THE SONATAS OF JOHANN GOTTFRIED ECKARD (1735-1809)
AND THE EVOLUTION OF KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS
BETWEEN 1760 AND 1785

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Johann Gottfried Eckard was a self-trained composer and keyboardist studying with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s *Versuch* while he lived in Augsburg. Eckard traveled to Paris with the keyboard instrument builder, Johann Andreas Stein, in 1758 and settled in France for the rest of his life. Eckard only composed eight keyboard sonatas and a set of variations on the *Menuet d’Exaudet*. He published his works during the transitional period from harpsichord to fortepiano. The eight keyboard sonatas incorporated variations of musical styles which included Italian sonata, galant, and empfindsamer stil. His keyboard sonatas influenced his contemporaries including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Schobert. Eckard was one of the early fortepiano composers in France and tried to promote the new instrument, but wrote in the Foreword of six sonatas (op.1), that they were suitable for the harpsichord, the clavichord, and the fortepiano. The six sonatas of op.1 were published in 1763, two years after fortepiano was advertised for sale in the local newspaper. In 1768, the fortepiano was used in a public concert for the first time in Paris. In the aspect of performance practice, both harpsichord and fortepiano used juxtapose during the transitional period, even though the music would sound better on the fortepiano especially the slow movements in Eckard’s sonatas. The early stage of French fortepiano building was influenced by German keyboard instrument builders. In addition to building harpsichords, French builders, Taskin and Goermann, also started building fortepianos. Eckard was highly respected as both a composer and a performer from music critics in his time.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The composer and keyboardist Johann Gottfried Eckard published six sonatas as op.1 (1763) in Paris, France. The title page of this collection specifies *Clavecin*; however, Eckard wrote in his Foreword (Avertissement) that the six sonatas were suitable for the clavichord and the fortepiano as well as the harpsichord. In the next year, Eckard published an additional two sonatas as op. 2 and a set of variations on the *Menuet d’Exaudet*. The title page of op.2 names *Pour le Clavecin ou le Piano Forte* as instruments, while the *Menuet* asks for the *Clavecin* only.

Eckard was one of the first composers in France who made such clear reference to interchangeable instrumentation on his music printings. His innovations include creating extensive dynamic markings, expanding the choice of instrumentation to the new pianoforte, and transforming C.P.E. Bach’s musical style into his own new compositional style. Eckard’s keyboard sonatas influenced many of his contemporaries. In my DMA thesis, I will give a detailed musical analysis of Eckard’s sonata in F minor from op.1, compare Eckard’s sonata with other pieces of his contemporaries, and research primary sources. This will prove that Eckard’s keyboard sonatas were written mainly for the new fortepiano, but also allowed interpretation on traditional keyboard instruments.

In the modern era, scholars and performers claimed the six sonatas of op.1 were piano sonatas because of the innovative dynamic markings. However, in France, between the 1760’s and 1780’s, professional and amateur performers still used many different kinds of keyboard instruments such as the harpsichord, the fortepiano, and a combination of harpsichord-forte piano. The clavichord was never as popular an instrument as others in France. The first time the French
audience heard the fortepiano playing in a public concert was in 1768, which was four years after Eckard published his keyboard sonatas, and the result was unsuccessful.¹

To date, few studies of Eckard’s keyboard music exist in scholarly detail. Therefore, it is necessary to examine primary sources to understand Johann Eckard’s life and the instrumentation he intended for his compositions. Primary sources, such as letters from the well-known British music critic Charles Burney and the publication of Eckard’s musical compositions in London and Riga, proved that Eckard was recognized as an outstanding composer in his time. Even Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart used one of Eckard’s sonatas as a model to compose the second movement of his piano concerto, K. 40.

The German-Alsatian composers introduced new musical styles to Paris in the eighteenth century and significantly impacted the development of the new genres of symphonic music, chamber music, and solo keyboard sonatas.² During the eighteenth century Paris became an important musical center, especially for foreign musicians. They came to Paris to participate in private salon and concert spirituel settings.³

A keyboard instrument builder, Johann Andreas Stein, traveled to Paris accompanied by Johann Eckard in 1758. Two years after Eckard’s arrival in Paris, the fortepianos built by Johann Heinrich Silbermann were advertised in the local newspaper for sale. For years, modern scholars have connected both events to the publication of Eckard’s sonatas for new fortepiano and have assumed that Eckard might also have brought a piano to Paris. Today Eckard’s primary keyboard

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¹ Michel Brenet, Les Concerts en France (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1900), 292-293.


³ Ibid., 89-92.
In the eighteenth century there was no standard definition of the terminology to describe a keyboard instrument. Whether the composers and music critics used the terms of *clavecin, clavier, cembalo, harpsichord, or claviercembalo* varied from country to country. In this thesis, I refer to *clavecin* as any keyboard instrument. In eighteenth century historical performance practice, whether Eckard’s sonatas were played on the harpsichord or the new fortepiano was not an important issue. In her dissertation, Maria van Epenhuysen Rose states that amateur performers were satisfied with using the harpsichord even though the music may sound better on the pianoforte.4

This research project will prove Eckard’s significant influence on the development of keyboard literature and the singular brilliant innovation he made in his time. Eckard was not only one of the earliest composers for the new fortepiano in France, but he was also quite avant-garde.

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CHAPTER 2  
JOHANN GOTTfried ECKARD  

2.1 Biography  
Johann Gottfried Eckard (1735-1809) was born in Augsburg, Germany. From what we know, he was a painter, an engraver, and a keyboardist before he moved to Paris in 1758.\(^5\) Eckard studied Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s *Versuch* while he lived in Augsburg. This certainly influenced his compositional writings.\(^6\) We do not know if Eckard composed any music while he lived in Augsburg. His reputation as a virtuoso player and an accomplished improviser remained very high even after his death.\(^7\)

In 1758, Eckard traveled to Paris with the young keyboard instrument builder from Augsburg, Johann Andreas Stein. During their journey, they visited Johann Heinrich Silbermann’s pianoforte workshop in Strasbourg.\(^8\) It is unknown whether Eckard brought one of Silbermann’s pianofortes to Paris with him or not. We also do not know if Stein had already built a pianoforte and taken it along. The next year, Stein went back to Augsburg while Eckard stayed in France for the rest of his life.

Eckard developed two different careers, as a well-known miniature painter and a composer.\(^9\) According to Eduard Reeser, two of Eckard’s paintings have been discovered in


\(^6\) Ibid., 864.


\(^8\) Marc Schaefer, *Das Silbermann-Archiv: Der handschriftliche Nachlaß des Orgelmachers Johann Andreas Silbermann* (1712-1783) (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1994), 312.

\(^9\) Reeser, 95.
Germany but nothing of his art work is known in Paris (both paintings are included in Reeser’s book about Johann Gottfried Eckard).  

Eckard’s compositions and performances received favorable comments in both Charles Burney and Leopold Mozart’s letters. During the first major European tour, Leopold Mozart visited Paris with his family and met Eckard in 1764. Eckard presented engravings of his compositions to both Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his sister, Maria Anna Mozart. His sonatas influenced the young Mozart’s early compositional writings. The slow movement from Mozart’s piano concerto (K.40) was modeled on the first movement of Eckard’s sonata in A major (op.1). When the Mozarts returned to Munich, Germany, Mozart reminded his sister, Maria Anna, to bring Eckard’s variations with her, so, perhaps both Mozart and his sister planned to include Eckard’s music in their concerts.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart again visited Paris alone in 1778. Leopold Mozart wrote lists of important people whom his young son Mozart could contact for assistance and support. Eckard was among those people. After Mozart’s acquaintance with Eckard during their first trip to Paris in 1764, the Mozarts had lost touch with Eckard. In Leopold Mozart’s letter to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Leopold Mozart asked his son about Eckard’s current status. From his letter


12 Ibid., 256.

13 Ibid., 472.

14 Ibid., 322.
in 1778, it becomes clear that Eckard’s musical activities were not in the same circle of people that Leopold Mozart had known in France before.

