Pianos and Other "Expressive" Claviere in J.S. Bach’s Circle

John Koster

**Part One**

The occasion, in May 1747, when J.S. Bach visited the court of Frederick the Great in Potsdam, near Berlin, is well known.¹ There the Prussian king gave Bach a theme on which to improvise a fugue. This theme became the basis of Bach’s *Musical Offering*, of which the opening three-part *Ricercar* is assumed to be a written-down version of the improvisation. According to a contemporary newspaper account, Frederick dictated his theme on "the so-called *forte und piano*," on which instrument Bach also played the fugue, according to the obituary of Bach by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel and pupil Johann Friedrich Agricola (the former certainly an eyewitness to the occasion, the latter possibly also). This instrument had undoubtedly been made by Gottfried Silbermann, the great organ builder of Freiberg (Saxony), who also made stringed-keyboard instruments of the highest repute.² Records indicate that the court purchased a *Piano et Forte* from him in December 1746, and a Silbermann grand piano made in that year still exists at the palace Sans Souci.³

Until recently J.S. Bach’s experience with the piano has usually been regarded as being so fleeting, so unsatisfactory, and so near the end of his life that the instrument is essentially irrelevant to his life and work.⁴ In modern historically informed performance one occasionally hears the keyboard parts of the *Musical Offering* played on some sort of "fortepiano," and that is all. Otherwise, it has generally been assumed that all other Bach works for Clavier should be played on the harpsichord or clavichord.

In recent decades, however, several important documents have been discovered, and sources long available have been re-evaluated. In light of these, scholars have reconsidered the significance of the piano in Bach’s musical life in a number of studies, many written during the years surrounding the 1985 Bach tercentenary.⁵ Certain writers involved with the revival of the Classical-period *Fortepiano* have seized every opportunity to speculate that hammer-action keyboard instruments would have been available to Bach as early as the 1720s. The present article is a summary of the historical sources, together with my own interpretation of their significance. My approach is as broadly based as possible, drawing together contemporary documents, extant instruments of the period, and Bach’s keyboard music itself. While it cannot be claimed that the piano played a central role among Bach’s keyboard instruments, one can demonstrate the likelihood that Bach was familiar with hammer-action instruments during the last two decades of his life and that he approved of efforts to make and improve these instruments. Thus the Potsdam episode can be seen as a culmination of Bach’s involvement with the piano, not as an abortive beginning.

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From the start, one must bear in mind that the piano was first devised in response to a perceived musical need: an instrument from which a solo performer could elicit a complete musical texture with the possibility of dynamic shading. Although in the hands of a virtuoso even primarily melodic instruments could approach this ideal (hence Bach’s solo compositions for solo violin, cello, and flute), even certain instruments with inherent polyphonic capabilities, such as the lute, were regarded as too unwieldy for widespread cultivation.⁶ An obvious solution was the keyboard, to which musicians had long been accustomed as a means of controlling sources of sound as dissimilar as those of the clavichord, the harpsichord, and the organ. Thus, efforts were directed toward devising a keyboard instrument better capable of actual dynamic nuance than the harpsichord or organ. In Germany, early inklings of this desire are provided

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Pianos and Other Claviere
(continued from page 1)
by the markings forte, piano, and più piano found in
two movements of Johann Kuhnau's Biblical Sonatas
of 1700. Those in example 1, from the third sonata
(Jacob's Wedding), might have been played on a three-
manual organ, but--in that they are not quite direct
echoes--the disparity of tone color and the spatial
separation of the pipework of the three manuals might
well have been regarded as disruptive. The sonata
might, of course, have been played on the clavichord,
but on the triple-fretted instruments most typical in that
period certain other passages of the third sonata, such
as Example 2 with its simultaneously sounded g' and
a', and Example 3 with its c'-b'-c'' and a'-g'-a'
apparently intended to be played legato, would not
necessarily have been performable as written, because
those adjacent notes would have shared the same
strings.

Just as, in the same period, similar musical impera-
tives in other countries led to the development of new
or improved instruments (for example, Bartolomeo
Cristofori's invention of the piano in Florence shortly
before 1700, or the provision of a swell mechanism in
some English organs), so in Germany did instrument
makers develop new technologies in their efforts to
deviser an expressive Clavicembald. These led, for instance,
to the revival of the bowed-stringed-keyboard Geigen-
werk and the development of lute-harpischords.

In this context, the development of unfretted
clavichords, in which there are none of the limitations
of fretted instruments in playing legato or in remote
keys, was inevitable. The tradition, reported by J.N.
Forkel, that J.S. Bach "liked best to play upon the
clavichord" might well contain more than a grain of
truth. Nevertheless, an episode occurring in 1715 and
recounted decades later by Christoph Gottlieb Schröter
is illustrative.7 Schröter, who was to become a col-
league of Bach in the 1740s, was then a teenager stu-
dent in Dresden, himself with a number of pupils
whom he instructed on the clavichord. When they used
a harpsichord at recitals for their parents, he found that
they could not play in the same stylish manner that
they had been taught. After considering the problem,
Schröter took up the Nuremberg Geigenwerk (see
illustration) as an expressive keyboard instrument
louder than the clavichord. The strings of the Geigen-
werk, first developed by Hans Haiden of Nuremberg in
the late sixteenth century, were sounded by rosined
wheels acting like the bow of a viol.8 Because the
player's finger remained mechanically linked to a
string when it was played, there was, according to con-
temporary accounts, some control over dynamics.
Schröter, however, objecting to the unseemliness of
working the instrument's treadsles "like a linen weaver"
—continued on page 3

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to keep the wheels in motion, soon abandoned the Geigenwerk. Although others, including C.P.E. Bach, subsequently took up instruments of this type, their inherent complexities were apparently such as to forestall their widespread use.

