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A Museum, a World War, and a Rediscovery: Flutes by Quantz and Others from the Hohenzollern Museum

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JOHANN JOACHIM QUANTZ (1697–1773) is best known today as the author of the *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752).¹ In addition to his importance as a musical theorist and composer of flute music, Quantz made substantial contributions to flute design.² Dissatisfied with the intonation of available instruments, he added a second key (for D \sharp) as early as 1726 to

1. Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Voss, 1752); trans. Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 2d ed. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985).

2. Quantz, in his autobiography, “Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen,” in *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1755; reprt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 197–250, English translation by Paul Mueller, in Paul Nettl, ed., *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 280–319, testified that he bored and tuned flutes himself (“Wegen Mangels guter Flöten fieng ich im Jahre 1739 an, selbst welch zu bohren, und abzustimmen”); see Willi Kahl, ed., *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Staufem-Verlag, 1948), 154. The memoirist General Graf Isaak Franz Egmont von Chasot (1716–1797), who attended Frederick’s concerts, also testified to Quantz’s flute-making; see Meiko Ten Brink, *Die Flötenkonzerte von Johann Joachim Quantz: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Übertlieferung und Form*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1995), 1:79. Unfortunately, Quantz’s direct role in building flutes has been questioned since the late eighteenth century. The flutist Johann George Tromlitz, in his essay, “Abhandlung über den schönen Ton auf der Flöte,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 2 (1800): 301–04, claimed that Quantz directed someone else to do the work, but Tromlitz’s competitive nature and correspondingly poor credibility are easily demonstrated by his claim, in the same essay, that Quantz also did not write his *Versuch*. Quantz’s instruments not only are unlike the work of other contemporary makers, but they have features built into them (including an axis of balance and weight distribution that correspond to his instructions in the *Versuch*, for example) that only a sophisticated flutist might have created. These and other subtle features offer convincing evidence that, in addition to the tuning and drilling of the bore and tone holes, Quantz was at least responsible for the complete design of his flutes.

improve certain chromatic notes of the scale.³ In 1739 he began to make complete flutes, mainly for himself and his royal pupil, King Frederick II (“the Great”) of Prussia (1712–1786).⁴

Flutes from Quantz’s workshop have come down to us primarily from the estate of King Frederick II (Quantz’s employer in Berlin from 1741), whose collection has been a continual source of interest to collectors, flutists, and historians. Frederick’s high opinion of Quantz’s instruments is demonstrated by the amount he paid for them (275 Taler or 100 ducats each) and the fact that he commissioned well over twenty. Modern study of these flutes has been hindered both by their wide dispersion and by problems of identification and authentication. This situation has posed a significant obstacle for Quantz research, especially as a detailed understanding of their design and playing characteristics is highly desirable for evaluating his instructions to players in the *Versuch*.

In addition to providing an overview of Quantz’s surviving output as a flute maker (see Table 1, to which frequent reference will be made), the present article will seek to dispel the confusion that has arisen during the present century concerning exactly which instruments are original specimens and which are copies, and will show that two flutes which had been thought to be lost since World War II are extant.⁵

3. Prior to this invention, flutists since Hotteterre had customarily used different fingerings to distinguish between flats and sharps. In keeping with this practice, Quantz’s additional key on the foot joint permitted, for the first time, a D \sharp that was 22 cents lower than E \flat , thus bringing important intervals, especially major thirds (i.e., E \flat to G and B to D \sharp), into tune. William Waterhouse repeats, among other things, the common misconception that the D \sharp was higher than the E \flat , s.v. “Quantz,” *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 315. The two keys also help a number of fifths on the flute, improving intonation in tonalities with multiple flats and sharps.

4. Quantz reports in his “Lebenslauf” that he had already begun in 1728 to teach flute to Frederick, then a sixteen-year-old crown prince; he probably also procured flutes for the king.

5. Standard references provide incomplete and often confusing information. For example, Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 182, lists only eight flutes by Quantz, three of which are of doubtful attribution (Y3, Y5, and Y8); one of these, Y8, is an ivory flute (no longer extant, according to Jean-François Beaudin), whose identity and provenance cannot be confirmed and which is therefore not listed in Table 1. Young’s numbers correspond to Table 1 as follows: Y1 = A4; Y2 = A7; Y3 = B3; Y4 = A5; Y5 = B2; Y6 = A6; Y7 = A8. Ardal Powell and David Lasocki, “Bach and the Flute: The Players, the Instruments, the Music,” *Early Music* 23 (1995): 23, provide a list of references, of which some are misleading (the instrument listed as “Hamamatsu ex Rosenbaum ex Hohenzollern” was never kept in the Hohenzollern Museum) and others are inaccurate (the instrument designated “Paris” is a copy of a Quantz flute; see Table 1, entry C3).

TABLE 1. Overview of “Quantz” Flutes.

| Current (former) location | Maker | Opus or date | Heads | Screw cork | Tuning slide | Keys | Corps de rechange | Lowest pitch* |
|--|--------|----------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------|
| A. Authentic Quantz Flutes | | | | | | | | |
| A1 Karlsruhe, private collection (ex–Margrave of Baden [Baden-Baden]) | Quantz | III | 2 | ✓✓ | ✓ | 2 | I–IIIII | a′=385 Hz? |
| A2 Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, no. 1236n (ex–Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3838) | Quantz | IV (on foot only) | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | I? | altered |
| A3 Potsdam, Schloß Sanssouci, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, V 18 (ex–Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3836) | Quantz | XVII (foot: VI) | 1 (formerly 2) | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | I | a′=385 Hz |
| A4 Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Dayton C. Miller Collection, no. 916 (ex–von Oppen-Arnim)‡ | Quantz | XIII† | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | I–IIIII† | a′=385 Hz |
| A5 Hamamatsu, Japan, Musical Instrument Museum (ex–Robert Rosenbaum [Scarsdale, New York]) | Quantz | XV | 2 | ✓✓ | ✓✓ | 2 | I–IIIII | a′=385 Hz |
| A6 Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, no. Hz 1289 (ex–Schloß Köpenick [Berlin]; ex–Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3837) | Quantz | XVII†† | 1 (formerly 2) | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | IIII | a′=400 Hz |

continued

TABLE 1. Overview of “Quantz” Flutes, *continued*

| Current (former) location | Maker | Opus or date | Heads | Screw cork | Tuning slide | Keys | Corps de rechange | Lowest pitch* |
|---|---------|--------------|-------|------------|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| A7 Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, no. 5076 (ex-Axel Hein [Munich]) | Quantz | XVIII | 2 | ✓✓ | ✓✓ | 2 | I–III | a′=387 Hz |
| A8 Hechingen, Burg Hohenzollern (ex-Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia [Switzerland]; ex-Glienicke, Prince Friedrich Leopold [Potsdam]) | Quantz | — | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 1? | I–III, +1 | a′=409 Hz (altered) |
| A9 Lost (ex-Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3841) | Quantz | I? | 1 | — | — | 2 | I–III (?) | a′=390? |
| A10 Lost (ex-Sanssouci, ex-Hohenzollern [?], ex-Sanssouci[?]) | Quantz | ? | 1? | ? | ✓ | 2 | I | a′=385 Hz? |
| B. Flutes attributed to Quantz | | | | | | | | |
| B1 Halle, Händel-Haus, MS-577, flauto d’amore (ex-Gellert/Lange) †† | Quantz? | — | 1 | ✓ | — | 2 | I (?) | c″=385 Hz |
| B2 Milan, Guido Bizzi Collection (ex-Godard [Paris]) | ? | — | 1 | — | ✓ | 1 | I (?) | a′=390 Hz (per von Huene) |