The famous British music critic, Charles Burney, traveled to Paris in 1770 and made the acquaintance of Eckard through Abbé Morellet. Morellet had an English pianoforte.\textsuperscript{15} It is possible that Eckard gave his compositions to Burney, as the first publication of Eckard’s sonatas published in London by Bremner in 1776 was most likely inspired through Burney’s collection (Bremner was Burney’s music publisher in London).\textsuperscript{16} Burney told Christoph Daniel Ebeling how impressed he was with the musical production of the German composers residing in France; Schobert and Eckard were among them.\textsuperscript{17} According to Fanny Burney, Charles Burney’s wife, Eckard was one of Burney’s favorite composers.\textsuperscript{18}

Charles Burney was also in contact with the famous French music theorist and philosopher Denis Diderot. Since the contact was made through Eckard, we have evidence that Eckard was in the same social circle as Morellet and Diderot in Paris.\textsuperscript{19} Diderot was familiar with both Eckard and C.P.E. Bach’s music. In a letter from Diderot to Friedrich Melchior Baron von Grimm in 1770, Diderot insisted that Grimm should obtain a copy of C.P.E. Bach’s sonatas from Eckard.\textsuperscript{20} Obviously, Diderot was aware that Eckard had access to C.P.E. Bach’s

\textsuperscript{15} Charles Burney, \textit{Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770} (London: Eulenburg Books, 1974), 222.


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 102.


\textsuperscript{19} Burney, \textit{Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770}, 222.

compositions. In Paris, Eckard claimed that his compositional skill was influenced directly by C.P.E Bach.

Eckard was surrounded by people who owned and were very interested in early fortepianos. On the same trip to Paris in 1770, Burney met Madame Brillon who owned an English fortepiano. Brillon may have also collected one of Sébastien Érard’s very early pianos. Bruce Gustafson states that Brillon also owned an Allemand (German) fortepiano, but that the specific type and maker were unknown. Brillon’s keyboard instrument collection clearly shows that she was very interested in the new fortepianos.

A member of Brillon’s circle, the well-known Abbé Morellet, was very interested in the pianoforte as well, and as mentioned earlier, Morellet owned an English pianoforte. In 1783 Morellet wrote to William Temple Franklin, who was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin, advising him to borrow a piano rather than a harpsichord from Brillon since Brillon had several early fortepianos. Brillon was an instrument supplier to Benjamin Franklin even after he went back to America. In one of the correspondences between Brillon and Benjamin Franklin, Brillon

21 Ibid., Appendix II.
23 Burney, Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770, 19.
25 Ibid., 34.
stated that she could lend him a pianoforte and would send it to him (it is unknown whether or not she shipped a pianoforte to Franklin in America).²⁷

In 1770’s France, Madame Brillon established a private salon and recruited foreign musicians to perform there.²⁸ Although we have no evidence that Eckard ever performed at her salon, one of Brillon’s compositions for a keyboard duet was scored for a combination of fortepiano and harpsichord and was modeled on the first movement of Eckard’s sonata (op. 1) in G minor. She composed the duet in the same key as Eckard did and also borrowed the melodic motive in the beginning of the movement (see Example 2.1).

Example 2.1: Madame Brillon, Duet for Clavecin and Pianoforte in G major, second movement

For pianoforte, mm. 1-9

For harpsichord, mm. 1-13

²⁷ Ibid., 34.
²⁸ Ibid., 31.
Johann Gottfried Eckard, *Sonata II*, Op. 1, first movement, mm. 1-3

That may prove again how popular Eckard’s music was. Still in 1792, Amédée Rasetti wrote a set of six sonatas (op.7) for pianoforte “in the style of Eckard, Haydn, Clementi, Cramer, Steibelt, and Mozart.”

Three years after Eckard’s publication of first six sonatas in 1763, Johann Schobert published a set of six sonatas, which utilize some of Eckard’s compositional methods. I will elaborate further on both of Eckard’s and Schobert’s specific sonatas in chapter two. Music critics from Eckard’s time frequently compared both Eckard’s and Schobert’s musical personalities. After Schobert’s tragic death from mushroom poisoning in 1767, Friedrich M. Grimm wrote:

This musician had a great talent, a technique brilliant and bewitching. He was unequalled in the ease and pure delight in his performance. He did not have as much talent as our Eckard, who will always remain the first master in Paris, but Schobert had more admirers than Eckard because he was always pleasing and because it is not given to everybody to sense the presence of real talent.

Charles Burney also compared both Schobert’s and Eckard’s compositions in his letters.

At Eckard’s death in 1809, the French newspaper *Mercure de France* wrote that he was a professor of piano and the most celebrated *clavecinist* in France. An inventory list after

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30 Epenhuysen Rose, 204.

31 *Mercure de France* (September 1809): 173.
Eckard’s death shows that Eckard owned a clavecin worth 100 francs.\textsuperscript{32} Unfortunately, there is no detailed description of the clavecin or maker, so it is difficult to know whether Eckard owned a harpsichord or a fortepiano.

2.2 Eckard’s Compositions

In addition to the eight keyboard sonatas and a set of variations on the \textit{Menuet d’Exaudet}, Eckard also composed fugues and concertos which have been lost.\textsuperscript{33} Both sets of sonatas from op.1 and op.2 and a set of variations were published in his lifetime.

Eckard published six sonatas in 1763 as op.1, which was dedicated to Gaviniès.\textsuperscript{34} The next year, Eckard published an additional two sonatas as op. 2, and a set of variations on the \textit{Menuet d’Exaudet}.\textsuperscript{35} The theme of the variations was based on a well-known trio sonata (op.2 no.1) by André-Joseph Exaudet.

Eckard was one of the first composers in France to use extensive dynamic markings in solo keyboard music. The dynamic markings range from \textit{pianissimo} to \textit{fortissimo}; he also uses a gradual \textit{crescendo}. Eckard was also one of the first composers who used interchangeable instrumentation possibilities on the cover page of his publication. In addition, according to Jean Benjamin de Laborde’s \textit{Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne}, Eckard was the first composer who introduced \textit{Alber}ti bass to France. (However, an argument has been made that a

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{32}] Eduard Reeser, \textit{The Augsburg Musician in Paris: Johann Gottfried Eckard (1735-1809)} (Augsburg: Deutsche Mozart-Gesellschaft, 1984), 32.
\item[\textsuperscript{33}] Eduard Reeser, \textit{Johann Gottfried Eckard: Oeuvres Completes pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte} (Amsterdam: Edition Heuwekemeijer, 1956), Introduction.
\item[\textsuperscript{34}] Johann Gottfried Eckard, \textit{Six Sonates pour le Clavecin} (Paris: Chez l’Auteur, 1763).
\item[\textsuperscript{35}] Johann Gottfried Eckard, \textit{Deux Sonates pour le Clavecin ou le Piano Forte, Menuet d’Exaudet avec jar Variationa pour le Clavecin} (Paris: Chez l’Auteur, 1764).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
French composer, Simon Simon, had already utilized *Alberti* bass in his composition thirteen years before Eckard’s publication in 1763.)

In his Foreword (*Avertissement*), Eckard states that he wanted to make these sonatas versatile enough to be played on the harpsichord, clavichord or fortepiano. This explains the extensive use of dynamic markings which can be realized only on clavichord or fortepiano. However, Eckard mentioned *Clavecin* on the title page.

Besides solo keyboard, there is only one accompanied sonata for flauto traversiero and basso continuo (listed on RISM database) that may have been composed by Eckard. This chamber work, consisting of three movements, has printed on the original title page “Del Sigr Eckardt” later attributed “Joh. Gottfr.”. It is unknown if Eckardt is the same composer as Eckard and if Joh. Gottfr. is Johann Gottfried. Several different spellings of Eckard appear in other manuscripts.

There are no signed copies of Eckard’s works and only the first printed editions are available. Eckard’s first publications were printed during his lifetime in 1763 and 1764 in France. Later, his works were also printed in Riga and England (all the editions are listed in Appendix I). For example, Johann Friedrich Hartknoch published Eckard’s six sonatas in Riga in 1773 and three years later, Robert Bremner published and sold Eckard’s sonatas in London.