It should be said at the outset that the mainstream of piano development in Germany was the result of Cristofori’s influence. There was, however, a tributary stream which was present in Germany before the Italian maker’s work became known there and which long remained influential. Pantaleon Hebenstreit, shortly before 1700, devised a large hammered dulcimer that was named the Pantaleon in his honor. This instrument, although very difficult to master, fulfilled the requirements for a polyphonic instrument with dynamic nuance. (It is significant that Kuhnau, Bach’s predecessor in Leipzig, learned to play it.)

The qualities of the instrument and Hebenstreit’s virtuosity were such that in 1714 he obtained a prominent position at the Dresden court. As a direct result of this Schröter, disillusioned with the Geigenwerk, was inspired (according to his later account) to make a hammer-action keyboard instrument after having heard Hebenstreit play the Pantaleon in 1717. Because of Schröter’s youth and low position, however, he could do no more than have an action model made; and he had to abandon this model when circumstances forced him to leave Dresden hastily, shortly after he, according to his own account, had demonstrated his model to August the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, on 11 February 1721 between 8 and 9 in the morning. Schröter later claimed that this model was the source of all hammer-action keyboard instruments.

There is some tantalizing evidence that, about the same time, Bach himself was also involved in designing an innovative keyboard instrument, the gut-strung lute-harpsichord. According to documents reported to have been seen in the nineteenth century, the Cöthen court, during Bach’s tenure as Capellmeister (1717-1723), acquired a Lautenclavicymbel made by a local cabinetmaker according to Bach’s specifications. Except that it cost sixty thalers, no specifics are known. There are, however, contemporary descriptions of several other such instruments, including those made in Jena by J.S. Bach’s second cousin Johann Nicolaus Bach (1669-1753). According to Jacob Adlung, who presumably saw J.N. Bach’s instruments during his student years in Jena (1723-1727), this maker’s most sophisticated lute-harpsichords, which cost 60 thalers (is this mere coincidence?), had three keyboards to provide three dynamic levels, forte, piano, and più piano.

In this instrument, there was only a single set of strings (possibly in pairs in the lower part of the compass, to simulate the double stringing of the lute). Each keyboard had one set of jacks, and all three jacks for each note plucked the same string. The upper-manual jack, plucking the string nearest to its end, where it most resists the plectrum, sounded forte. The middle manual was piano; the bottom, più piano. Because there were no dampers, there would have been no interference between the three sets of jacks, as there would be with conventional jacks. (If, for example, on a normal harpsichord a set of jacks on the lower manual plucks the same strings as a set of jacks on the upper manual, one of the sets must be turned off so as to disengage its dampers when the set of jacks on the other manual is used.) Because of the lack of damping, the string should continue to sound even after the player’s finger released the key; in
ing plucking points.
To take an example from later in J.S. Bach’s career, when about 1740 he collaborated with the Leipzig builder Zacharias Hildebrandt in making a lute-harpsichord, one might imagine that a passage from the second movement of the *Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro* "pour le Luth ò Cembal" (BWV 998), notated as in Example 4, could be played on a three-manual lute harpsichord with dynamics as suggested in example 4. On such an instrument the aural integrity of even an appoggiatura divided between two keyboards would be maintained, just as one can play similar figures détaché on the modern piano with its dampers raised. This manner of performance is, needless to say, pure speculation, but one should note that multiple-manual interplay almost as complex was a traditional part of the organist’s skill.

(Elaborate echo passages in the works of J.P. Sweelinck and his German pupils come to mind—most notably the cyclical interplay, probably intended for four manuals, in a *Fantasia on Ein jeste Burg* preserved in the Pelplin tablature under Heinrich Scheidemann’s initials. Nevertheless, the obvious difficulty of playing the lute-harpsichord in such an "expressive" manner, no less than the instability and expense of gut strings (Agricola called 60 thalers "a shocking price"), would have been an insurmountable obstacle to the instrument’s general acceptance.

About the same time that J.S. Bach was involved with the lute-harpsichord in Cöthen and C.G. Schröter was developing his hammer-action model, Gottfried Silbermann also was working on a new type of instrument, the *Cembal d’Amour.* It was commissioned by the wife of the Saxon Elector’s privy secretary and court poet Johann Ulrich König, who was the author of a pamphlet describing and praising the organ that Silbermann completed for the Dresden Sophienkirche in November 1720. Frau

The Nuremberg Geigenwerk, from Praetorius’ *Syntagma Musicum* (II) (1619).

addition, many of the other strings would vibrate sympathetically. Thus, one might surmise that the player’s hands could move from keyboard to keyboard, even within a single musical gesture, without the discontinuity of tone that is apparent upon changing keyboard or stops on a normal harpsichord. The differing plucking points of the lute-harpsichord’s three sets of jacks would, of course, result in a slightly different tone quality—more nasal on the upper manual, more flutey on the bottom manual—but this was not mentioned by Adlung, who stressed the difference in volume, not timbre. The inherently gentle sound of gut strings, the masking effect of the undamped sound, and the natural tendency of softer sounds to be less bright, would have minimized the perceptible effects of vary-
König sought a stringed-keyboard instrument with "the power and usefulness of a small harpsichord but also the sensitivity [Zärtlichkeit] of a clavichord." Thus, the raison d'être of the Cembal d'Amour was essentially the same as that of the piano, and, according to Johann Mattheson, Herr König intended (but apparently never did find the time) to write a detailed comparison of the merits of Silbermann's instrument with "the Florentine" instruments, i.e., Cristofori's pianos. Although Silbermann could hardly have been unaware of Hebenstreit and the Pantaleon (it is known that, at least later in the 1720s, Silbermann made Pantaleons) and although König might well have been aware of Schröter's hammer-action model, Silbermann, in devising the new stringed-keyboard instrument, either did not consider a hammer action or rejected the idea. Completed by July 1721 (after "more than a year and a day of unremitting diligence and work"), when a description was published, his Cembal d'Amour was an instrument of the clavichord type, with two soundboards and with strings doubled in length so that the portions on both sides of the tangents could sound. (It is worthwhile to note that the instrument was a relatively early example of an unfretted clavichord.)