continued

TABLE 1. Overview of “Quantz” Flutes, *continued*

| | Current (former) location | Maker | Opus or date | Heads | Screw cork | Tuning slide | Keys | Corps de rechange | Lowest pitch* |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|---------------|-------|------------|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------|
| B3 | Berlin, Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, no. 4229 (ex-D[avid?] Runnecken [Berlin])‡‡‡ | Quantz? (doubtful) | — | 1 | ? | — | 1 | (2) | ? |
| C. Flutes copied after Quantz | | | | | | | | | |
| C1 | Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig, no. 1236a (ex-Heyer [Cologne]), (after A3 or A6) | Schetelig | 1913 | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | IIII? | a′=415 Hz? |
| C2 | Brussels, Musée Instrumentale, no. 3276 (after A3 or A6) | Schetelig | 1913 | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | IIII? | a′=415 Hz |
| C3 | Paris, Musée de la musique, E.0614 | C. F. | 18th c.? | 1 | — | — | 2 | I? | a′=390 Hz |
| C4 | Stockholm, Musikhistoriska Museet, [s.n.] | ? | 18th c.? | 1 | — | — | 2 | ? | a′=409 Hz? |
| C5 | Copenhagen, Musikhistorisk Museum, E 82 (ex-H. Hahns [Munich]) | % (on head joint) | 18th c.? | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | IIII? | a′=412 Hz? |
| C6 | Japan, private collection (ex-Bernhard von Hünerbein [Cologne]) | ? | 18th–19th c.? | 1 | — | ✓ | 2 | IIII? | a′=415 Hz |

TABLE 1. Overview of “Quantz” Flutes, *continued*

| | Current (former) location | Maker | Opus or date | Heads | Screw cork | Tuning slide | Keys | Corps de rechange | Lowest pitch* |
|--|--|--------|--------------|-------|------------|--------------|------|-------------------|---------------|
| C7 | Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Dayton C. Miller Collection, no. 429 (after C2) | Albert | 1924 | 1 | ✓ | ✓ | 2 | IIIIII? | a' = 415 Hz? |
| C8 | Tokyo, H. Iino, private collection (ex-Christie's [London], sale of June 20, 1994, lot 1) †††† | Kirst | late 18th c. | 2 | ✓✓ | ✓ | 2 | I–IIII | ? |
| D. Ex-Hohenzollern flutes not by Quantz | | | | | | | | | |
| D1 | Lost (ex–Hohenzollern Museum, G. H. Scherer? no. 3840) | | | 1 | ? | — | 1 | I–III (+1) | a' = 390 Hz? |
| D2 | Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum (ex–Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3839) | ? | | 1 | — | — | 4 | I–IIII | a' = 415 Hz |
| D3 | Lost (ex–Hohenzollern Museum, no. 5229) | ? | | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |

*Pitch taken with tuning slide drawn five millimeters, as in normal play. Flutes with pitches indicated ‘?’ could not be played; see main text, note 13.

†Corps de rechange marked IIIII is from Opus II.

‡See also main text, note 61.

††Head joint unmarked, but other pieces of the flute have this roman numeral.

‡‡Acquired in 1963 from Margarete Lange (born Gellert).

†††Acquired by the museum in 1952. Accompanying letter of October 18, 1794, signed by D. Runneck, testifies that the flute comes from the collection of Frederick II.

††††Ardal Powell, *The Keyed Flute by Johann George Tromlitz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 28, describes this flute as sharing many features with Quantz's instruments but differing in important respects. He also reports documentation for the flute's having belonged to Frederick the Great.

Historical Background and Impact of World War II

Some flutes left Frederick's collection during his lifetime, given away as gifts to soldiers and high-ranking military officials; shortly after the king's death, some of the remaining flutes in his collection were acquired by members of the nobility and others, who in turn passed the flutes on to their descendants and heirs (as demonstrated in the Appendix). The survival of a relatively large number of these flutes, and especially ones made for the king by Quantz, demonstrates the high value placed on them by their owners as powerful emblems of national identity; the story of their transmission opens a unique window onto the culture of late-eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Germany.

The unification of Germany in the 1860s and 70s resulted, through a series of events, in the reassembly of some of Frederick's flutes for display in a new museum in Berlin. With the rise to power of Bismarck in 1862 as Prussian prime minister, nationalism became a primary political device in disguising authoritarian control and unifying the German states into a powerful new *Reich* under Hohenzollern rule, with the Prussian King William I raised, in 1871, to the status of emperor. Thus, it is not surprising that national sentiment in the 1860s should have led to plans for the first German palace museum whose exhibits would honor the ruling family—a project championed by the king's son, Crown Prince Frederick William (1831–1888). This museum—named after Prussia's (and later Germany's) ruling family—found its home in the Berlin palace Monbijou, the former residence of Frederick II's mother. Early in the nineteenth century, Monbijou had fallen into disuse; from about 1830 to 1860 it served both as a storage facility and as a museum of German antiquity. Lengthy preparation and construction delayed the public opening of the Hohenzollern Museum until the eightieth birthday of Emperor William I, on March 22, 1877.⁶ In addition to the furnishings of Monbijou, art objects and other items were collected from palaces in Potsdam and Berlin, together with holdings from the royal *Kunstammer*. The emperor himself donated precious heirlooms, including numerous artifacts from the estate of Frederick the Great. Among these were some of the earlier monarch's flutes, two of which were transferred from the Altes Museum (Old Museum) on

6. Paul Seidel, *Illustrierter Führer durch das Hohenzollern-Museum im Schloße Monbijou* (Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient, 1914), xix.

the Berlin Museumsinsel,⁷ which had housed the *Kunstammer* since 1823. The remainder of the flutes in the new Hohenzollern exhibit were presented by their private owners as gifts to the emperor for the museum's use. The subsequent destruction of the Hohenzollern Museum and the dispersion of its collections during World War II have contributed to the current problems of identification and provenance in Quantz flute studies.

These flutes remained together in the Hohenzollern Museum until the onset of World War II. When emergency measures to protect Berlin museum possessions became necessary due to heavy and frequent air raids, the cellar of the Berliner Stadtschloß (Berlin City Palace)—at that time another palace museum—was used to store the exhibits, including flutes from the Hohenzollern Museum.⁸ From 1941, *Flaktürme* (anti-aircraft towers) erected at Berlin Zoo and Friedrichshain were used as additional protective depots. Many of the items stored in the cellar of the Stadtschloß, among them probably the Hohenzollern flutes, were hastily removed for preservation in Flakturm Zoo. During bombings of November 23–24, 1943, Monbijou Palace was completely demolished, and on February 3, 1945, the Stadtschloß was also destroyed, severely damaging the contents of its cellar.

The end of the war had serious consequences for the Berlin museums and their depleted treasures. On May 7, 1945, before the Western forces could intervene, Soviet troops began raiding the surviving hiding places in Berlin and undamaged museum cellars. Archival and library materials, photo collections, and even large objects mounted to museum walls were stolen. The contents of Flakturm Zoo, which would later fall within the British zone, were completely plundered. Some of the Hohenzollern flutes may therefore have been among the large collections of looted items transported to the Soviet Union in May 1945. In June 1945, the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (State Museums of Berlin) were placed

7. The Museumsinsel is an "island of museums" located on the River Spree in central Berlin.

8. Irene Kühnel-Künze, *Bergung—Evakuierung—Rückführung: Die Berliner Museen in den Jahren 1939–1959*, Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sonderband 2 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1984), chronicles the events here outlined. Entries for flutes numbered 3836, 3840, and 3841 in the Hohenzollern inventory (described below) as updated since 1930 read, under "loss" (*Abgang*): "packed in crate 4 and preserved in the Berlin palace for the duration of the war" ("verpackt in Kiste 4 für die Dauer des Krieges in Schloß Berlin aufbewahrt" [my translation]). No information about the fate of the other flutes is given in the inventory.

under the Abteilung Volksbildung des Magistrats der Stadt Berlin (Department of Education of the Berlin Magistrate) and renamed the Ehemals Staatliche Museen (Former State Museums).⁹ With the division of the city into four sectors in July, however, the Sowjetische Militärische Verwaltung (Soviet Military Forces) gained control of the large majority of museums, including the ruins of the Berliner Stadtschloß and the Museumsinsel. More than a decade later, to improve political relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Soviets began returning collections in 1958, parading certain items in a major Berlin exhibit as “World Treasures Rescued by the Soviet Union,”¹⁰ but much of what had been taken has never reappeared.