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In Leipzig, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf published twenty-two volumes of a thematic catalogue between 1762 and 1787.\textsuperscript{40} Leipzig was an important center for music publishing in Germany in the eighteenth century. This important thematic catalogue contains different genres of eighteenth century compositions. Breitkopf included Eckard's six sonatas (op.1) in his Breitkopf supplement II catalogue in 1767.\textsuperscript{41} There is no detailed information about what publication this edition was based on; however, before 1767, the only available edition of Eckard's op.1 was the first printing from 1763 in France. Therefore, the musical incipit of Eckard's six sonatas (op.1) listed in Breitkopf's thematic catalogue very well may come from the 1763 Paris edition. Later in 1778, Eckard's two sonatas (op.2) were listed in Breitkopf supplement XII catalogue, and the thematic incipit was based on the London publication which should have been published by Bremner.\textsuperscript{42}


\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 287.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 654.
CHAPTER 3

ECKARD’S KEYBOARD SONATAS

3.1 Musical Styles of Keyboard Sonatas

In the early keyboard sonata, composers such as Domenico Scarlatti wrote in one binary form movement, Italian sonata style. Jean-Jacques Rousseau defined the sonata as “consisting of three or four movements in contrasting characters…to instruments about what the cantata is to voices” in the Dictionnaire de musique, 1768.\(^{43}\) In this period, composers mainly wrote sonatas for solo piano or for duos, most commonly violin and piano.

The galant and empfindsamer stil were popular musical styles. Eckard applied both styles in his eight keyboard sonatas. For instance, Eckard’s Sonata V in A major (op.1) - is an example of the galant style. According to Newman, the first movement of Eckard’s Sonata III in G minor (op.1) represents the style of empfindsamer fantasy.\(^{44}\)

In the history of keyboard instruments, the clavichord had been the only instrument capable of interpreting music with dynamic variety until around 1700, when Bartolomeo Cristofori invented a new keyboard instrument with new technical possibilities; an action with hammers. The first publication to explicitly demand this new instrument was a set of twelve solo keyboard sonatas by Lodovico Giustini in 1732. The title specifies them as Sonate da cimbalo di piano e forte ditto volgarmente di martelletti.\(^{45}\) Over thirty years pass before we find a direct designation for pianoforte in a publication again - in Eckard’s two sets of solo keyboard sonatas.


\(^{45}\) Lodovico Giustini, Sonate da Cimbalo di piano e forte detto volgarmente di martelletti (Florence: Firenze, 1732).
Many pieces may have been composed for the fortepiano without it being specified on the published music.

Many composers attempted to imitate orchestral effects in their solo keyboard music and into the style of the accompanied sonata. For example, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart transcribed Eckard’s Sonata V in A major (op.1) into the slow movement of his piano concerto (K. 40). In the opening of the slow movement, the orchestration which Mozart used to play the solo keyboard part included the violin I, violin II and viola. Eckard’s sonatas from op.1 also influenced Mozart’s first two sonatas (K. 6 and 8). Both sonatas were written for violin and fortepiano.

Furthermore, one possibility was adding string instruments, mostly *ad libitum*, to the core piano sonata in order to create colors and dynamic variety. Later, this leads to the obbligato solo sonata. In France, during the 1760’s and 1770’s most of Eckard’s contemporaries, such as Schobert, Leontzi Honauer, Jean-Frederic Edelmann, and Nicolas Joseph Hüllmandel, composed this type of accompanied sonatas as well as early sonatas with obbligato instrument, and solo keyboard sonatas.

3.2 Eckard’s Sonatas

The number of movements in each of Eckard’s sonata was not consistent. Also, the tempo and key relationships between the movements varies. The compositional outline of each of Eckard’s sonata, of op.1 and op.2 are as follows:

46 Footnote by Emily Anderson in Leopold Mozart, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 37.


### Six Sonatas (op.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Movements</th>
<th>Tempo and/or Musical Character Markings of Each Movements</th>
<th>Tonality of Each Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Cantabile</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amoroso</td>
<td>E-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allegro assai</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Allegro con Spirito</td>
<td>G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andante</td>
<td>G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presto</td>
<td>G minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Allegro Maestoso é Staccato</td>
<td>F minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affettuoso</td>
<td>C minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vivace</td>
<td>F minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Andantino</td>
<td>A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>C major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Con Discrezione</td>
<td>E-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minuetto con Variazioni</td>
<td>E-flat major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Two Sonatas (op.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Movements</th>
<th>Tempo/Musical expression Markings of Each Movements</th>
<th>Tonality of Each Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>F major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andante</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minuetto (da capo)</td>
<td>F major/minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Andante</td>
<td>E major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allegretto</td>
<td>E major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Eckard used three movements, it is fast-slow-fast, except for the first sonata which begins with *Cantabile* (op.1). In op.1, no. 6, one of two two-movement sonatas, Eckard wrote the unique tempo character marking *Con Discrezione* (with discretion). The musical character is like that of a fantasy, but the repeat in each section (A B) takes away much of the wildness, and the movement becomes more structured. Eckard composed two different forms of minuets: one in variation and another in *da capo*. Two sonatas were in one movement, presumably modeled after one-movement sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. Compositional structures introduced by Scarlatti’s
single movement sonatas are featured in both one movement sonatas from op. 1. For example, the melodic materials are closely related in each section; both sonatas were written in a kind of simple binary form. In Eckard’s two- and three- movement sonatas, the key relationships between the movements vary. Obviously, Eckard was experimenting and creating his own compositional structures.

Within a movement Eckard did not use any one specific type of form, such as binary form (A B) or sonata-allegro form. Also, with each movement the form varies. Within the two sets of sonatas, Eckard starts out with a quasi-fantasia form, and gradually changes to a kind of sonata-allegro form.49 Apparently, Eckard was searching for new musical forms and ideas in opposition to the traditional keyboard sonata writing style, for example the strict binary form in Domenico Scarlatti’s sonatas.50 In France during the 1760s, suite form was still dominating solo keyboard music writing.51 In other words, Eckard was a pioneer composer by publishing keyboard sonatas in quasi-fantasia form and a kind of sonata-allegro form in Paris.

Eckard’s sonatas illustrate that he was familiar with several different musical styles: empfindsamer stil, Italian sonata, and galant style. Newman suggested that Eckard probably composed his first three sonatas (op.1) while he studied the first volume of C.P.E. Bach’s Essay (1753) in Augsburg.52 From the ornamentation Eckard used in his sonatas, we could see that his compositional technique was influenced directly by C.P.E. Bach’s music. Special ornaments,


50 Reeser stated that around 1760 in Paris, Venier published XX Sonate per Cembalo di varri Autorri which included the works by Galuppi, Merola, Tasso, Marcello, Alberti, Domenico Scarlatti. Eduard Reeser, Johann Gottfried Eckard: Oeuvres Completes pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte (Amsterdam: Edition Heuwekemijer, 1956), Introduction.

51 Reeser, Johann Gottfried Eckard: Oeuvres Completes pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte, Introduction.

52 Newman, 636.
such as the trilled turn, appear in several movements of Eckard’s sonatas. According to C.P.E. Bach, “trilled turn occurs either with or without a preceding appoggiatura. However, like the short trill it is used only in a descending second…; it is used at half and whole cadences.” In the first movement of Sonata II in G minor, Eckard used the trilled turn in the measure 38, the cadence of the first section. The first section of Sonata II was ended in the relative major of G minor; it is neither a half or whole cadence. Therefore, Eckard applied the concept on how to use the trilled turn in his music writing based on C.P.E. Bach’s Essay, but did not strictly follow the instruction.

Leopold Mozart states in his letter in 1764 that Eckard’s music was the most difficult to play among German composers in France. He was more advanced than his contemporaries, and possessed a high level of technique, particularly in the left hand. Mozart notes that Eckard had a strong left hand technique and played easily on the keyboard when he improvised. By looking into his sonatas, we see that the technical treatments of both hands are equally important. Melodic and rhythmic motives alternate between both hands frequently.

The technical devices Eckard used include broken octaves or octave passages, hand crossing, and tremolos of thirds. Eckard was probably aware of the publication of Italian keyboard sonatas in 1760 in France, which included those by Domenico Scarlatti. Reeser stated


56 Reeser, Johann Gottfried Eckard: Oeures Completetes pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte (1956), Introduction.
that the general structure of Eckard’s sonatas showed his familiarity with Italian sonatas. Hand
crossing was one of Scarlatti’s compositional techniques that Eckard also featured in his sonatas.