The Cembal d'Amour was cited as one of the chief examples of Silbermann's skill in the petition that, in 1723, led to his appointment as Hof- und Land-Orgelbauer. Despite its beauties (which can be judged indirectly through reconstructions made by Hugh Gough--no historical example is extant), the Cembal d'Amour was not sufficiently louder than a normal clavichord to function as an expressive instrument that could be used in lieu of the harpsichord. Further, as reported by J.F. Agricola, an inherent problem of the design was that the contact of the tangents with the strings at their midpoints resulted in too flexible a touch, which tended to lead to an objectionable sharpening of pitch. Thus, while a few makers, one as far away as Sweden, made Cembals d'Amour, more fruitful avenues were more generally pursued: the development of the normal clavichord (which proceeded until the early nineteenth century) and the development of other, louder instruments, principally those with hammer actions.

One early imitation of Silbermann's Cembal d'Amour, made by 1728 by Johann Ernst Hähnel, an organbuilder of Meissen, is nevertheless of particular interest. Hähnel's instrument, which he called Cimbel royal, included a device by which the strings could still sound after the key was released. This was almost certainly inspired by the undamped sound of the Pantaleon. (Hebenstreit's testimony on Hähnel's behalf during a subsequent lawsuit with Silbermann suggests that there might have been a prior association between Hähnel and the Pantaleon virtuoso.) The Cimbel royal had another special effect, the zug (lute stop), evidently similar to those in some later clavichords, in which the brass tangents are half-covered with leather (or cloth) so that, if the entire keyboard is moved a small distance backward or forward, metal or leather alternatively touches the strings. The Lautenzug had, since the sixteenth century, been applied to harpsichords in the form of a batten with soft leather pads that could be moved to touch the strings. The leather partially damps the metal strings, thereby imitating the sound of the lute's gut strings, which are internally damped. Although Hähnel's application of the Lautenzug to his clavichord-action instrument could be considered an adaptation from the harpsichord, he might more easily have contrived a leather-covered batten rather than troubling to construct a shifting keyboard. Thus, the idea of alternative hard and soft striking surfaces might have been adopted from Hebenstreit's practice of using alternative sets of Pantaleon hammers, one of plain wood, the other covered with cotton.

Although the Cimbel royal, per se, remained far more obscure than the Cembal d'Amour, both of Hähnel's presumably Pantaleon-derived innovations, the sustaining device (called the Pantaleon- or Coelestin-Zug) and the Lautenzug, were soon afterward occasionally used by makers of otherwise normal clavichords. Jacob Adlung, for example, who took up clavichord making as an avocation in 1732, routinely used both devices, and by the mid-1750s he could write that "today, Pantaleon stops are found everywhere in large numbers." Several historical clavichords with this sustaining device are extant—for example, one made in 1763 by Christian Kintzing of
Neuwied, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).

More significant, however, were efforts to make hammer-action instruments that were more directly imitative of the Pantaleon. C.G. Schröter's later claim that he first conceived this in 1717 is perhaps irrelevant, because an entire instrument did not result. If, however, the idea of a hammer action occurred to a teenager with no experience in instrument making, it might well have occurred to others more knowledgeable, just as it had previously and independently occurred to Cristofori and to Jean Marius in Paris in 1716 (not to mention Henri Arnaut of Zwolle in the fifteenth century). Historically, makers have tended to apply the keyboard to every conceivable source of sound. Attempts to apply a keyboard to the Pantaleon were, then, almost inevitable in Dresden, where Hebenstreit worked. Hänel's application of pantaleonic effects to the clavichord might be regarded as even less obvious than the application of a keyboard to the Pantaleon.

The earliest stages of the history of hammer-action keyboard instruments in Germany are, however, somewhat complicated by the arrival of information about Cristofori's invention of the piano. In 1725 there appeared a German translation, by none other than J.U. König, of Scipione Maffei's account of Cristofori's work, first published in 1711.20 In the litigious atmosphere later evident in the lawsuits of Silbermann vs. Hänel and Hebenstreit vs. Silbermann, König's publication of Maffei's account might have amounted to a preemptive strike, forestalling anyone else's claims to a hammer-action keyboard as an original idea (with such a claim could come the official exclusive rights to make one; Silbermann had recently gone through this kind of process—what we would call a patent--with the Cembal d'Amour).

Assuming this was indeed König's intention and knowing of König's close association with Silbermann, we might infer that Silbermann, already in 1725, was thinking about making a hammer-action instrument—although, as we shall see, there is compelling evidence that he did not actually make one until the early 1730s. In any case, makers in Germany had access both to the Pantaleon and to an account of Cristofori's early work well before we have any clear record of hammer-action instruments having been

*Gottfried Silbermann's "Cembal d'Amour," in a contemporary drawing found by E. van der Straeten among Johann Mattheson's papers.*
made there. We must evaluate, then, in each instance whether subsequent efforts to make such instruments were inspired, directly or indirectly, by Cristofori or by the *Pantaleon* or even, perhaps, by both.