Those Hohenzollern flutes that did resurface immediately after the war were given initially to the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum of Arts and Crafts), located in Schloß Köpenick of the Staatliche Museen, in East Berlin. Over the next decade, these flutes and others were then somewhat randomly redistributed to various East German museums. Two of the flutes from the Hohenzollern Museum went to Potsdam: one was given to the Neues Palais; another replaced a flute formerly in Sanssouci. A third Hohenzollern flute remained in Schloß Köpenick, in Berlin.¹¹ Since that time a general state of confusion as to the identification and provenance of the Quantz flutes has prevailed.

An Inventory and a Photograph

Fortunately, an inventory of the Hohenzollern Museum (the “Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis”) was drawn up about 1928–30. This inventory exists in two nearly identical manuscript copies currently located in the Neues Palais (Potsdam) and at Schloß Charlottenburg (Berlin), which I have consulted and from which I have drawn much of the information that follows.¹² Other

9. Günter Schade, *Die Berliner Museumsinsel: Zerstörung, Rettung, Wiederaufbau* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1986), 98.

10. *Schätze der Weltkultur—von der Sowjetunion gerettet: Ausstellung in der Nationalgalerie und im Pergamon-Museum* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1958).

11. According to my verbal communications with staff members of the Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg and the Staatliche Museen.

12. Herbert Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1994), 39, states that a copy of the inventory is also found in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin. I am grateful to Mathias Gärtner for his generous assistance in my work with the inventory.

detailed measurements and playing pitches were ascertained through the author's personal examination of the extant instruments.¹³

The inventory, which consists of numerous bound volumes containing numbered, handwritten entries, describes each item that belonged to the museum at the time it was drawn up. It reveals that between 1876 and 1917, seven flutes of Frederick the Great were acquired by the Hohenzollern Museum (see Table 2).¹⁴ Four of the flutes were of the two-keyed type built by Quantz (inventory nos. 3836, 3837, 3838, and 3841, identified in Table 1 as A3, A6, A2, and A9 respectively), while the three remaining instruments were the work of other makers. Hohenzollern no. 3840 (Table 1, D1), now lost, was a one-keyed ivory flute built to play, like the flutes by Quantz, at a low pitch (ca. $a' = 390$ Hz). It is known that Frederick owned some flutes of other makers; the flute's general appearance and form suggest that it may have been built by Georg Heinrich Scherer (1703–1778).¹⁵ A multiple-keyed ebony flute with *corps de rechange* spanning a relatively high range of pitches ($a' = 415$ to 440 Hz), Hohenzollern no. 3839 (Table 1, D2), bears the stamp "W. Br." and may or may not have belonged to Frederick.¹⁶ A seventh flute, an ivory walking-stick flute with the initials "F. R." (= Fredericus Rex?) may also have come from Frederick's collection although, perhaps due to its late acquisition date (1917) or because it might have been displayed in a separate exhibit, it was entered into the inventory

13. Pitch (see Table 1) was measured with tuning forks and a Korg tuner. Pitches for lost flutes are the author's estimates derived through examination of photos (and reported measurements, if any). Pitches for extant Quantz instruments not played by the author were based on detailed measurements of sounding length and bore diameter, as compared with Quantz instruments that the author was able to play.

14. Six of the flutes appear in Hauptbuch 2–5, part 3, of the inventory, as nos. 3836 to 3841, while a seventh appears separately in Hauptbuch 2–5, part 4, as no. 5229.

15. The turnings of no. 3840 closely resemble those of another of Frederick II's flutes, by Scherer, now no. 1531 in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum of the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (see Alfred Berner, "Die Alte Musikinstrumenten-Sammlung in Berlin," in *Wege zur Musik* [Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1984], 26 and 112 and Tafel 6; and Curt Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatliche Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin: Beschreibender Katalog* [Berlin: J. Bard, 1922], 112).

16. It is not certain whether Frederick in fact owned this flute, which is of a much later design than instruments by Quantz. Both the Hohenzollern inventory and a nineteenth-century museum guide describe this flute as having been "improved by Quantz" (see Paul Seidel, *Führer durch die Sammlung des Hohenzollern-Museum im Schlosse Monbijou: Neue vermehrte Auflage* [Berlin, 1895], 121), but my examination of the flute found no basis for the statement.

TABLE 2. Flutes listed in the Hohenzollern Museum Inventory, ca. 1930.

| No. | Siglum in Table 1 | Date acquired | Maker | Identifying marks | Remarks* |
|------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|--|
| 3836 | A3 | April 1895 | Quantz | VI/XVII | Now Potsdam, Schloß Sanssouci [see text] |
| 3837 | A6 | March 22, 1878 | Quantz | XVII | Now Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, no. Hz 1289 [see text] |
| 3838 | A2 | Winter 1876/77 | Quantz | IV | Now Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten-Museum, no. 1236n [see text] |
| 3839 | D2 | 1879 | W. Br. | | Now Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum. Initials possibly those of William Brown, London, ca. 1780. According to the inventory, “improved by Quantz,” but this is unlikely. |
| 3840 | D1 | [no date] | Scherer?† | F. R. and C. F. v. P. | Now lost. On the lid of this custom fit flute case, pressed in ornamental gold lettering: F. R. (=Fredericus Rex) above a crown; below, C. F. v. P. (= Carl Friedrich von Preußen?). |
| 3841 | A9 | | Winter 1876/77 | n.a. | Now lost. “State instrument” of Frederick II‡ |
| 5229 | D3 | 1917 | ? | F. R. | Now lost. Walking-stick flute; silver ring on flute bears the initials “F. R.” (Fredericus Rex) under a crown, in relief. |

*For provenance, see Appendix.

†See note 15.

‡See Paul Wetzger, *Die Flöte: Ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung bis zur Jetztzeit in akustischer, technischer und musikalischer Beziehung* (Heilbronn a. N.: C. F. Schmidt, 1905), 9.

independently from the other six, as no. 5229 (Table 1, D3). Further substantiating the presence of specific flutes in the Hohenzollern inventory are museum guides from 1895 to 1930, which describe the contents of each exhibit. The 1895 guide, for example, describes Hohenzollern no. 3839 as “Room number 121 . . . Ivory flute of the king. Gift of Prince Radziwiłł,”¹⁷ while the last published guide for the museum, from 1930, mentions a number of flutes: “Room 24 . . . Flutes of ebony [no. 3836], ivory [no. 3840], and amber [no. 3841] from the period and collection of Frederick [the Great].”¹⁸ In this year, according to the inventory, flutes nos. 3837 and 3839 were in storage.¹⁹

A black and white photograph (fig. 1), obtained around 1930 by the American flute collector Dayton C. Miller, has proven indispensable in the positive identification of the Hohenzollern flutes.²⁰ It shows five instruments in their open cases, disassembled except for the foot joints, together with a sixth flute fully assembled. Because the Hohenzollern Museum inventory describes damage visible at the time it was drawn up, comparison of details visible in this photograph with information given in the inventory has helped to identify which of the six flutes pictured corresponds to each numbered item in the inventory. The six flutes in the photo correspond to Hohenzollern inventory nos. 3836–3841 (see fig. 2). In addition, the inventory provides basic measurements of each flute, which, when added to the two kinds of descriptive evidence, have made it possible to determine securely which flutes are still extant and to clarify their present-day locations. The inventory also provides some information about the provenance of the flutes in its collection (see the Appendix for a history of the flutes’ owners up through the Hohenzollern Museum).

For purposes of the inventory, each flute was measured in three segments: (1) combined length of the cap, head joint, and tuning slide (if any); (2) range in length of the interchangeable upper middle joint(s),

17. *Ibid.*, 109.

