself upon his plan, and said that Krieger was one of the best of his time for the organ, and to form a good player, but the clavichord must be made use of by beginners instead of the organ or harpsichord.' Glanville's sister, Mrs. Delany, writes mentioning her daughter practising on one in the adjacent room; the generally smaller size, relative cheapness and quieter tone of the clavichord were, and remain, virtues to recommend it over the harpsichord. Incidentally, I mentioned in my last article that the provenance of the piano that Handel played in London must necessarily be a matter of speculation.

This is not so: It came here from Italy in 1732 and would therefore have been built most probably either by Cristofori or by his assistant, Giovanni Ferrini. (See Donald Burrows' recent weighty tome of Handelian documents from OUP and Stewart Pollens' article in *The Galpin Society Journal* issue cited above.)

So we must turn briefly to Domenico Scarlatti, whose highly original and varied sonatas have never been out of the repertoire. There is no evidence that Scarlatti played the clavichord but it is unlikely that it was unknown to him. Cristofori, the inventor of the pianoforte c.1695, enjoyed the patronage of Ferdinando de' Medici as did the Scarlattis, and a somewhat idiosyncratic clavichord by him has survived. Clearly, the Scarlattis were well placed to know of developments in instrument making and it is most unlikely that Domenico had to wait until his escape to Spain before encountering the pianoforte, of which there were several at Queen Maria Barbara's court, or that Handel did not encounter it during his first sojourn in Italy. It is interesting to surmise if Bach knew Scarlatti's sonatas and it is perhaps significant that the Leipzig Bachs exchanged hospitality with Hasse and his wife, Faustina Bordoni, who had sung for Handel in London. The story is told that she only consented to the marriage after Hasse had played-off two of Scarlatti's most demanding sonatas for her perfectly *prima vista*. It is difficult to imagine such a musical magpie as J.S. Bach not spying these glittering gems even from a distance. However, there is a clear reference to Scarlatti's music being prepared on the clavichord from Dr.Charles Burney's stay in Vienna in 1772. On the evening of 3 September, the good doctor made his way to the home of a Monsieur L'Augier, who was physician to the Imperial Court. As had been promised, the entertainment included a girl eight or nine years of age, who 'played two difficult lessons of Scarlatti with three or four of M.Becke, upon a small and not good Pianoforte.' The child did however impress Burney, not so much with the neatness of her playing, which was good but with its *expression*:

All the pianos and fortes were so judiciously attended to, and there was such shading off some passages, and force given to others, as nothing but the best teaching, or greatest natural feeling and sensibility could produce. I enquired of Signor Giorgio, an Italian, who attended her, upon what instrument she usually practised at home, and was answered, 'On the Clavichord'. This accounts for her expression, and convinces me that children should learn upon that, or at a Piano Forte.

Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany* I, p.278.

This may in fact reflect something of Scarlatti's own playing when we recall the words of Handel's first biographer, Mainwaring, who noted, in the context of the celebrated keyboard contest at Cardinal Ottoboni's residence: "The characteristic excellence of Scarlatti seems to have consisted in a certain elegance and delicacy of expression."

It appears that in the North of Germany, the term 'clavier' was virtually synonymous with 'clavichord' by the later part of the century. The instrument's popularity seems to have grown, as it became the centre of something of an Enlightenment cult. Poems addressed to the instrument, '*An das Clavier*', with titles such as '*O, mein schönes Clavichord*', ('Oh, my lovely clavichord') were set to music and sung at the keyboard (See bibliography). The *Empfindsamer Stil* or 'highly sensitive style' of C.P.E. Bach and others, with its, at times, abrupt oratory and mercurial changes of mood, the antithesis of the *Rococo* style, found its perfect medium in domestic settings with the expressive clavichord.

It is noteworthy that Burney mentions only one piano during his two-week stay in the city. Having made the acquaintance of several distinguished musicians and their Maecenases, he otherwise mentioned only the harpsichord except when he tramped all the way to an unfashionable suburb and up many flights of stairs where he found Vanhal in straitened circumstances. The composer obliged his guest with a performance of six new sonatas due for publication, on a clavichord. It was to be another decade or so before Vienna caught-up with Paris and London in the matter of the new-fangled pianoforte.

For J.S. Bach however, the instrument was far from unknown and, contrary to popular opinion, far from undeveloped. Bach may have encountered Schröter's 'invention' at Dresden during the time of his contest with Louis Marchand in 1717, incidentally, reported as a trial of skill on the 'Clavier' and not, as 'The Lives of the Great Composers Book I' (Ladybird Books, 1969) would have us believe, at the organ. Mattheson published Maffei's diagram of Cristofori's mechanism in 1725 and Silbermann may have presented Bach with his first efforts as early as the 1720s. According to Bach's pupil Agricola, they were found to be weak in the treble and too heavy in touch; this may be the origin of Forkel's remark quoted above. However, such criticism was taken to heart by Silbermann who then spent years perfecting the design. Finally,