A notice in a Viennese newspaper of 1725 in which an Augsburg organ builder offered for sale "harpischords [Flügel] with and without quills" has recently been brought to light by Eva Badura-Skoda.21 Whether, as has been assumed, an instrument without quills therefore had a hammer action is, perhaps, questionable (it might, for example, have had leather plectra, a bowed action, or a clavichord tangents). Far clearer and far closer to J.S. Bach than Augsburg or Vienna is an advertisement, discovered by Christian Ahrens in a Leipzig newspaper of 1731, for "a new musical instrument," the *Cymbal-Clavir*, "invented and made" by Wahl Friedrich Ficker (also known as Ficker) of Zeitz:

"It is in the form of a 16-foot harpsichord and quadruple strung with wire strings; it surpasses in gravity and force the strongest harpsichord ... and ... is also easy to play even though the little hammers [Hämmerchen] strike the strings from 2-1/2 inches above. In addition it also has several variations [of tone]: 1) a pleasant muting, as if it were played with cloth-covered hammers; 2) by means of a stop one can also limit the jumbled reverberation, just as the cloth in a harpsichord jack quiet the string. The instrument, which is to be had for a reasonable price, has the character of the *Cymbel* invented by the famous Pandalon [i.e., Hebenstreit] and has been admired and approved by many virtuosos."22

It seems quite clear that the *Cymbal-Clavir*, with its downstriking action, alternative hard and soft striking surfaces, and possibility (apparently regarded as the norm) of being played without dampers, was directly inspired by the *Pantaleon* without reference to Cristofori's work. The detail with which the instrument is described and the manner in which it was compared with other, better-known instruments, the harpsichord and the *Pantaleon*, suggest that the instrument was truly thought to be something new and unusual. Although in the eighteenth century "virtuosi" (Virtuosen) had more the meaning of "connoisseurs" rather than specifically "brilliant musical performers," one might well imagine that J.S. Bach was one of those who had seen Ficker's instrument. In any case, knowledge of a hammer-action keyboard instrument can be placed almost literally at Bach's doorstep in Leipzig no later than 1731.

The next documentary evidence of such an instrument in Germany is also associated with Leipzig. In the fifth volume of the *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon*, published by the Leipzig bookseller J.H. Zed-

**Piano et Forte by Gottfried Silbermann, 1749**

ler in 1733, one finds the following at the end of the entry for the *Cembal d'Amour*:

Further, this famous Mr. Silbermann has also quite recently once again invented a new instrument, which he calls the *Piano Fort*, and in the previous year [i.e., 1732] delivered [one] to His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Poland and Lithuania, etc., and Elector of Saxony, and this was very graciously accepted on account of its extraordinarily pleasing tone."

From this clear account one might reasonably comprehend that Silbermann made his first and (as of 1733) only piano in the early 1730s; that he completed this "quite recently" invented instrument by 1732; and that he considered it successful enough to place with the Crown Prince, Friedrich August, who succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father the following year. In 1735 a poem by the Freiberg organist J.C. Erselius marking the dedication of a new Silbermann organ contained the following lines:
Famous Silbermann ...
 [Friedrich] August ...
 Also prizes thy art. Thou showest Him thy strength
 In thy learning, by newly invented works.
 By thy Piano-Forté, which thou originally conceived,
 Thereby impressing the King’s ear itself,
 Thou hast the favor of the same, thus assuring for
 thee
 That there is no other artist that He regards so well.23

In the following year a brief description of "Silbermann’s newly invented curious musical instrument," published in Curiosa Saxonica, noted that the maker "in this year 1736 has once again [i.e., after the Cembal d’Amour] laid before the eyes of the curious world a new musical instrument, which he called the piano & forte."24

A most telling report of Silbermann’s career as a piano maker is provided by J.F. Agricola. It is especially fortunate that this account includes a report of his former teacher J.S. Bach’s attitude toward Silbermann’s Piano et Forte:

Mr. Gottfried Silbermann at first made two of these instruments. The late Capellmeister J.S. Bach saw and played one of these. He praised, even marvelled at the tone but then complained that it sounded too weak in the treble and was quite heavy to play. Mr. Silbermann, who could not abide any criticism of his work at all, took this very badly. Thus he was angry with Mr. Bach for a long time. But nevertheless his conscience told him that Bach was not wrong. For a greater good, therefore, he stopped releasing any more of these instruments, something to be said for his great honor; on the contrary, he thought all the more diligently about the improvement of the faults that had been pointed out by Mr. J.S. Bach. He worked on this for many years. And I do not doubt that this was the true cause of this suspension for I heard it myself most candidly from Mr. Silbermann. Finally, because Mr. Silbermann really did find many improvements, especially with regard to the action, he sold one anew to the princely court at Rudolstadt. ... Shortly thereafter one of these was ordered from Mr. Silbermann for His Majesty the King of Prussia [i.e., Frederick the Great], and, as this found his highest approval, several more in addition. In all these instruments, those persons especially who had seen one of the two old ones, as I had, saw and heard quite clearly how skillfully Mr. Silbermann must have worked on their improvement. Mr. Silbermann also had the praiseworthy desire to show one of these newer instruments to the late Mr. Capellmeister Bach and to let him examine it; and in return received full approval from him.25

The events are not dated in Agricola’s account, but the probable dates can be supplied from other sources. One of Silbermann’s first two pianos was completed and delivered to the Crown Prince in 1732, according to Zedler. Erselius’s reference in 1735 only to the piano heard (and privately owned) by Friedrich August and the subsequent Curiosa Saxonica account suggest that the first- ever public demonstration of a Silbermann piano in 1736 was made with the maker’s second instrument of this type. Because Silbermann therefore had evidently not yet stopped "releasing" these instruments, it is most likely that Bach had not yet seen one to criticize. Thus, the first Silbermann piano to be played by Bach might well have been the maker’s second such instrument, which could have been shown to Bach while he was in Dresden in July and December of 1736.

Did Bach "fiercely" or "sharply" criticize the instrument, as one coffee-table book on the piano would have it?26 Certainly not. While criticizing certain details, it is clear that he praised the tone and, it seems to have gone without saying, approved of the overall conception. This was constructive criticism. Just as Agricola reported that "true connoisseurs of the organ" (surely he had Bach in mind) disliked certain aspects of Silbermann’s organ,27 which Bach played to great effect, Bach might well have played with pleasure that maker’s early piano, imperfect though it was.