18. Arnold Hildebrand, *Führer durch das Hohenzollern-Museum im Schoße Monbijou* (Berlin: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlößer und Gärten, 1930), 27–28. Bracketed numbers indicate which flutes, according to the inventory, were displayed in these rooms. This information is indicated under the column “Aufbewahrt” only in the copy of the inventory held in Schloß Charlottenburg. I thank Dr. Thomas Kemper for pointing out this detail.

19. The Charlottenburg inventory copy reads “Vorrat.”

20. Photograph (no inventory number) in the Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. I first learned of this photograph in 1994 from Friedrich von Huene, to whom I am greatly indebted. I also gratefully acknowledge Robert Sheldon for his help during my work in the collection, beginning in May 1995.

from shortest to longest, including the tenons;²¹ and (3) combined length of the assembled heart piece (right-hand joint) and foot joint. As Table 3 shows, three flutes that I have examined closely match instruments formerly owned by the Hohenzollern Museum, based on the inventory and the photograph. This comparison reveals that Hohenzollern no. 3836 is now in Potsdam, at Schloß Sanssouci; Hohenzollern no. 3837 is now in Berlin, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum (no. Hz 1289); and Hohenzollern no. 3838 is now in Leipzig, at the Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Universität Leipzig (no. 1236n). Each of these identifications will be discussed more fully below.

Originals and Copies

Although Quantz's flutes do not bear his name or other type of signature, it was Quantz's practice to incise Roman numerals, or opus numbers, onto the ends of the tenons or sockets of each of his flutes.²² The uniform construction and highly individual playing qualities of Quantz's flutes (some of which he described in chapter 2 of his *Versuch*) also act as a kind of signature. Although a full description of these flutes' construction is not central to the discussion here, their distinguishing external features include two keys, as described above; a tuning slide (in head joints made from about 1751); a uniquely designed bore which produces a full sound and an especially good low register; and a larger size overall than that of other contemporary flutes, resulting in a lower pitch (Table 1 describes each flute in terms of these features).

Quantz also incorporated another numbering system into his flutes that helped the player to identify readily the *corps de rechange*

21. A measurement of the middle joint that includes the tenons is unusual, as this measurement is normally taken from shoulder to shoulder, i.e., only along the exterior surface visible when the instrument is assembled.

22. This systematic numbering practice reflects the same meticulousness revealed in the numerical cataloging of Quantz's compositions in the king's manuscript collections. F. G. A. Kirst of Potsdam also incised flutes in this manner: see, for example, Tom Lerch, "Einige Querflötenmodelle des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Flöten, Oboen, und Fagotte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über den 1. Teil des 12. Symposiums zu Fragen des Musikinstrumentenbaus Michaelstein, 08./09. November 1991*, Beiheft zu den Studien der Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts, 14, no. 1 (Michaelstein: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1994), 12, Bild 9. Keyboard instruments made expressly for the Prussian court, such as the Silbermann fortepiano in Potsdam's Neues Palais, and the two (Mietke?) harpsichords in Schloß Charlottenburg, also lack a maker's signature.

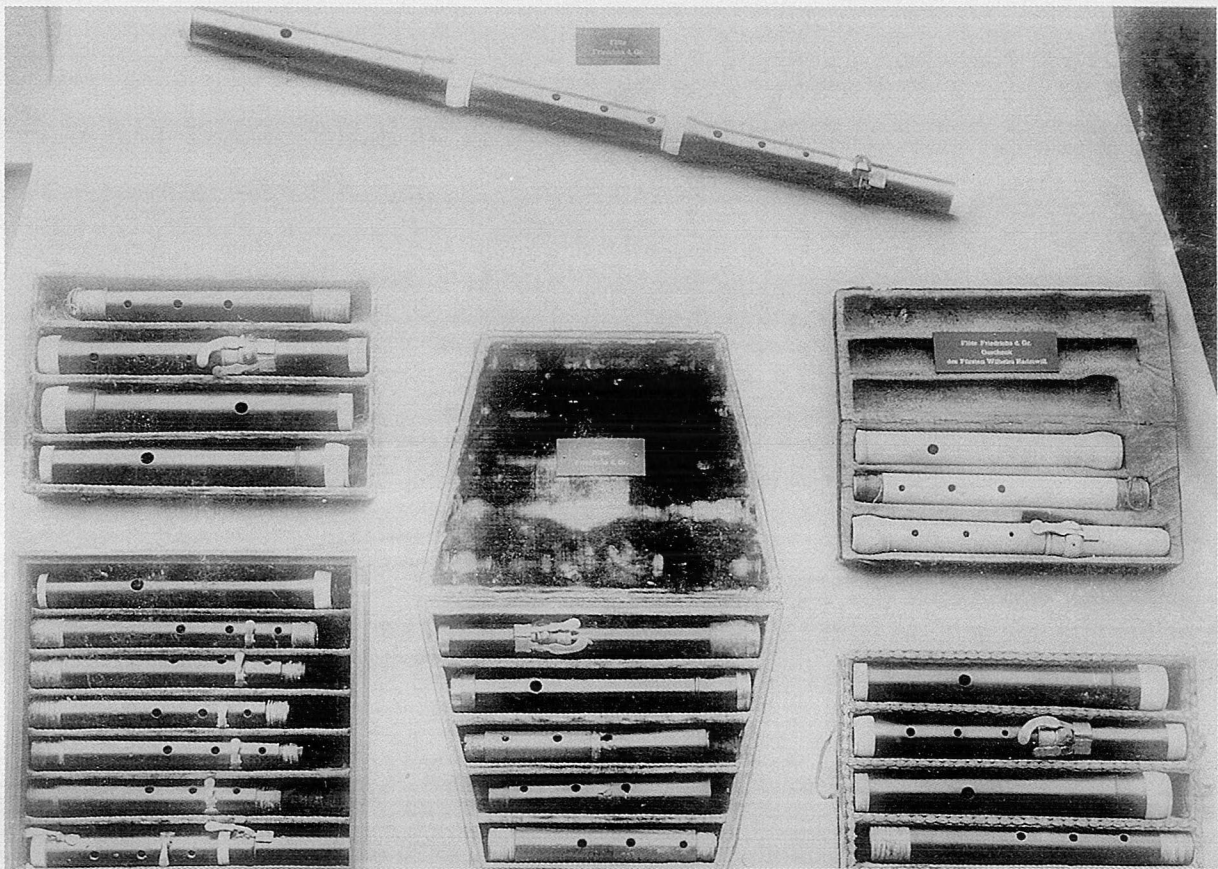


FIGURE 1. Flutes in the Hohenzollern Museum, Berlin, ca. 1930. Photograph acquired by Dayton C. Miller and held in the Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