The dynamic markings Eckard wrote on his musical scores are beyond just piano and
forte. He expanded the conventional dynamic markings by including piano, forte, pianissimo,
fortissimo, rinforzando, mezzo-forte, and crescendo. Of course, French composers, such as Jean
Philippe Rameau, indicated doux (soft) and fort (loud) in his Nouvelles Suites de Pièces de
clavecin. But Eckard used a far more detailed interpretation, possible only on the new
fortepiano. He seems to include such extensive dynamic marking in order to introduce himself in
Paris as an avant-garde composer and virtuoso on the avant-garde fortepiano.

For years, modern scholars and performers have been arguing that Eckard’s sonatas
(op.1) were intended for the new fortepiano because of the extensive dynamic markings. But
according to Rose’s dissertation, Eckard had the clavichord in his mind when he composed his
first sonata (op.1). Rose interprets many of the forte markings as Bebung, which is
accomplished much more effectively on the clavichord. By observing the keyboard range that
Eckard used to compose his sonatas, Keillor states in her dissertation that Eckard was aware of
Silbermann’s instrument in Strasbourg. Benton suggests that Eckard’s interest in composing
music for pianoforte was probably influenced by the instrument builder, Johann Andreas Stein.

57 Ibid., Introduction.
58 Epenhuysen Rose, 86.
59 Ibid., 203.
60 Ibid., 203.
61 Frances Elaine Keillor, “Leontzi Honauer (1735-ca. 1790) and the Development of Solo and Ensemble
Keyboard Music” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1976), 123.
62 Rita Benton, “Nicolas Joseph Hüllmandel and French Instrumental Music in the Second Half of the
Eighteenth Century” (PhD diss., State University of Iowa, 1961), 60-61.
All of these suggestions are possible. The main problem is that we do not have enough primary sources to prove which specific type of keyboard instrument among the three Eckard had in mind when he composed the first six sonatas op.1. Based on available primary sources, it is hinted that Eckard had intended to compose the first six sonatas op. 1 for the new fortepiano. The use of extensive dynamic markings and some musical expressions can only be interpreted on the fortepiano or clavichord. However, in France, by the end of the seventeenth century the clavichord was gradually replaced by the harpsichord.63 The keyboard instrument builders there showed little interest in making clavichords after the eighteenth century.64 The new compositional styles and techniques were developed by French composers, and thus were more suitable for the harpsichord.65

3.3 Eckard’s Sonata in F Minor (op.1)

The purpose of the analysis here is to show Eckard’s important position in the development of keyboard sonatas and the changes in musical style during the transitional period from harpsichord to fortepiano.

Eckard’s sonata in F minor (op.1) is a singular avant-garde work in three movements. It is possible that Eckard started writing this sonata already in Augsburg as Newman suggests.66 In the beginning of each movement, Eckard states clearly a choice of tempo and musical expressions. Also, he marks articulations precisely.

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64 Ibid., 136.
65 Ibid., 136.
66 Newman, 636.
Both the articulations and ornamentation Eckard uses in the sonata in F minor are directly taken from C.P.E. Bach’s *Versuch*. Ornament signs, such as trilled turn, trill, turn and the articulation markings, such as strokes or dots above the notes, occur in all three movements.\(^{67}\) In the second movement, there are two different interpretations of the ornaments: melodic decoration and written-out improvisation. On the melodic line, Eckard uses trilled turn, trill, and turn to decorate the melody. In addition, he fills in either small grace notes or thirty-second notes in ascending scales between the main melodic motives, which imitates the improvisatory style. In the second movement between measures 21 and 23, above the main melodic note, Eckard marks stroke and slur for the improvisatory ornament (thirty-second notes) (see Example 3.1). Example 3.1: Johann Gottfried Eckard, *Sonata III*, Op. 1, second movement, mm. 20-23

![Example 3.1](image)

In this sonata, Eckard does not use sonata-allegro form in the first movement. Instead, he uses a *quasi-fantasia* form. It is based on binary form with a kind of recapitulation in the B section in measure 136. Eckard starts with a completely new melodic idea in measure 61, the beginning of the B section; this melodic idea only happens once in the movement (see Example 3.2).

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Example 3.2: Johann Gottfried Eckard, *Sonata III*, Op. 1, first movement, mm. 59-62

The overall structure does not fit fully within the framework of sonata-allegro form; however, the idea of sonata-allegro form is present.

In this sonata, the leading melodic line is not only placed in the outer voice but also in the inner voice. The use of an inner melodic line is a new style of solo keyboard sonata writing. For example, between measures 38 and 42 in the third movement, the melodic line takes place in the inner voice on the right hand while the outer voice is simply alternating between two notes (see Example 3.3).

Example 3.3: Johann Gottfried Eckard, *Sonata III*, Op. 1, third movement, mm. 36-42

Another compositional technique is to use both hands in parallel octaves or thirds. Between measures 48 and 50 in the first movement, both hands are in triplet parallel octaves before the texture reduces to one voice at measure 51 (see Example 3.4).
Musical affect could be achieved at a deeper level through the variety of dynamic textures. Frequently, in the F minor sonata, Eckard uses *piano* and *forte* within a single measure to create sudden changes in dynamics. For example, between measures 58 and 59 in the third movement, both hands start out as *forte* on beat one followed with *piano* on beat three. Musically, the dynamic change strongly emphasizes the harmonic tension and resolution. At the same time, it reinforces two contrasts of musical affects that occur within a measure.

When the same melodic motive repeats with variations, different levels of dynamic markings are used. The musical phrase starts out in *piano*, followed by *forte*, and then *fortissimo*, such as between measures 11-13 in the first movement. The idea of dynamic development is highly emphasized. In other words, this is one way of marking a *crescendo* to build up the musical tension. Eckard also uses *crescendo* twice in the first and the third movements (measure 110, first movement, and measure 54, third movement) for a similar purpose. The passages where he indicates *crescendo* are when the melodic or bass line is moving either upward or downward. So, the *crescendo* marking is not only creating the musical tension, but also signifies special direction.

Two different ways of indicating *fortissimo*: *ff* and *ffmo* are both present in Eckard’s F minor sonata. For instance, between measures 56 and 57 in the third movement, he marks *ffmo* immediately followed by a measure of *piano*. He uses extreme dynamic contrast to reinforce the musical drama, a style of *empfindsamer stil*. The marking of *mezzo-forte* occurs twice in three
movements, and they are always followed by \textit{ffmo} after several measures. Musically, Eckard does not state crescendo on the page, but a natural crescendo could apply.

Eckard combines both harpsichord and piano idioms in his F minor sonata. In the first movement, the dotted rhythm is suitable for the harpsichord. Dotted rhythm is the main rhythmic motive which represents the musical expression “Allegro Maestoso é Staccato” in the first movement. Eckard indicates precise specific musical expression for the movement. The musical expression “Maestoso” is an Italian term of defining a “Majestic” musical style.

In the first movement, Eckard writes octaves with a slur in step-wise motion for the left hand, while the right hand trills with a termination. Then both hands play in unison, moving in the same direction. He is creating a musical effect by adding specific ornaments on the right hand in this passage. This same figure pattern repeats three times continuously (see Example 3.5).

Example 3.5: Johann Gottfried Eckard, \textit{Sonata III}, Op. 1, first movement, mm. 106-107

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example35.png}
\end{figure}

Eckard writes the second movement in an improvisatory expressive style. For example, in the opening of the second movement, the melodic motive is written in the interval of thirds and Eckard fills in the grace notes between the main melodic notes (see Example 3.6).

The basic phrasing is in two measures and the same melodic motives repeat at least once. Different ways of ornamenting the melodic motives are written out. Some passages, such as arpeggiation between measures 20 and 21, come from the tradition of harpsichord playing (see Example 3.7).