As to the form of the early Silbermann pianos, it seems likely that the action was based on Maffei’s diagram of the early Cristofori instruments rather than on anything (e.g., a downstriking action) that could be related to the Panteleon, which Silbermann was legally enjoined from making. In Cristofori’s early action, as shown in Maffei’s diagram, a copy of which was published along with König’s translation in 1725, the intermediate lever, which holds the jack, must be rather substantial, and, as Stewart Pollens has noted, a rather heavy touch would result.28 By 1720 Cristofori had improved his action by attaching the jack to the key, by lightening the intermediate lever, by providing a check, and, in an example of 1726, by reducing the weight of the hammer heads, which became rings of parchment.29 The three known extant Gottfried Silbermann pianos (two in Potsdam, one at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg), the earliest of which is dated 1746, have actions so closely similar to Cristofori’s later actions that Silbermann almost certainly must have seen a Florentine piano. One might well have been brought to Dresden by one of the many Italian musicians active there. Thus, one of the chief improvements that Silbermann introduced as a result of Bach’s criticism would seem to have been merely
Anno 1747.

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den 11. Maii.

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Contemporary newspaper account of J.S. Bach's visit to Frederick the Great.

the adoption of Cristofori’s earlier improvements of his own invention.

Agricola commented that "the Piano forte was, to be sure, first conceived and made in Italy, but Mr. Silbermann made so many improvements to it that he too is not much less than its inventor himself."30 Although Agricola was almost certainly unaware that Cristofori had improved his action from the version shown by Maffei, there remains a grain of truth to his statement. Silbermann’s pianos differ radically from Cristofori’s in case construction, scaling (the Saxon instruments were designed for iron strings in the treble, the Florentine for brass), strike-point ratios, and soundboard structure. All of these aspects, especially the last three, radically affect the quality of tone and the balance of tone between bass and treble. From the player’s standpoint, one of Silbermann’s most important contributions was the provision of a mechanism, operated by hand stops, to raise the dampers. Although Silbermann might have been unlikely to admit it, this was probably inspired by the Pantaleon. Thus, the main stream of piano development, starting with Cristofori, and the tributary stream, starting with Hebenstreit, were, within a few decades of their origin, united in Silbermann’s work. One can surmise that, because of Bach’s criticism, Silbermann temporarily ceased to make pianos in 1736 or shortly thereafter. Agricola wrote that, after many years of work, the first of Silbermann’s improved pianos was sold to the Rudolstadt court. According to records in Rudolstadt, an instrument was purchased from Silbermann in January 1745.31 This date is consistent with Agricola’s statement that a piano was ordered for the Prussian court "shortly thereafter": one might assume that he was referring to the instrument of 1746 still preserved at San Souci.

In fact, the date of Silbermann’s improved piano can be placed as early as May 1744, when a Pian et
Forte made by him was dedicated in Marienberg.\textsuperscript{32} As noted by Werner Müller, Silbermann would have been pre-occupied with the building of several organs from 1740 until April 1743. It is therefore unlikely that he would have been able to complete any new pianos until late in 1743 at the earliest. Agricola, in a slight but essentially insignificant error, probably mentioned the Rudolstadt instrument as the first of the improved model because it led to the acquisition of one by his employer, Frederick the Great. A musical link between the Prussian court and that in Rudolstadt can be established in the person of Franz Benda (a violinist admired and employed by Frederick the Great), who is known to have provided compositions and a Cremonese violin to the Rudolstadt court.\textsuperscript{33}

Agricola’s account seems to imply that Silbermann went out of his way to show one of his newly improved pianos to J.S. Bach. If so, he might have done this as soon as practicable, that is, say, some time in 1744. In any event, the differences between Silbermann and Bach would have been settled before September 1746, when they jointly inspected the new organ by Zacharias Hildebrandt in Naumberg. Bach therefore saw and approved Silbermann’s new pianos well before his 1747 trip to Berlin. Further, he remained involved with the piano after 1747. A document of 1749 shows Bach to have acted as an agent in the sale of an "instrument called Piano et Forte" (thus exactly following the wording that Silbermann wrote on the underside of his piano soundboards) to Count Branitzky in Białystok, Poland.\textsuperscript{34} It is even possible that one of the many clavecins inventoried in Bach’s estate was, in fact, a clavecin à marceaux, i.e., a piano.\textsuperscript{35}

(Editor’s note: This is the first part of a two-part article. The second installment will appear in the next Newsletter.)

Notes

1. For brevity, no specific references will be given for commonly known biographical or other facts readily available in such sources as the New Grove and Hans T. David & Arthur Mendel, eds., The Bach Reader, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966).

2. Standard sources about Silbermann are Ernst Flade, Gottfried Silbermann: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Orgel- und Klavierbaus im Zeitalter Bachs (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1952); and Werner Müller, Gottfried Silbermann: Persönlichkeit und Werk (Frankfurt am Main: Das Musikinstrument, 1982).

3. I thank Herbert Heyde for information about the instrument as recorded in the archives. The instrument is described by Stewart Pol lens in "Gottfried Silbermann’s Pianos," The Organ Yearbook 17 (1986), 103-121.

4. See, for example, Friedrich Ernst, "Bach und das Pianoforte," Bach-Jahrbuch 1961, 61-78.


7. See Christoph Gottlieb Schröter, "Umständliche Beschreibung seines 1717. erfundenen Clavier-Instruments..." in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ed., Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst 3 (Berlin, 1763), letters 139-141, 84-104.


13. See J.F. Agricola's description in Adlung, Musica Mechanica Organoeidi 2, 139. Agricola's comments in this work, published after Adlung's death, are in footnotes clearly marked to distinguish them from Adlung's original text, which had largely been completed by 1726. Some modern scholars using this source have failed to recognize the early date of most of Adlung's text and to realize that many important passages among the notes are Agricola's much later contribution.