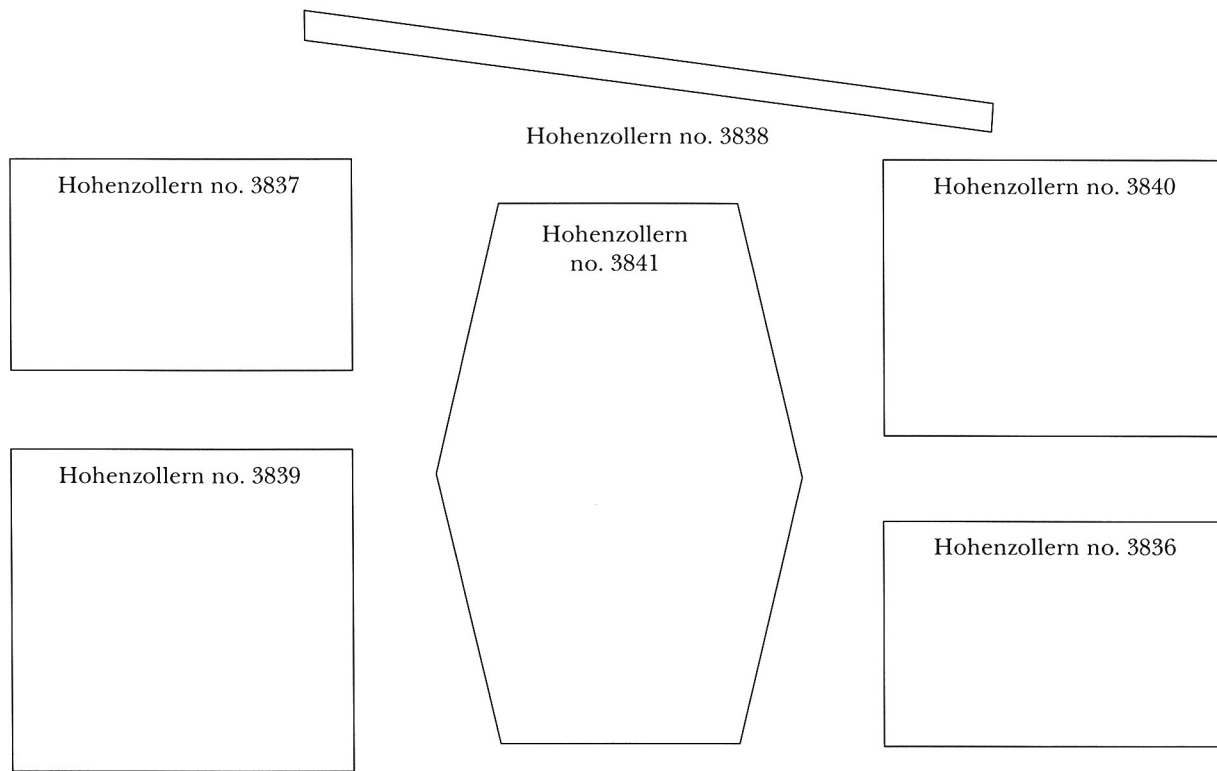


FIGURE 2. Line drawing of the Hohenzollern photo (fig. 1).

TABLE 3. Descriptions of flutes in the Hohenzollern Museum inventory compared with extant instruments (lengths in millimeters).

| Inventory no./ current location | Description | No. of head joints | Length of cap+head+ tuning slide, if applicable | Length of middle joint (including tenons) | Middle joints present* | Length of heart + foot joints | Total length† | Maker's marks |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Hohenzollern no. 3836 | 2-keyed ebony flute | 2 | 236 mm | 245–205 mm‡ | I–IIII | 251 mm | 732 mm | |
| Potsdam, Sanssouci | 2-keyed ebony flute | 1 | 236 mm | 245 mm | I | 251 mm | 732 mm | VI/XVII |
| Hohenzollern no. 3837 | 2-keyed ebony flute | 2 | 236 mm | 246–215 mm | I–IIII | 251 mm | 710 mm | |
| Berlin, 1289 | 2-keyed ebony flute | 1 | 236 mm | 223 mm | III | 251 mm | 710 mm | XVII |
| Hohenzollern no. 3838 | 2-keyed ebony flute | 1 | 239 mm | 214 mm | I? | 250 mm, damaged | 703 mm | |
| Leipzig, 1236n | 2-keyed ebony flute | 1 | 237 mm | 214 mm, shortened | I? | 250 mm, damaged | 700 mm | IV |
| Hohenzollern no. 3841 | amber flute (lost) | 1 | 277 mm | 190–165 mm | I–III | 245 mm | 712 mm | ? |
| Leipzig, 1236a | Schetelig copy | 1 | 240 mm | 214 mm | n.a. | 255 mm | 709 mm | n.a. |

*I designates the longest of a set of interchangeable middle joints (*corps de rechange*).

‡Shortest joint *sic; recte* 215 mm?

†Total length for Hohenzollern flutes calculated with longest known *corps de rechange* (including its tenons, so as to conform to measurements as given in the inventory).

(interchangeable upper middle joints customarily used in the eighteenth century to accommodate varying pitch standards). Quantz provided a selection of up to six middle joints, the maximum number that, according to him, the construction of the flute would permit.²³ These middle joints were numbered from “I” for the longest to “IIII” or “IIIII” for the shortest;²⁴ the pitch of the flutes ranges from low French chamber pitch (ca. $a' = 385\text{--}387$ Hz, somewhat lower than modern g'), using the longest joint, up to German A-chamber pitch (ca. $a' = 412\text{--}415$ Hz, slightly below modern a^b').²⁵ It is noteworthy that the greatest number of flutes have survived with the longest joint, marked as no. I.²⁶ As these invariably show the greatest amount of wear on the tone holes and are most proportionate to other unusually large dimensions of the instrument, it would seem that the lowest pitch was most desired and that the longest joints were preferred.²⁷

23. Quantz, *Versuch*, ii.9: “Six middle pieces now form an interval a little larger than a major semitone, which the construction of the flute permits with no detriment to true intonation.” Trans. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 32.

24. Four extant flutes are transmitted with the no. IIIII joint. These include Karlsruhe (A1), Washington, D.C. 916 (A4), Hamamatsu ex-Rosenbaum (A5), and Berlin 5076 (A7), whose no. IIIII joints (*not* including the tenons) measure 159, 157.5, 160, and 160 mm, respectively. Only the Washington flute has come down to us with a no. IIIIII joint (which, as noted below, was originally part of Op. II, a much earlier flute).

25. For a comprehensive discussion of chamber pitch, see Bruce Haynes, “Pitch Standards in the Baroque and Classical Periods” (Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, 1997), esp. 209–42.

26. These include Karlsruhe (A1), Berlin 5076 (A7); Washington, D.C. 916 (A4); Hamamatsu ex-Rosenbaum (A5); and Sanssouci (A3). Their no. I joints (again *not* including the tenons) measure about 188, 188, 189, 189, and 189 mm, respectively. Leipzig 1236n (A2) may also transmit its longest joint (as judged by internal and external dimensions as well as tone hole placement and size), but if so the joint in question has been considerably foreshortened to raise its pitch. The flute in Karlsruhe (A1) was auctioned by Sotheby’s in October 1995 as part of the collection of Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden (1826–1907); see sale catalog *Die Sammlung der Markgrafen und Grossherzöge von Baden*, vol. 4, *Möbel, Waffen und Rüstungen* (1995), 92–93, lot 2504, Tafel 23. It is of ebony with five *corps de recharge* (nos. I–IIIII) and two head joints, each with tuning slide. Its case is similar to the leather-covered boxes described in the Hohenzollern inventory but is distinct from them in being lined with red velvet. The ivory mount on the foot joint also distinguishes this flute from those pictured in fig. 1. I am grateful to Ardal Powell for detailed measurements of this instrument, which has remained inaccessible to me. It is pictured in *Early Music* 25 (1997): 432, where it is incorrectly cited as being located in the Leipzig museum.

27. Detailed evidence for the persistence of a very low chamber pitch throughout the late eighteenth century, and especially in Berlin, is presented in Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Trio Sonata in Bach’s Musical Offering: A Salute to Quantz’s Flutes and Frederick’s Taste?” in *Bach Perspectives* 4, ed. David Schulenberg (University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming). See also Quantz’s testimony, *Versuch*, xvii.7.7: “I do not wish to side with the very low French chamber pitch, *although it is the most advantageous for the*

A flute in the Dayton C. Miller Collection (A4) at the Library of Congress, marked on each piece with a Roman numeral XIII (except on the unique no. IIIIII joint, mentioned above) and known to have been owned by Frederick, was long regarded as Quantz's earliest surviving opus.²⁸ However, two earlier Quantz flutes (A2 and A3), whose foot joints are numbered IV and VI respectively, have been long disregarded by scholars and woodwind specialists.²⁹ The authenticity of these two flutes is evidenced by details of workmanship and provenance; furthermore, both can be traced to Frederick's collection. Several factors have until now prevented a positive identification of these instruments: (1) the inclusion of modern replicas of Quantz's flutes in several collections; (2) problems in the cataloging of those copies; (3) the confusion of copies with originals in connection with the post-1945 dispersal and reconstitution of the collections; and (4) the distribution of pieces belonging to individual Quantz flutes between different collections, which seems to have first occurred well before World War II.