Example 3.7: Johann Gottfried Eckard, *Sonata III*, Op. 1, second movement, mm. 20-21

In measure 21, the arpeggiation is based on the III chord in the scale of C minor and followed by the IV chord in the next measure. It is an example of *style brisé*, which is commonly used in the harpsichord literature writings. In this passage, Eckard marks a dynamic that is difficult to achieve on the harpsichord. In the beginning of measure 21, he marks forte and follows by fortissimo at the end of the measure. The harpsichord, with its inability to produce different dynamic levels, is hardly able to express musical emotion at the greater level of Eckard’s dynamic markings.
Overall, Eckard incorporates both old and new keyboard idioms in each movement. However, stylistically, his sonatas can be expressed better on the fortepiano than the harpsichord. The main reason for this is that the harpsichord cannot gradually change dynamic levels or suddenly change dynamic contrasts. Eckard is trying to intentionally introduce the new style of keyboard music writing, taking it from the traditional harpsichord to the new fortepiano. Even though, in Op. 1 Eckard specifies clavecinc on the cover page, he wrote a foreword explaining all the possible instruments that can be used to perform his sonatas. Because his sonatas can be played on either the fortepiano or clavichord, Eckard “felt obliged to mark the softs and louds so often.”

3.4 Comparing Eckard’s Sonata in F Minor to His Contemporaries: C.P.E. Bach and Schobert

C.P.E Bach composed his sonata in F minor (Wq 57 no. 6) as part of sonatas für Kenner und Liebhaber (for connoisseurs and amateurs) during his Berlin period (1738-1768). According to Newman, the dotted rhythm and tonal compositional style used in the first movement of C.P.E. Bach’s F minor sonata recall Eckard’s F minor sonata. However, C.P.E. Bach’s F minor sonata was written in 1763, the same year that Eckard published his F minor sonata as opus 1 in Paris. Perhaps it was a coincidence that both C.P.E. Bach and Eckard composed and published their F minor keyboard sonatas in the same year, but Eckard’s F minor sonata was not directly influenced by C.P.E. Bach’s F minor sonata (Wq 57 no.6).

68 Newman, 635.

69 Ibid., 636.

In a comparison between C.P.E. Bach’s and Eckard’s first movements of their F minor sonatas, it appears Eckard’s originality may have developed from C.P.E. Bach’s compositional styles. Newman stated that the first three sonatas by Eckard resemble C.P.E. Bach’s sonatas and reflect Eckard’s self-training in compositional writing.71

Both C.P.E. Bach and Eckard write their first movements in two sections (A B) with a kind of recapitulation in the B section. C.P.E. Bach ends the first section in the dominant and starts the second section in the relative major. In contrast, Eckard modulates to the relative major at the end of the first section. Moreover, these are differences in the opening thematic material in the B section between C.P.E. Bach and Eckard. C.P.E. Bach uses the same opening thematic material from the A section in the B section. However, Eckard uses completely new thematic material for his B section; he changes to a lyrical melodic motive instead of maintaining the same musical character as the opening A section. In a kind of recapitulation in the B section, both C.P.E. Bach (measure 66) and Eckard (measure 136) go back to the same opening thematic material. From the compositional outline, both composers apply similar ideas of sonata form in their writings, but in terms of thematic material treatments, Eckard creates a new idea in the B section. In other words, while C.P.E. Bach remains to the compositional styles of his time, Eckard searches and develops new ideas in keyboard sonata writing.

The only time C.P.E. Bach uses parallel octaves is in the transitional measure back to his main melodic theme (measure 8, 34, 35 and 91) while Eckard uses octave passages in many different places. C.P.E. Bach’s rhythmic ideas do not change as frequently as they do in Eckard’s piece. Throughout the first movement, C.P.E. Bach uses only two different types of rhythmic motives, dotted rhythms and the triplet. Eckard, however, also uses tremolo effects, alla

71 Newman, 636-637.
**lombarda** rhythm, connecting scales and passage-work. The variety of rhythmic motives Eckard uses in his sonata create a complexity of rhythmic texture while C.P.E. Bach uses simplicity of rhythmic texture in the first movement of his F minor sonata.

C.P.E. Bach uses dynamic markings from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*. He only marks a few dynamic signs in the score, but the contrast in the dynamic changes is huge. He marks *pianissimo* on a measure right after one measure of *forte*, such as between measure 31 and 32. The sudden and unexpected changes are typical his *empfindsamer stil*. Although C.P.E. Bach does not use the term of *crescendo* or a sign for it, he wrote different dynamic terms in each measure (*piano, mezzo-forte*, then *forte*). For example, three levels of dynamics are used between measure 58 and 60 in C.P.E. Bach’s sonata (see Example 3.8).

Example 3.8: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Sonata*, Wq 57, no. 6, first movement, mm. 57-60

![Example 3.8: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Sonata, Wq 57, no. 6, first movement, mm. 57-60](https://example.com/Example38.png)

The same style of dynamic markings is also present in Eckard’s F minor sonata, but Eckard expands the use of dynamic markings further (*mezzo-forte, rinforzando*) and even includes the word *crescendo* for a gradual development of dynamics.

Whether or not Eckard had C.P.E. Bach’s F minor sonata in his hand when Eckard composed and published the op. 1 in 1763 in Paris is unknown. There is not enough information to prove that Eckard’s F minor sonata is directly influenced by C.P.E. Bach’s sonata. Perhaps Eckard’s compositional writing is influenced by studying C.P.E. Bach’s compositions and *Essay*

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rather than a specific sonata.\textsuperscript{73} Based on the comparison, it shows that Eckard is developing complexity in the rhythmic texture and expanding the use of dynamics signs. In his musical self-training he was both directly and indirectly influenced by C.P.E. Bach. This led Eckard to develop his own musical style.

Schobert published a set of six sonatas (op.14) specifying \textit{Pour le Clavecin} in 1766 in Paris. In the third sonata, Schobert uses a dotted rhythm as the main rhythmic motive in the first movement of his C minor sonata (op. 14). This shows the probability that Eckard’s publication of op.1 influenced Schobert.\textsuperscript{74} However, besides the dotted rhythms, Schobert does not use any other rhythmic motives in his first movement; the composition remains in a plain rhythmic texture and is dominated by the melody in the right hand. The compositional structure and style are simpler in Schobert’s sonata than in Eckard’s sonata. According to Newman, Eckard’s creativity in both his treatment of textures and rhythms are superior to that of Schobert.\textsuperscript{75}

In the beginning of Schobert’s C minor sonata, he starts with lombardic rhythm in the right hand, as Eckard did in his F minor sonata except for the left hand (see Example 3.9). Example 3.9: Johann Schobert, \textit{Sonata III}, first movement, mm. 1-4

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example3_9.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{73} Turrentine, 864.
\textsuperscript{74} Newman, 636.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 636.
In measure 4, Schobert has both hands in parallel octaves which is the same technique used by Eckard in measure 13. Furthermore, between measures 97 and 103, Eckard writes two voices for the right hand in dotted rhythm. Similarly, Schobert imitates the same rhythmic gesture but it is in both hands, such as between measures 19 and 26. Both hands have the same dotted rhythm with a single melodic line. Throughout the first movement, Schobert imitates Eckard’s dotted rhythmic gesture.

Schobert does not use any dynamic markings in his solo keyboard sonatas, even though he models the rhythmic motive on Eckard’s sonatas. Perhaps Schobert’s imitation of Eckard’s composition only focuses on musical characters rather than the choice of instruments. Most likely, when Schobert composed his set of sonatas (op.14), he was not trying to intentionally introduce the new fortepiano like Eckard does. Schobert specifies Pour le Clavecin, but he does not use any dynamic markings in his solo keyboard sonatas. On the other hand, Eckard specifies Clavecin then utilizes extensive dynamic markings. This new and innovative use of dynamic markings introduced by Eckard clearly shows his intention of writing his sonatas for the new fortepiano. The use of the term Clavecin on the title page of their publications does not refer to a specific keyboard instrument in their time.