14. This piece (transcribed by Jerzy Golos and Adam Sutkowski in Keyboard Music from Polish Manuscripts 2, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, vol. 10 [American Institute of Musicology, 1967]) might well have been intended for the four-manual organ at St. Catherine's in Hamburg.

15. See Agricola's description (including a plan-view diagram) in Adlung's Musica Mechanica Organoeidi 2, 124-126; E. van der Straeten, "The Cembal d'Amour," cal Times, 1 January 1924, 40-42; Flade, Silbermann, 242-248; and Müller, Silbermann, 36 ff.

16. See Mattheson, Critica Musica 2, part 8, 380.

17. The only evidence that Silbermann made Pantaleons in preceding decades is Adlung's statement in Anleitung, 593, that Silbermann made them in Strassburg. Because Gottfried Silbermann left Strassburg about 1708, Eva Badura-Skoda (in "Hammerklavier-Konzerte?," 165) has taken this to mean that he made Pantaleons before then. Adlung, who admitted that he had never even played a Silbermann instrument (Anleitung, 319), also states that "Silbermann in Strassburg" invented the Cembal d'Amour, which is known to have been invented in the 1720s, long after Silbermann had settled in Freiberg, Saxony. Thus, one cannot rely upon his statement about Silbermann Pantaleons in Strassburg.

18. See Agricola in Adlung's Musica Mechanica Organoeidi, 126; and Flade, Silbermann, 246.

19. Anleitung, 568-569.

20. The German translation appeared in Mattheson's Critica Musica 2, part 8, 335-342.


22. From the Leipziger Post-Zeitungen of 23 October 1731; quoted by Christian Ahrens in "Zur Geschichte von Clavichord, Cembalo und Hammerklavier" in Cembalo und Hammerflügel, exhibition catalogue, 10. Tage alter Musik in Herne (Germany), December 1985, 59-60.

23. See Müller, Silbermann, 486.

24. Ibid., 39.


27. In Adlung, Musica Mechanica Organoeidi 1, 212.


30. In Adlung, Musica Mechanica Organoeidi, 212.

31. See Horst Fleischer, "Gottfried Silbermann in Rudolstadt," Rudolstädtner Heimathefte 21, nos. 11/12 (November-December 1973), 243-244.

32. See Müller, Silbermann, 44-45.

33. See Fleischer, "Rudolstadt," 244.


35. That throughout the eighteenth century "harpsichord," etc., could also mean "harpsichord with hammers" or "harpsichord with loud and soft," etc., i.e., "piano," has repeatedly, forcefully, and cogently been argued by Eva Badura-Skoda, for example, in "Hammerklavier-Konzerte?".

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John Koster is Conservator and Associate Professor of Museum Science at the Shrine to Music Museum, University of South Dakota, Vermillion. Formerly a harpsichord maker in the Boston area, he held an Andrew W. Mellon senior fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) in 1990-91. He is the author of many studies about keyboard instruments, including "Foreign Influences in Eighteenth-Century French Piano Making" in Early Keyboard Journal 11 (1993), and a forthcoming comprehensive catalogue of the keyboard instruments at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
French Baroque Continuo Treatises in Translation
Frances C. Fitch


It is with gratitude that the modern performer of keyboard continuo greets the arrival of new translations of original treatises, such as Charlotte Mattax's translation of Denis Delair's Traité de l'accompagnement pour le theorbé, et le clavecin, and John S. Powell’s translation of Monsieur de Saint Lambert’s Nouveau traité de l’accompagnement du clavecin, de l’orgue, et des autres instruments.

The twentieth-century performer working from figured basses of varying periods and styles can benefit from a familiarity with as many original treatises on the subject as possible. From a purely practical point of view, of course, it’s not possible for the modern continuo player to read and absorb all the treatises that have been recovered in their original language. Yet there is no better way to gain insight into the refinements of style, harmonic vocabulary and performance practice of each period and national style.

Until about twenty-five years ago the only direct access to continuo sources for most performers was F.T. Arnold’s ground-breaking though abstruse The Art of Accompaniment from a Figured Bass. His first volume contains more than thirty treatises in whole or in part, with extensive commentary in copious footnotes. Peter Williams’ Figured Bass Accompaniment (now out of print) presents excerpts from a far wider field of treatises, and also contains a fine bibliography of original sources. Many performers have realized the necessity of consulting these sources, especially when confronted with an unfigured bass (not an uncommon occurrence, an example of this challenge being Handel’s Giulio Cesare, a four-and-a-half-hour opera in which only two arias were figured by Handel). Study of the works themselves over many years can instruct in the harmonic vocabulary necessary to figure a bass without any rules— but rare is the harpsichordist, organist, or theorbo player who is thus sufficiently well-versed in music of the entire seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A few rules will go a long way.

The treatises also include invaluable information on arpeggiation, texture, tessitura, ornamentation, and instrumentation, the essence of a stylistically accurate performance.

Figured basses were used as a teaching tool in America until at least the mid-1800s; then they seem to have disappeared until the early music revival of this century. The Thorough-Bass Primer was published in London in 1847 and the title page of an 1861 Boston publication reads:

The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music; being a selection of the most approved Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, Chants, etc. together with many beautiful extracts from the works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other Eminent Composers. Harmonized for three and Four Voices, with a Figured Base [sic] for the Organ and Piano Forte.

This collection contains upward of two hundred pieces, all with bass lines fully figured. Evidently the skill of playing from them was still prevalent, as it is not commented upon in the preface. A similar collection from New York in 1857, although it was published before Burrowes’ last edition of The Thorough Bass Primer, is devoid of figures. Beyond this date, figured basses may have remained in use for teaching purposes, although not for performing.