Copies by Schetelig. One source of confusion lies in the existence of copies of Quantz flutes by the early twentieth-century Berlin builder Julius Schetelig. Two such instruments (Table 1, C1 and C2) can be shown to have come about through the interest of the director of the museum of instruments at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Brussels, Victor Mahillon. On February 24, 1893, he wrote to the director of the Hohenzollern Museum, wishing to borrow one of the

transverse flute, the oboe, the bassoon, and several other instruments; but neither can I approve of the very high Venetian pitch, since in it the wind instruments sound much too disagreeable. I therefore consider the so-called German A-chamber pitch, which is a minor third lower than the old choir pitch, to be the best" (my translation, italics added). To deal with the diverse pitch standards of his day, Quantz recommends to the public a compromise between the highest and lowest of these. His personal preference, however, is for the low French pitch. Not only are his flutes' bore dimensions best suited to the lower pitch, but he also seems to have used a single reamer to bore the longest of the interchangeable joints. In my experience in playing these flutes, the longest joints feature greater volume and superior tonal qualities and intonation over the others.

28. Friedrich von Huene first noted this in a letter to Dieter Krickeberg, November 17, 1981, kindly made available to me by Mr. von Huene. The flute is catalogued as no. 208 (accession no. 916) in Michael Seyfrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection at the Library of Congress: A Catalog*, vol. 1, *Recorders, Fifes, and Simple System Transverse Flutes of One Key* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982).

29. For example, these flutes are not mentioned by Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 182. I am grateful to Friedrich von Huene and Tom Lerch for encouraging my re-evaluation of the Sanssouci flute (A3).

museum's two-keyed flutes for the purpose of having a copy made. As the flutes were the personal property of Emperor William I, this request was declined. Twenty years later, on October 14, 1913, Georg Kinsky, conservator of the Musikhistorisches Museum Wilhelm Heyer in Cologne, recommended that Mahillon engage the services of Schetelig, who had provided copies of bombards for the Heyer collection. Schetelig produced two copies, at 150 marks each, of an unidentified exemplar from the Hohenzollern Museum, both of which initially went to Brussels.³⁰ At Kinsky's request, Mahillon then sent one of the flutes (C1) to the Heyer collection, which later became the major part of the Leipzig instrument museum.³¹

Mahillon's correspondence suggests that these two instruments were the only copies of Quantz flutes ever made by Schetelig. However, the catalog of flutes in the Leipzig museum, published in 1978 by Herbert Heyde, identifies three such instruments as part of that museum's holdings and mentions yet a fourth:

1236, 1236a, 1236b. Descant transverse flutes. 3 copies by Julius Schetelig, Berlin 1913. Model: flute of ebony by J. J. Quantz in possession of the former Hohenzollern Museum Berlin, [made in] Berlin before 1770. Head joint with tuning slide and screw-cork. Two keys for $e^{\flat 1}$ and $d^{\sharp 1}$ J. Schetelig made a further copy for the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire in Brussels.³²

What, then, is the true nature of the three flutes identified as Leipzig nos. 1236, 1236a, and 1236b?

30. Eugène Joseph Albert reproduced the Brussels Schetelig copy for Dayton C. Miller in 1924. See Seyffrit, *Musical Instruments in the Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection at the Library of Congress*, inventory no. 127.

31. Museum correspondence of Mahillon, summarized from Ignace De Keyser, "De geschiedenis van de Brusselse muziekinstrumentenbouwers Mahillon en de rol van Victor-Charles Mahillon in het ontwikkelen van het historisch en organologisch discours omtrent het muziekinstrument" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ghent, 1996), 621–24.

32. Herbert Heyde, *Flöten: Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978), 81: "1236, 1236a, 1236b. Diskant-Querflöte. 3 Kopien von Julius Schetelig, Berlin 1913. Vorlage: Ebenholz-querflöte von J. J. Quantz im Besitz des ehemaligen Hohenzollernmuseums Berlin, Berlin, vor 1770. Kopfstück mit Auszug und Stimmzug. 2 Klappen für $e^{\flat 1}$ und $d^{\sharp 1}$ Eine weitere Kopie fertigte J. Schetelig für das Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal in Brüssel an." Heyde has been followed by subsequent writers, e.g., Ardal Powell, "The Hotteterre Flute: Six Replicas in Search of a Myth," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 242, note 36.

Heyde's catalog employs Leipzig inventory numbers that originated with Georg Kinsky's catalog of the Heyer Collection.³³ In Kinsky's first version of the catalog, published in 1913, the first five flutes, nos. 1236–1240, are not specifically described. However, Kinsky's later typescript version of the catalog not only includes instruments acquired after 1913 but also describes each instrument in detail.³⁴ The flute listed in the Kinsky typescript as no. 1236 is neither a Quantz flute nor a copy of one. Under Kinsky's entry for 1236 one finds a description of an early eighteenth-century one-keyed flute apparently bearing the stamp "P. N. WELF / BIELEFELT," plus the figure "3" and two flowers, as well as the owner's name and date: "MUNTER / ANNO 1736."³⁵ Of the original 192 flutes listed in Kinsky's 1913 catalog, 106 disappeared in whole or part during World War II,³⁶ the original flute under 1236 was among these, making its catalog number available for reassignment in Heyde's catalog.

Kinsky's entry for no. 1236a in the typescript catalog begins:

Transverse flute (later acquisition), replica by Julius Schetelig (Berlin 1913) after an original instrument—1st half of the 18th c., Germany—in the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin. Of ebony. Rings of ivory. With 2 silver keys (for d \sharp ' and e \flat ')—pitch (at modern pitch). . . . A second replica was made for the Brussels collection. The original Berlin instrument is one of the flutes that J. J. Quantz made for personal use of King Frederick II.³⁷

33. Georg Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln: Kleiner Katalog der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente* (Cologne: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913) catalogs the collection but discusses few of the flutes individually. Numbers 1236–1253 are described as "eigentliche Querflöten (große Flöten in C)": eighteenth-century instruments mostly having one key.

34. Georg Kinsky, "Blasinstrumentenkatalog der Heyerschen Sammlung" (typescript fragment held in the archive of the Leipzig Instrumentenmuseum). The typescript lists instruments in Kinsky's published catalog as well as instruments acquired subsequently.

35. Kinsky, "Blasinstrumentenkatalog," 67. At this point in Kinsky's document the type has become indistinct and therefore the reading of the stamp given here may not be entirely accurate; however, it clearly does not refer to Quantz.

36. Heyde, *Flöten*, 9.

37. Kinsky, "Blasinstrumentenkatalog," entry no. 1236a on pp. 65–66: "Querflöte (spätere Erwerbung), / Nachbildung von Julius Schetelig (Berlin 1913) nach einem Originalinstrument – 1. Hälfte 18. Jhdt., Deutschland – im Hohenzollern-Museum zu Berlin. Aus Ebenholz. Ringe aus Elfenbein. Mit 2 silbernen Klappen (für dis' und es'; s.u.) – Stimmung (nach heutiger Tonhöhe). . . . Eine zweite Nachbildung wurde für die Brüsseler Sammlung angefertigt. Das Berliner Originalinstrument ist eine jener Flöten, die J. J. Quantz zum persönlichen Gebrauch des Königs Friedrich II. anfertigte" (my translation). Both replicas play at around a' = 415 Hz, but it is uncertain exactly to what "modern pitch" Kinsky referred.

Heyde's no. 1236a (Table 1, C1) is evidently the Schetelig copy described by Kinsky, which the Leipzig University museum received with the 1926 accession of the Heyer collection. The unusual letter suffix to its catalog number resulted when Kinsky inserted it into the numerical series established in the older catalog. In 1994, Heyde reported that a Schetelig copy had been "returned" (*übergeben*) by the Soviets in 1958 but did not identify its location.³⁸ This flute (C1) is still held by the Leipzig museum, inventoried as 1236a. The Brussels Schetelig copy (C2), catalogued by Mahillon as no. 3276,³⁹ has remained in that museum to the present day, as verified by this author's examination of the flute in November 1997.