Eckard is clearly an avant-garde composer. His sonata is much more complex than either C.P.E. Bach’s or Schobert’s. His use of a variety of rhythms, motives, and dynamic markings
show Eckard’s originality and diversity. Eckard transforms C.P.E. Bach’s musical styles into his own, developing new and innovative ways of composition.
4.1 Introduction to Fortepiano

Not only in Italy and Germany, but also in France, composers had been seeking a more expressive keyboard instrument that would allow the production of different dynamic levels since the early 1700s. Already in 1713 François Couperin wrote in the preface to his *Pièces de clavecin* that “the clavecin is perfect as to its range, and brilliant in itself, but as it is impossible to swell or diminish the volume of sound, I would be forever grateful to anyone who, by infinite art sustained by taste, is able to render the instrument capable of expression.”\(^{76}\) Three years later in 1716, Jean Marius, a versatile inventor, submitted a sketch of a *clavecin à maillets* (keyboard instrument with hammers) to the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris.\(^{77}\) There is a possibility that Marius was not aware of Bartolomeo Cristofori’s invention of the pianoforte in Florence around 1700, which was described in Scipione Maffei’s article “Nuova invenzione di un gravicembalo col piano e forte.”\(^{78}\)

One of the earliest fortepiano makers in Germany was Gottfried Silbermann. The hammer action in Silbermann’s fortepiano was quite similar to Cristofori’s piano.\(^{79}\) Gottfried Silbermann called his new instrument the “Piano Forte.”\(^{80}\) Later, many of Silbermann’s students set up their own workshops in different cities and other countries. For example, Johann Heinrich

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\(^{77}\) Ibid., 214.

\(^{78}\) Ibid., 214.


\(^{80}\) Ibid., 19.
Silbermann, a nephew of Gottfried Silbermann, set up his own workshop in Strasbourg, while Johann Zumpe moved to England and had his workshop there.\footnote{Ibid., 21; Virginia Pleasants, “The Early Piano in Britain (c1760-1800),” \textit{Early Music} 13, no. 1 (Feb., 1985): 39.}

Johann Andreas Stein received training from his father, Johann Georg Stein, as an organ builder. Johann Andreas Stein left his hometown of Heidelsheim, Germany in 1748 and settled in Augsburg in 1750. During his journey, he toured the workshops of Johann Heinrich Silbermann in Strasbourg and Franz Jakob Späth in Regensburg.\footnote{Michael Latcham, “Johann Andreas Stein and the search for the expressive Clavier,” in the \textit{Bowed and Keyboard Instruments in the Age of Mozart: Proceedings of the harmoniques International Congress Held in Lausanne 2006}, ed. Thomas Steiner (Bern: Peter Lang SA, 2010), 135.} During Stein’s lifetime, he invented a variety of keyboard instruments. We do not have documentation of Stein’s early instrument imports to Paris in 1758; however, it is known that Stein brought a \textit{Poli-Toni-Clavichord} (combined harpsichord-piano) and presented it to the \textit{Dauphine}, Marie Antoinette, during his second trip to Paris in 1773.\footnote{Florence Gétreau, \textit{Écoles et traditions régionales} 1ère partie (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2004), 79.}

Both the English and the German traditions of fortepiano making influenced the French builders. The earliest extant French square piano by Jean-Killien Mercken is modeled on Zumpe’s English square piano.\footnote{Jean-Claude Battault, “Les Premiers Pianoforte Français,” in the \textit{Keyboard Instruments-Flexibility of Sound and Expression: Proceedings of the harmoniques International Congress Held in Lausanne 2002}, ed. Thomas Steiner (Bern: Peter Lang SA, 2004), 100.} Silbermann’s fortepiano action influenced Pascal Taskin and Louis Bas’s grand piano building.\footnote{Detailed information on both Taskin’s and Louis Bas’s fortepiano can be accessed on the article by John Koster, “Two Early French Grand Pianos,” \textit{Early Keyboard Journal} 12 (1994).}

At the time, builders made two major types of fortepianos: the square piano and the grand piano. The action of both fortepiano was simple. The earliest surviving square pianos (dating
from the 1760s), such as one built by Zumpe in 1767 had hand stops to operate the upper/lower registers of dampers. After the 1770s, Zumpe added an additional buff or harp stop, which was used to create a kind of pizzicato sound. Knee levers were never used in square pianos. The action for both English square and grand pianos was the same, and they all had dampers and leathered hammers of solid wood.

The early German fortepiano had two different types of action. Some of them had Prellmechanik action without an escapement, and some had Stoßmechanik action with an escapement. These fortepianos also included the stops for moderator and harp (Harfenzug). The moderator stop created a softer, rounder sound. The harp stop gave a pizzicato sound effect, but not all the early German fortepianos had dampers. The buff stop was not used in early German fortepianos. The stops could be operated by either knee lever or pedal, except for the lying-harp pianos, which would have had hand operated stops. Gradually, the mechanism

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86 This particular square piano built by Johann Zumpe in 1767 is located in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 331.

87 Gétreau, 74.

88 Ibid., 74.

89 There are exceptions which can be accessed in the footnote in Gétreau, 74.

90 Gétreau, 75.

91 Ibid., 75.

92 Ibid., 75.

93 Ibid., 76.

94 Ibid., 76.
developed into a German action with an escapement. This type of action applied to both square and grand fortепианоs.

Another new effect, the una corda stop, could only be found in grand pianos and was operated by a knee lever. It was exemplified in grand pianos, such as those by Johann Heinrich Silbermann.

In the early stages of fortепиано production, whether the instruments were made in England or Germany, all builders tried to create many different sound effects with special stops. A variety of colors and dynamic effects were the two most sought after musical elements during the late eighteenth century. Therefore, besides the development of many different types of hammer action keyboard instruments, a huge variety of Veränderungen (stops) for fortепиано were invented by builders.

4.2 Terminology in Eighteenth-Century

“Klavier” or “clavier” simply denotes a “keyboard instrument.” Most of the keyboard music written in the first half of the eighteenth century did not specify a particular type of keyboard instrument. Only one set of twelve sonatas by Lodovico Giustini published in Florence in 1732, specifically asked for the new fortепиано. By the second-half of the eighteenth century, the term “clavier” commonly referred to the clavichord, and was only applied to the

95 Ibid., 76.


97 Ibid., 17.

98 Gètreau, 76.

99 Lodovico Giustini, Sonate da Cimbalo di piano e forte detto volgarmente di martelletti (Florence: Firenze, 1732).
fortepiano after the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{100} As builders continued to develop the keyboard instruments, the definitions of the terminology changed.

Traditionally, in France, the title pages on all keyboard publications specified “clavecin” which meant harpsichord.\textsuperscript{101} Composers continued using the term “clavecin” for their publications during this transitional period for keyboard instruments. “Clavecin” no longer referred specifically to the harpsichord in the second half of the eighteenth century; rather, the definition had changed to mean a keyboard instrument in general. This is evidenced by the hammer-action instrument inventor Marius calling his instrument “Clavecin à Maillets” in 1716.\textsuperscript{102}

Similarly, the term “flügel” means a harpsichord in a wing-shape. When this term is applied to the fortepiano, it would be either “Forte Piano Flügel” or “Hammerflügel.” Since the main characteristic of this instrument is being able to produce both loud and soft sound, Gottfried Silbermann simply called his instruments with hammer action “Piano-Forte” (Silbermann, in 1732, presented the instrument “Piano-Fort[e]” to the Dresden court).\textsuperscript{103} Gottfried Silbermann was the first builder who used these terms as nouns “PianoFort[e]” or “Piano et Forte.”\textsuperscript{104} Both nouns were used by newspapers reporter and composers. For example, in 1747, a Berlin newspaper reported Johann Sebastian Bach’s visit to the Potsdam court, and used the noun


\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 3.
“Piano-Forte”; both Johann Joachim Quantz and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach used the noun “Pianoforte” in their treatises.\(^{105}\)

Later, Gottfried Silbermann’s nephew, Johann Heinrich Silbermann called his pianoforte “clavessins a piano e forte.”\(^{106}\) Because the pianoforte was imported to France, Johann Heinrich Silbermann used the French “clavecín” instead of the German “flügel.” Therefore, both terms, “clavecín” and “flügel,” refer to the same type of keyboard instrument (harpsichord). Gradually, the terms “Piano-Forte” and “Forte-Piano” (hyphenated or not) became better known in Paris through the German keyboard instrument builders.\(^{107}\)

Another term for harpsichord is “Cembalo” or “Clavicembalo,” which means a stringed keyboard instrument. This term had been used in Italy for a time until Cristofori’s new keyboard instrument was invented and called “Gravicembalo col piano e forte.”\(^{108}\) When Giovanni Ferrini, who was a student of Cristofori’s, built his pianoforte, and named it “cembalo a martellini.”\(^{109}\)

Once the fortepiano became a more popular instrument, composers used a variety of terminologies on their title pages. Builders also named their new instruments differently. There is no standard terminology to define “clavecín.” For instance, in France, builders referred to grand pianos as “pianos en forme de clavecín.”\(^{110}\)

Earlier composers simply used the term “clavier” for their publications. For example, Johann Sebastian Bach used “clavier” to refer to any keyboard instrument when he published his

\(^{105}\) Ibid., 4.