It is not clear when the study of figured bass once more became standard practice for keyboard players. In his 1931 preface to The Art of Accompaniment, Arnold says:

Thanks to our Cathedrals, the figured bass tradition was kept alive in England, though in a limited circle, until comparatively recent years. Such Organists as Goss, Turle, and Hopkins had Boyce’s Cathedral Music and other editions of the Services and Anthems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their Organ-lofts, and knew full well how to use them. In Germany, on the other hand, the tradition was practically dead before the middle of the last century.

It seems that as the old tradition was revived (driven largely by the publication of the Bach-Gesellschaft), the focus remained on eighteenth-century style and harmonic vocabulary, almost as if these practices had been static from 1580 to 1800. The first treatises to appear in their entirety in modern English translations were Heinichen (Germany, 1728), Quantz (Germany,
for Accompanying Unfigured Basses" is of great value, and his "Principles of Accompaniment for Beginners" is a remarkably succinct and comprehensive guide to the essential elements of a scientifically correct accompaniment. In fact, both Delair’s and Saint Lambert’s books are complete theoretical texts, covering every possible movement of a bass line and discussing which chords should be used in which progressions. Denis Delair introduces the very practical innovation (used much later in the British Isles by Niccolo Pasqualli) of learning to understand figures as the same triad built on differing bass notes: "for example, a triad above D in the right hand generates a 5-3 chord on D, 6-4-2 on C, 7-5-3 on B-flat, 8-6-4 on A, 8-6-3 on F and 7-4-2 on E-flat." Delair also introduces the *regle de l'octave*, a system in which a 5-3 chord is always to be played on the tonic and dominant of a scale, and 6-3 chords (6-3, 6-5, or 6-4-3) on all the other degrees, although he cautions that this rule is simplistic and best used for teaching. Finally, both Delair and Saint Lambert discuss the use of alternative chords when the accompanist decides "that others are better suited." Delair says:

Those skilled in the art do not overlook the possibility of playing dissonances that have been prepared, even if they are not figured, as long as nothing [in the accompaniment] clashes with the parts..."  

--proving that even within the science, there is artistry.

It is the information on the art of stylish accompaniment which is of critical importance to us today: the details of arpeggiation, use of cadence formulas, ornaments, texture, instrumentation and so on, found in both publications. One finds fascinating items in Saint Lambert’s work in his last two chapters, those dealing with "licenses" and taste. How useful to have Saint Lambert’s permission to take the bass line down an octave:

...raise or lower the entire Bass by an Octave for several successive measures either to conform to the character of the singing voice; or to take advantage of the quality of [the] Instrument (which often resonates better in one range of the Keyboard than in another)...  

He suggests a rhythmic playing of a single chord tone on the offbeats in triple meter, as well as improvising a short prelude in the key of an air one is about to accompany. Saint Lambert’s attempt to describe good taste in accompaniment also includes such vivid and helpful images as "a crackling, a bit like a volley of musket fire" (for restricting chord tones in recitatives) and the observation that
...one could restrike a single note all by itself, here and there—but with such discretion that it seems as though the harpsichord gave them up all by itself, without the initiative of the Accompanist.15

Delair also provides, in passing, some most useful written-out examples of ornamented chords, arpeggiated and filled in, in ways reminiscent of unmeasured preludes.16 Delair explains the title of his book by noting that he hopes to give "a complete knowledge of this art, on the theorbo as well as on the harpsichord, the two instruments most frequently used for accompaniment," while Saint Lambert deals with accompaniment appropriate for the organ as well as harpsichord. Delair believes that there is "greater ease of accompanying with perfection on the harpsichord [than on the theorbo]." (Fortunately, several theorbo players wrote their own treatises.) Unfortunately, neither Delair nor Saint Lambert directly discusses the composition of a continuo ensemble, although Delair recommends his method for "any instrument one might wish to use for an accompaniment, be it lute, guitar, double lute or other instrument"17 and also remarks that "ordinarily, one accompanies only on the theorbo or the harpsichord..."18 It would be helpful to have—from a continuo player—a prescription akin to that of a motet performance found in a 1684 publication by Brossard,

...it is necessary to have seven instrumental parts, namely First and Second violins, Hautre-Contre, Taille, Quinte, a Basse-continue for the Viol and Bassoon and finally, a figured Basse-continue for the organ, harpsichord and theorbo19

or a "Music Master's" suggested instrumentation for weekly concerts of a "bass viol, a theorbo and a harpsichord for the basse-continue with two violins to play the ritournelles.20 Regrettably, there is no practical discussion here of the various functions of each player in a continuo band, such as we find in Agostino Agazzari's Del Sonare sopra il Basso (Siena, 1607).

The revival of the art and science of continuo playing proper to each period and country now depends on access to original sources such as Saint Lambert and Delair. Today a generic approach will no long suffice, so it is a tremendous advantage to be aware of all suggestions made by contemporaries of the composers whose works we perform. There are more than twenty seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources from France alone, of which more than half are available in facsimile or in a modern (but untranslated) edition. And while they overlap to some degree, the full picture of this learned but improvisatory skill comes into focus by reading as many of them as possible. They are wonderful teaching tools for a specialized graduate seminar, as they teach composition as well as harmony and improvisation. For the modern figured bass performer, they are indispensable. ☞

Notes
3. Lowell Mason, ed., The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection... (Boston: Richardson, Lord and Holbrook, 1831).
5. Arnold, xii.
7. Delair, 44 (Mattax, 117-118).
8. Saint Lambert, 60 (Powell, 106).
11. Delair, 30 (Mattax, 27 and 100).
17. Delair, Cv (Mattax, 44).
18. Delair, 5 (Mattax, 68).