Heyde's 1236b is said to be yet another Schetelig copy of a Quantz flute. But not only is no other Schetelig copy of a Quantz flute otherwise documented as having been in Leipzig (or elsewhere); Kinsky's catalog contains no entry numbered 1236b, nor does it give numbers for any Quantz flute or copy thereof, apart from 1236a. The probable solution to this dilemma is found in another flute now in Leipzig but not mentioned in either Kinsky's or Heyde's catalog. A label pasted inside the foot joint of this instrument reads "1236n," where the letter *n* indicates that it is among the *Nachkriegsbestände*, i.e., items received after World War II. It may have been this flute (A2) that was listed among the Schetelig copies with what seemed a more logical catalog designation: 1236b.

Hohenzollern No. 3838: A Case of Mistaken Identities. During my second visit to the Leipzig museum, in October 1996, I was able to securely identify Leipzig no. 1236n (A2) with Hohenzollern 3838, the fully assembled flute depicted in the uppermost portion of fig. 1.⁴⁰

38. Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau*, 39.

39. Victor-Charles Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif & analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, vol. 5 (Brussels: Lombaerts, 1922), 199. The full entry reads: "La flûte n° 3276 est construite à un diapason exactement d'un demi-ton au-dessous du diapason normal, ou international, actuellement adopté presque partout. Il est vrai que l'original possédait plusieurs corps de rechange dont l'emploi permettait de varier le diapason. Long. tot. depuis le trou de la bouche jusqu'à l'extrémité inférieure 0 m. 565."

40. The present author reported her identification of Leipzig 1236n, together with other findings concerning the identification and provenance of the Hohenzollern flutes, in "The Quantz Flutes: Their Construction, Characteristics, and Implications for the Dresden Repertory," a paper read at the Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, University of Birmingham, July 4, 1996; the University of Potsdam, November 28, 1996; the Kolloquium zum 300. Geburtstag von Johann Joachim

(This instrument had not been at Leipzig during my first visit, in 1995, but I had seen it elsewhere that year [see below].) Both the Miller photo and the Hohenzollern Museum inventory document the instrument's condition in about 1930, in particular the damage to its lower end, which is still evident more than sixty-five years later. The photo clearly shows that the upper-middle section has been foreshortened (cut off on both ends, presumably in an attempt to raise the flute's pitch); the loss of most of the original two keys and the broken swell on the foot joint are also plainly in evidence on the instrument, which in the meantime has suffered a crude repair and whose present keys for D \sharp and E \flat are obvious replacements. The original ivory ring is missing from the socket of the foot joint, whose external diameter is visibly and measurably narrower than the shortened lower end of the middle joint. Only a thin silver ring, seen in fig. 1, now covers the socket. It is possible that the damage sustained by the flute had already occurred before 1876, when the Hohenzollern Museum acquired it, and perhaps even before it became part of the royal *Kunstammer* in 1833, its previous location (see Appendix). Having visually identified the flute, I was able to match it to the description in the Hohenzollern Museum inventory (see Table 2). Apart from the alterations suffered by this flute, it otherwise conforms to the characteristic dimensions, style traits, and outward appearance of other flutes of Quantz.

This flute, although reported as having been returned by the Soviets after the war,⁴¹ was never officially given back to Germany. It has belonged to the Leipzig Musikinstrumenten-Museum since 1948, although it has not continually resided there. This flute came to the

Quantz, Rheinsberg, February 1, 1997, and in an early version of the present article read at the meeting of the Southeast Chapter of the American Musicological Society on February 22, 1997. In October 1996, the author informed the staff of the Leipzig Musikinstrumenten-Museum of the authenticity of the Leipzig flute 1236n and her identification of it as Hohenzollern no. 3838 (A2). Without acknowledgement of any source, Eberhard Dehne-Niemann reports in "Herkunft der Leipziger Quantz-Flöte geklärt," *Tibia* 22 (1997): 444, that the identification of a Leipzig flute with Hohenzollern no. 3838 recently "was confirmed."

41. As reported by the director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum Schloß Köpenick to Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau*, 39. The date 1989 given in this account for the return of flutes no. 3836 and no. 3837 is also much too late, as no. 3837 appears already in that museum's exhibition catalog from 1983. See *Kunstgewerbemuseum—Geschichte, Wiederaufbau, Neuerwerbungen, 1867–1945, 1945–1962, 1963–1983: Sonderausstellung und Dokumentation anlässlich des 20. Jahrestages seine Wiederöffnung im Schloß Köpenick (1963–1983)* (Berlin, 1983), 76.

Leipzig museum in a rather shadowy way, as related by a *Protokoll* written by Friedrich Ernst, a former restorer at the museum:

In Leipzig, at an inspection of Russian booty in 1947, I found among severely ruined artifacts (porcelain, ceramics, wood, and stone items) a four-piece flute made of ebony, ivory rings, and two keys (the longer [key] was partly still there). I hid the flute in my clothing in order to secure it safely from the camp and brought it home. Here I discovered a label in one of the pieces: Monbijoupalais, Berlin no. 15. . . . Before leaving Leipzig in the fall of 1948, I relinquished the flute to the instrument museum in Leipzig. The flute was arranged among the other flutes and was marked "Quantz?" Later, after 1955, the flute was supposed to be sent to Potsdam to replace the flute that used to be in Sanssouci.⁴²

Confirmation that this flute is indeed the one which the Leipzig museum lent to Sanssouci, as claimed by Ernst, may be found in Heyde's *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen* (1994), where the instrument, with its replacement keys, is pictured with the following caption: "Transverse flute, attributed to J. J. Quantz. Preserved in Frederick II's music room in Sanssouci. Potsdam, State Palaces and Gardens V 18."⁴³ The flute also appears in a Sanssouci museum guide from 1989, pictured in a glass case atop the fortepiano in the same music room.⁴⁴

42. The translation is mine: "In Leipzig bei einer Besichtigung des russischen Trophäengutes, im Jahre 1947, fand ich unter den stark ruinierten Sachen (Porzellan, Keramik, Holz und Steingut) eine 4-teilige Flöte aus Ebenholz, Elfenbeinringen und 2 Klappen (die längere war zum Teil noch erhalten). Diese Flöte versteckte ich in meinen Kleidern, um sie vom Lager heil für mich zu sichern und brachte sie nach Hause. Hier entdeckte ich innen in einem Rohr ein Etiquett: Monbijoupalais, Berlin No. 15 . . . Vor dem Weggang aus Leipzig 1948 im Herbst überließ ich die Flöte dem Instrumenten-Museum in Leipzig. Die Flöte wurde unter die übrigen Flöten eingereiht und mit 'Quantz' ? [sic] ausgezeichnet. In späterer Zeit, nach 1955, soll die Flöte nach Potsdam gelangt sein an Stelle der dort nicht mehr vorhandenen Flöte in Sanssouci." Ernst's *Protokoll* is quoted in a letter (dated June 2, 1981) to Friedrich von Huene from the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz; I wish to thank Mr. von Huene for providing me with a copy of the letter in 1994.

43. Herbert Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau*, 36: "Querflöte, zugeschrieben J. J. Quantz. Aufbewahrt im Musikzimmer Friedrichs II. in Sanssouci. Potsdam, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten V 18." Georg Müller, "Die Quantz'schen Königs-Flöten," *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* 52 (1932): 238–40, reported briefly on a flute in Sanssouci, presumably the one now missing. At that time he mentioned that the flute was somehow damaged.

44. See Hans-Joachim Giersberg, *Sanssouci: Schlösser, Gärten, Kunstwerke* (n.p.: Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1989), 25. The fortepiano pictured is the Silbermann instrument with plain legs, now in the Neues Palais.