\(^{106}\) Battault, 94.

\(^{107}\) Badura-Skoda, 5.


\(^{109}\) Cole, 16.

\(^{110}\) Latcham, 371.
three volumes of his “Clavier-Übung.”\textsuperscript{111} Some parts of this collection included an instrument specification, such as for an organ or a two manual harpsichord; otherwise, the music can be played on any keyboard instrument. A similar concept applies in Eckard’s publication. He specifies “Clavecin” on the title page of op.1, with an explanation in his Foreword of other possible instruments which can be used for playing his sonatas.\textsuperscript{112} This suggests that “clavecin” was no longer defined as a “harpsichord” in the second-half of the eighteenth century. The term had changed to refer to any keyboard instrument.

4.3 Keyboard Instruments Between 1760 and 1785 in France

Fortepianos began to appear in the early 1760s in Paris.\textsuperscript{113} Both English and German fortepiano makers had a major influence on the early stages of French piano production.\textsuperscript{114} In Sébastien Erard’s obituary from 1831, it is stated that many fortepianos were imported from Augsburg, Regensburg, and London to Paris before he started producing fortepianos in France around 1777.\textsuperscript{115} This leads to the association with particular builders from these places (Johann Andreas Stein from Augsburg, Franz Jacob Späth from Regensburg, and Johann Zumpe from London).\textsuperscript{116} However, the statement is not quite complete because there were many other foreign


\textsuperscript{113} Latcham, “Pianos and harpsichords for Their Majesties,” 359.


\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 34.
builders also importing their fortepianos to France, including Johann Heinrich Silbermann, before 1777.117

The earliest known reference to a fortepiano was an advertisement in the Parisian newspaper *L’Avant Coureur* on April 6, 1761. There were four fortepianos by Johann Heinrich Silbermann available for sale, with the price of 1500 *livres* each; the descriptions of the instruments were also listed in the article (see Appendix III). 118 The action of Johann Heinrich Silbermann’s fortepiano from around the 1770s had minor differences from the fortepiano by Gottfried Silbermann, such as a lack of a transposing device, and hammer heads resting on a cloth-covered rail. 119 The transposing device was featured in Johann Heinrich Silbermann’s 1761 fortepiano description.120 Perhaps through the years, Johann Heinrich Silbermann made changes to his fortepiano construction. The keyboard of Johann Heinrich Silbermann’s fortepiano already had five full octaves by the 1760s.121

Another builder, Johann Ludwig Hellen, settled and opened his workshop in France during the 1760s. Based on the most recent research, there were three types of hammer action instruments made by Hellen: square piano, combined harpsichord-piano, and *Hammerflügel*. The dates of his extent instruments are between 1763 and 1780, and the keyboard compass is five octaves.122 Two of Hellen’s preserved instruments from 1763 are combined harpsichord-pianos

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117 Ibid., 34.


119 Ibid., 15.

120 Ibid., 15.

121 Ibid., 15.

122 Gétreau, 73.
(now called a *Hammerflügel*). The original combined harpsichord-piano (1763) had a German action; later the instrument was converted to a *Hammerflügel* with German action and escapement.\(^{123}\)

The native French builder, François Etienne Blanchet II, who was famous for his harpsichord, made a “hammer harpsichord” (*clavécin à marteaux*) already in 1763. This instrument was indicated as a grand piano when listed in Claude Balbastre’s inventory after his death.\(^{124}\) Pascal Taskin, who was a successor of Blanchet’s, produced several grand pianos in the late 1780s. Also, Taskin invented a new mechanism for the harpsichord called *peau de buffle*, which could produce gradual dynamics even with the traditional harpsichord action. It was operated by a knee lever (*genovillères*). The builder Weltman already had a harpsichord with the *genovillères* device for sale in 1758, and presented it to the French *Académie des Sciences*.\(^{125}\)

The conventional earlier keyboard instrument builders had been trying to invent new technical devices so the harpsichord could produce dynamic expressions. In France, Weltman and Taskin developed the new mechanism to allow the harpsichord to become a more expressive instrument. A similar idea was also taking shape in England with Burkat Shudi.

The English builder, Burkat Shudi, invented a new mechanism - a Venetian swell, operated by pedals instead of a knee lever.\(^{126}\) After Shudi’s death, John Broadwood continued

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\(^{123}\) Ibid., 83.

\(^{124}\) Howard Schott, *The Historical Harpsichord*, vol 1 (Pendragon Press, 1984), 89. The inventory was from Claude Balbastre’s wife, Geneviève Hotteterre, which dated 14 November, 1763. It states that “……clavécin à marteau a ravallement à un seul clavier et tirace dans son etuy de bois peint, le clavécin fait par Blanchet,” “(hammer harpsichord of five octaves with only one keyboard and pull-down pedals in its painted wooden case, made by Blanchet).”


\(^{126}\) Venetian swell is a flat harpsichord lid comprised of shutters controlled by a pedal, which could produce crescendos and decrescendos through opening and closing. Virginia Pleasants, “The early piano in Britain (c. 1760-1800),” *Early Music* 13, no.1 (Feb., 1985): 44.
the business and also started to build pianos. Gradually, the number of pianos sold became higher than those of harpsichords; in 1784 Broadwood sold 133 pianos and only 38 harpsichords. Based on these numbers, the piano had clearly become the more popular instrument.

A similar situation also occurred in France, but it took longer there than in England and Germany. Since the harpsichord had been one of the dominant keyboard instruments in France before the 1760s, builders made the French harpsichord to perfection. Up until the 1760s, most of the French harpsichords had a keyboard compass of a full five octaves, so that any new keyboard literature could be played.

From inventory lists, it shows that French builders were very interested in making new fortepianos. Jacques Goermans was one of the well-known harpsichord builders in France. But in addition to Taskin’s pianos, he had more than fifteen pianos in his workshop inventory lists in 1789. This proves that the public was also interested in purchasing new fortepianos as well as harpsichords. Gradually professional and amateur musicians incorporated the new fortepiano into their performance practice.

The English (square piano) and German (grand piano) were the two major models that French builders copied. Balthazar Péronard and Johann Kilian Mercken made square pianos in the early 1770s modeled after Zumpe’s square piano. Louis Bas and one of Taskin’s grand

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127 Ibid., 363.
129 Ibid., 273.
131 Ibid., 81.
pianos from the 1780s were modeled after Johann Heinrich Silbermann’s grand pianos.\textsuperscript{132} Square pianos were more popular than grand pianos because they were cheaper and easier to maintain.\textsuperscript{133} However, by the 1780s, the number of people purchasing square pianos still did not exceed those purchasing harpsichords.\textsuperscript{134} Square pianos were gaining popularity with the French aristocracy, but it did not mean that they had stopped buying harpsichords. Most French aristocracy had either a harpsichord or a square piano.\textsuperscript{135}

Musical aesthetics continued to change throughout the eighteenth century. The demand for an expressive instrument from composers and performers continued to increase as well. The compositional style had changed since the 1760s. Composers included many different levels of dynamics in their writing and incorporated concepts from orchestral music (such as the new Mannheim orchestral effects) into compositions for solo keyboard work.\textsuperscript{136}

4.4 Public Concerts in Eighteenth-Century Paris

Paris became an important musical center in Europe during the eighteenth-century. Both the Italian and German musical language had been introduced to French audiences, and their compositional styles were influencing French composers’ writing. At the same time, the Italian and German music began to be printed by French publishers. In addition to French music, Italian and German compositions were being performed at the \textit{Concerts Spirituels} and in the \textit{salon}.\textsuperscript{137}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{132} Koster, “Two Early French Grand Pianos,” 7.
\item \textsuperscript{133} Latcham, “Pianos and harpsichords for Their Majesties,” 370.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Epenhuysen Rose, 29, 192.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 370.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Benton, 56.
\end{itemize}
Concert Spirituel was founded by Anne Danican Philidor in 1725, and its main purpose was to introduce modern music of all nationalities. The concert series lasted until 1790. Different national styles of repertoire were included in the concert programs. Johann Stamitz introduced both the Mannheim orchestral works and a new instrument: the clarinet. Stamitz’s orchestral works inspired French composers, such as François-Joseph Gossec and Simon Leduc, to write French symphonic compositions. Gossec even included the clarinet in his orchestra composition. Also, the size of the French orchestra was expanded and continued to grow throughout the years.