Harpsichordist and organist Frances Conover Fitch has toured extensively in North America and Europe, and performs regularly with Cantata Singers, Emmanuel Music, and Boston Baroque. She teaches at New England Conservatory and the Longy School, and is Organist at Emmanuel Church in Boston.
MINIMS

Old West Organ Society has announced three programs on the Fisk Organ at Old West Church, Boston. On Saturday, January 15, 1994, the Fisk legacy will be celebrated with a video screening, a recital performed by employees of C.B. Fisk, Inc., and a post-concert dinner/reception at Tatsukichi Restaurant. French organist Jean Boyer performs at Old West on Friday, April 29 at 8 p.m. and will give a masterclass the following morning. On Tuesday, May 10, beginning at 7:30 p.m., Fenner Douglass will give a lecture/masterclass on the French classical organ and its repertoire. For more information: call 617 266-2957.

Applications are solicited for the Noah Greenberg Award of the American Musicological Society. The award is intended as a grant-in-aid to stimulate active cooperation between scholars and performers by fostering outstanding contributions to historically-aware performance and to the study of historical performing practices. Both scholars and performers may apply, since the award may subsidize the publication costs of articles, monographs, or editions, as well as public performance, recordings, or other projects. Applicants need not be members of the AMS, and projects will be considered on the music of any period or cultural group. The award will consist of a sum up to $2,000. Application deadline is March 1, 1994. For further information: write Ms. Louise Basbas, chair, Noah Greenberg Award Committee; 3 Washington Square Village, #14L; New York, NY 10012.

"Early music in London...then and now" is a study program being offered by Florida State University on April 22-May 5, 1994. Participants will learn about English music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by attending live performances, touring musical instrument collections and visiting historical buildings and performance spaces. For further information, contact Karyl Louwenaar, FSU, KMU-328B, Tallahassee FL 32306-2098; tel. 904 877-6904 or 644-5218.

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News of the Westfield Center

The Westfield Center has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to support solo recitals and chamber music concerts to be presented in the 1994-95 season.

Proposals are sought for the first annual meeting of The Westfield Center. The Westfield Center will hold its first annual meeting September 29 - October 1, 1994, in Northampton, Massachusetts. Proposals for papers and recitals on all aspects of keyboard studies—from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century—are invited. Paper proposals must include three copies of a one-page abstract and a 150-word biography; proposals for recitals must include a proposed recital program and a cassette tape of a recent live performance. Please submit proposals by May 1, 1994, to either Penelope Crawford, 1158 Baldwin, Ann Arbor, MI 48164 (recital proposals) or Don O. Franklin, Department of Music, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15214 (paper proposals). Abstracts of the papers accepted, and detailed information on the program, will be published in the July 1994 issue of the Center’s Newsletter. Please note: The Westfield Center does not pay participants’ expenses.

Congratulations to Jan Hage (Netherlands), Marcel Verheggen (Netherlands), and Ludmila Kamelina (Russia), winners of the first, second, and third prizes respectively of the XIIth Swiss Organ Competition which took place in September, 1993, with a program devoted to contemporary music.

William Porter plays works of Praetorius, Tunder, Schiedemann, Buxtehude, and Bruhns, and improvises a Magnificat on the VIIIth tone, on a new CD recording issued by Proprius (PRCD-9102). Bill plays John Brombraugh’s organ in the Haga Church in Göteborg, Sweden. The CD may be ordered through your local store or directly from May Audio Marketing, P.O. Box 1022, Champlain, NY 12919; tel. 514 651-5707.

The Historical Keyboard Society of Wisconsin (HKSW), Joan Parsley, Artistic Director, will present a weekend of activities devoted to Beethoven on April 15-17 in Milwaukee. Entitled "Beethoven in Vienna: The Second Style Period (1803-12)," the weekend will include concerts by fortepianist Steven Lubin, Christopher Hogwood conducting the Handel & Haydn Society Orchestra (with Robert Levin, fortepianist, and the Wisconsin Conservatory Chamber Singers), and the Carlin Fortepiano Trio (Seth Carlin, fortepiano; Dan Stepner, violin; Loretta O’ Sullivan, cello). The Handel & Haydn Society performance will re-create a program planned by Beethoven and performed in Vienna on December 22, 1808: the fourth piano concerto, the fifth symphony, the sixth symphony, the concert aria "Ah Perfido!", and his fantasia for piano, chorus, and orchestra, op. 80. Pre-concert lectures will include art historian Alessandra Comini on "The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking"; William Meredith, of the Ira F. Brilliant Center for Beethoven Studies, on Beethoven’s conversation books, and Owen Jander on "Beethoven’s Orpheus in Hades" and "The Scenario in Beethoven’s Choral Fantasy." For more information contact HKSW, 1840 N. Farwell Ave., Suite 306, Milwaukee, WI 53202 (tel. 414 226-2224; fax 414 765-9719).

Cornell University, in collaboration with the Elaine Kaufman Cultural Center, will present the complete cycle of piano sonatas by Beethoven at Merkin Concert Hall, New York City, in September 1994. The eight concerts will be performed on period instruments by Malcolm Bilson and six young performing artists associated with Cornell’s Center for Eighteenth-Century Music: Tom Beghin, David Breitman, Ursula Duetschler, Zvi Meniker, Bart van Oort, and Andrew Willis. Pre-concert lectures will be given by members of Cornell’s music department (Malcolm Bilson, James Webster, and Neal Zaslaw) and by a Cornell graduate, George Barth, now of Stanford University. For ticket information contact Merkin Hall box office (tel. 212 362-8719). For other information, contact Sigrid Peterson, Cornell University (tel. 607 255-4760; fax 607 254-2877).

The Southeastern Historical Keyboard Society is holding its 1994 conclave in Charleston, South Carolina, on January 27-29. Peter Sykes will perform on both organ and harpsichord, David Breitman will perform and give a masterclass on the fortepiano, and J. Thomas Savage (Historic Charleston Foundation) will give the keynote address. Other events include lectures by John Koster and John Fesperman, a clavichord lecture-recital by Gregory Crowell, an organ demonstration by Cal Johnson, and dance instruction by Carol Marsh and the Craven Historical Dancers.