By 1775 the Concert Spirituel directorship had been taken over by Gaviniès, Gossec and Leduc. At this time, the size of the orchestra had increased to 58 players. Two years later, other symphonic works by German composers, such as Haydn and Mozart, were included in the programs.

Besides Concert Spirituel, aristocrats like Prince de Conti hosted concerts in their homes. He held gatherings of artists and musicians; Johann Schobert was one of the musicians who worked for Prince de Conti. In France, Schobert was known as a harpsichordist and composer.

Madame Brillon set up her own private salon outside of Paris in the 1770s. Because of her wealth, she owned a great number of harpsichords and early pianos. At her salon, both harpsichord and piano music could be heard, performed by either Brillon or others (Germanic

\[\text{\textsuperscript{138}} \text{Ibid., 91.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{139}} \text{Cook, 91.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{140}} \text{Cook, 91.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{141}} \text{Cook, 91.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{142}} \text{Ibid., 92.}\]
and Italian composers). In contrast to the first fortepiano appearance in *Concert Spirituel*, a fortepiano was used in 1768 to accompany vocal music.

In 1770, Mercken’s square piano (modeled on English square piano) was presented in a Paris concert featuring different styles of piano literature. The program for this concert was “*Ariettes choisies mises en sonates pour le clavécin ou le piano-forte, Trois sonates pour clavécin ou forte-piano, and six concertos pour le clavécin ou le forte-piano* par J.-C. Bach (op. VII).”

Concert programs from Eckard’s time suggest that the new fortepiano was not used as a solo instrument; because no solo keyboard sonata was listed on the 1770’s concert program. On the other hand, J.C. Bach’s keyboard concertos were included and played on the square piano. Although there were no solo keyboard pieces, the audience could still hear the solo piano passages.

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143 Gustafson, 31.
144 Brenet, 292.
147 Ibid., 139.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Different national styles of music and the new fortepiano were introduced to Parisians after the 1750s. Traditional French music aesthetic was gradually affected by this development.

Eckard arrived in Paris during this time. He was in the social circle of Diderot, Morellet and Brillon who were very interested in collecting fortepianos. Eckard also made the acquaintance of Burney, and of Leopold Mozart and his family during the 1760s in France.

Eckard wrote only eight keyboard sonatas in his lifetime. These sonatas feature numerous innovations: extensive dynamic markings, solo keyboard styles of writing, and new keyboard idioms. His keyboard sonatas influenced many of his contemporaries including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Schobert.

All the main musical styles of Eckard’s time including Italian sonata, galant, empfindsamer stil, and the Mannheim styles are incorporated in his eight solo keyboard sonatas.148 Eckard was self-trained and had studied C.P.E. Bach’s Essay which influenced his keyboard sonatas’ writing.149 Additionally, he was always trying to invent new musical ideas and forms. Eckard not only composed in new, innovative styles, he also utilized and built upon the old keyboard idioms.

Three years after Eckard arrived in Paris with the keyboard instrument builder Stein, four instruments made by Johann Heinrich Silbermann were listed in an advertisement in the Parisian

149 Turrentine, 864.
newspaper *L’Avant Coureur* on April 6, 1761.\textsuperscript{150} Eckard published two sets of sonatas between 1763 and 1764 in Paris. There are not enough primary sources to prove that Eckard’s sonatas were written for either Silbermann or Stein’s new fortepianos. But, according to Koster, there is a possibility that Eckard’s sonatas may have been written for the instruments which had connection with the Silbermann school.\textsuperscript{151}

Playing Eckard’s sonatas on the harpsichord versus the fortepiano was not really an issue during his lifetime, even though his sonatas were intentionally written for the new fortepiano. From the musical styles and aesthetics, Eckard’s sonatas definitely sound better on the fortepiano than harpsichord, especially in the slow movements. The musical expression can be interpreted on the fortepiano more effectively than on the harpsichord because the fortepiano can produce different levels of dynamics. Furthermore, in the letter from Thomas Twining to Burney in 1777, Twining stated that “especially in the slow movements, produced some unpleasing vacuities of sound…” after he played the whole set of Eckard’s sonatas.\textsuperscript{152} According to Twining, “upon a harpsichord, this support of harmony, batteries, & poddlediddle basses & seems necessary, at least in movements that are not rapid. The Pianoforte will bear simple melody much better, to be sure.”\textsuperscript{153} Based on Twining’s opinion, it shows that Eckard’s sonatas may be interpreted on either the harpsichord or fortepiano, but one instrument may sound better than the other, especially in the slow movements.

\textsuperscript{150} Epenhuysen Rose, 58.

\textsuperscript{151} Koster, “Foreign Influences in Eighteenth-Century French Piano Making,” 17.

\textsuperscript{152} Hogwood, *Burney, Bach and the Bachists*, 227.

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 227.
Finally, based on both primary and secondary sources, plus studying and playing Eckard’s sonatas, it proves that Eckard intentionally composed his sonatas for the new fortepiano. Although he stated that his sonatas of op.1 may be played on the harpsichord, clavichord or fortepiano, the extensive dynamic markings and some of the musical expressions are hardly able to be interpreted on the harpsichord.\textsuperscript{154} Eckard was definitely one of the pioneering composers who wrote solo keyboard sonatas specifically for the new fortepiano in France hoping to promote the instrument. Also, he was one of the avant-garde composers who specified in his publications that his solo keyboard sonatas could be played on either the harpsichord or the fortepiano on the title page or Foreword.\textsuperscript{155}


\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., Avertissement.
APPENDIX A

LIST OF ECKARD’S PUBLICATIONS TITLE PAGES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Six Sonates pour le Clavecin Chez l’Auteur, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Deux Sonates pour le Clavecin ou le Piano Forte Chez l’Auteur, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Menuet d’Exaudet avec jarring Variationa pour le Clavecin Chez l’Auteur, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Sei Sonate per il Clavicembalo Solo Giovani Federico Hartknoch, Riga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or forte piano Printed and sold by R. Bremner, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Two sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte Printed and sold by R. Bremner, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>Minuet D’Exaudet with Variations for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte Printed and sold by R. Bremner, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Oeuvres Complètes pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte Edited by Eduard Reeser and published by Bärenreiter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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APPENDIX B

L’AVANT COUREUR, 6 APRIL 1761
Master Henri Silbermann, harpsichord and organ builder in Strasbourg, makes piano e forte harpsichords of a special and very advantageous design.

1. The strings are struck from below by means of small round hammers covered with leather, producing a mellow tone without the dryness of ordinary harpsichord tone. First advantage.

2. The motion of three levers [i.e., presumably the key lever, the intermediate lever, and the hammer shank] gives the hammer more or less playing force and causes a greater or lesser vibration of the string according to the pressure on the key. Second advantage.

3. The jacks [i.e., the dampers], of a special cloth-covered type, can be turned off if one wishes, strengthening or weakening the tone at will. Third advantage.

4. By pushing the keyboard from the bass end, one moves the hammers so that they no longer strike the same string but rather the one above. By this means one can lower the instrument by a semitone to accommodate the voice. Fourth advantage, which remedies the inconvenience of transposing.

It all is made with the greatest neatness and precision, so that the action, although complicated, does not seem to be susceptible to malfunction and does not make any noise disruptive to the musical sound.157

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BIBLIOGRAPHY


**Music Score**