Hohenzollern 3836 and 3837. That flute A2 was indeed sent to Sanssouci is further confirmed by the latter's post-World War II inventory, which lists such a flute as a loan (*Leihgabe*) from the Leipzig museum.⁴⁵ Whereas Heyde's caption cautiously states that the instrument displayed at Sanssouci is "attributed to Quantz," the Sanssouci inventory calls it a "copy," thereby illustrating how the task of tracing instruments in the aftermath of World War II has been made even more confusing by the mistaken description of genuine Quantz flutes as copies. In this case, the chain of events was apparently as follows: believing the flute catalogued as 1236n (Table 1, A2) to be a copy, Leipzig loaned it to Potsdam to replace an authentic Quantz flute (Table 1, A10). The latter had been in Sanssouci before the war but has been missing ever since. However, because museum personnel again desired to display a "genuine" flute by Quantz in the music room at Sanssouci, the staff of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten eventually decided that an authentic instrument (Table 1, A3) which had been housed in Potsdam's Neues Palais since its return by the Soviets in the 1950s should be exchanged with the so-called copy in Sanssouci (A2). As a result, two authentic flutes changed places: Leipzig 1236n (A2) went to the Neues Palais in exchange for the one (A3) formerly displayed there.⁴⁶ Further compounding the confusion, at the time of my August 1995 visit to Sanssouci the staff still believed that the flute in their possession was a copy, although by this time the exchange had taken place. Finally, in July 1996, Leipzig 1236n (A2) was removed from the Neues Palais and returned to the Leipzig Musikinstrumenten-Museum.⁴⁷

The other flute (A3) remains at Sanssouci, although at the time of my visits there in 1995 and 1996 the flute was not publicly displayed in the music room but instead was kept in a back room of the palace. During my visits to Sanssouci in the summer of 1996, I was able to identify this flute with no. 3836 in the Hohenzollern Museum inventory (see Table 3), based on measurements given there and on descriptive details listed in the inventory and visible in fig. 1, where the instrument is found in the lower right corner.

45. The unpublished Sanssouci inventory, examined by the author, is kept in that palace. It was begun shortly after World War II and consists of bound, handwritten entries by a museum worker, Frau Dr. Renate Möller.

46. Giersberg, *Sanssouci*, 76 (in addition to the photo of no. 3838 cited above) shows a flute in a glass case depicted in the music room of the Neues Palais, atop the Silbermann fortepiano with rococo legs (the piano now in Sanssouci). It is not possible to discern which flute is in the photo, but it would appear that the pianos of the two palaces, as well as the Quantz flutes, were exchanged after 1989.

47. Verbal communication with Frau Dr. Jutta Nicht of the Stiftung Schlösser und Gärten.

A further complication in this flute's already complex history is that it actually comprises parts of two original Quantz flutes, a composite condition that it had acquired already by 1930 (as can be determined from fig. 1). Only its foot joint bears the roman numeral VI, carved into the end of the ivory ring at the bottom. The heart piece (right-hand joint) is unmarked, whereas the head joint and the one extant *corps de rechange* (the longest of the original set of interchangeable left-hand joints and thus marked "I") bear the opus number XVII.

Parts of the flute in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (A6) transmit additional pieces from Op. XVII. The roman numeral XVII appears on its foot joint as well as on the solitary left-hand joint (marked "IIII") and on the heart piece of the Kunstgewerbemuseum flute, while the present head joint is unmarked. Information derived from the Miller photograph and from the Hohenzollern Museum inventory permits the identification of this flute as Hohenzollern no. 3837, shown in the upper left of fig. 1. Between 1983 and 1988 the flute was moved from the Kunstgewerbemuseum Schloß Köpenick, its home since about 1945, to the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin.⁴⁸ This flute was displayed in Potsdam in 1986 in an exhibition commemorating the 200th anniversary of Frederick II's death.⁴⁹

Despite the differences between the opus numbers of individual parts of the Sanssouci and Kunstgewerbemuseum instruments (A3 and A6), the two flutes share striking similarities in their measurements and style of decoration (including the style of the silver rings, with a raised decoration, on their foot joints). Various details, as well as the subtle differences in the shapes of their keys, all visible in fig. 1, nevertheless distinguish the instruments from one another and permit a positive identification of each. For example, on the Sanssouci flute (A3) the silver decoration on the socket of the foot joint has a narrower raised ring than does the Kunstgewerbemuseum flute (A6), as well as a shorter, more curved upper key for D#. The Sanssouci flute also has a distinctly longer left-hand joint than does A6, as can be judged by the distance from the third finger hole to the shoulder of the joint (the point at

48. Inventory no. Hz 1289, in *Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin: Führer durch die Sammlungen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1988), p. 101, item no. 230, with photo. In 1983, however, the flute is described as item no. 35 on p. 76 of the exhibition catalog *Kunstgewerbemuseum—Geschichte, Wiederaufbau, Neuerwerbungen*; a photograph appears on p. 223, where it is assembled with a replica of the tuning slide.

49. *Friedrich II. und die Kunst: Ausstellung zum 200. Todestag: Teil 1: 19. Juli bis 12. Oktober 1986, Neues Palais in Sanssouci* (Potsdam: Generaldirektion der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1986), 128 (item IX.9).

which the tenon begins). The wider raised silver decoration, longer key, and shorter middle joint of the flute in the upper left of fig. 1 match the Kunstgewerbemuseum flute exactly.

In about 1930, Hohenzollern nos. 3836 and 3837 (A3 and A6) each possessed two head joints and five upper-middle joints, according to the Hohenzollern inventory (see Table 3).⁵⁰ Today, each flute possesses only a single head joint and a single upper middle joint; both of these middle joints were originally made for Op. XVII. Number 3836 (A3) preserves the no. I middle joint, whereas no. III is preserved with no. 3837 (A6). Thus, although both Hohenzollern flutes are now accounted for, the remaining *corps de rechange* of Quantz's Op. XVII (i.e., nos. II, III, and IIIII) must be considered lost during the war. All five of the *corps* originally built for Op. VI are also missing, as are the lavish cases for both flutes, described in the inventory as having colorful, blue-floral or green velvet lining and leather covering, and partially seen in fig. 1.⁵¹ Both flutes are also shown in fig. 1 with their currently missing extra head joints.

Quantz normally furnished two head joints for each flute: one with and one without the tuning slide (a feature introduced by him in about 1751); this practice is recorded by Frédéric de Castillon (1747–1814), whose father was called into the service of Frederick the Great in 1763.⁵² However, the extant Quantz flutes transmitted with two head joints all employ tuning slides for both heads (see Table 1). This suggests that additional head joints may have resulted as replacements or as additions to existing flutes, thus explaining why head joints without slides are no longer extant.⁵³ Castillon's commentary is to be taken as first-hand testimony: As mathematicians at the Berlin Academy, the Castillons would have been introduced to Quantz's flutes through close personal contact with King

50. Not all of the middle joints are shown in fig. 1.

51. The inventory describes the cases in detail: no. 3836: "Aufbewahrt in einem viereckigen, 29,5 cm breiten, 19 cm tiefen, 11,5 cm hohen Holzkasten, außen mit schwarzem Chagrin bezogen, Überfallschloß und Tragenhenkel von Messing. Innen ist er mit grünem Sammet und Goldtressen ausgeschlagen und mit zwei Einsätzen (der obere herausnehmbar) zur Aufnahme von je vier Rohrer versehen"; no. 3837: "jedoch enthält er ein Schnappschloß und ist innen mit blauem, geblühtem Sammet bezogen."

52. Frédéric de Castillon, "Flûte," *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisoné des Sciences des Arts et des Métiers, par une Société de Gens de Lettres*, ed. J. B. Robinet (Paris, 1777), vol. 3. The son of Giovanni-Francesco-Mauro-Melchior Salvemini de Castillon (1708–1791), Castillon wrote about six hundred short articles for the *Supplément* on the topics of music theory, history, and instruments. See Kathleen Hardesty, *The Supplément to the Encyclopédie* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1977), 133.

53. A receipt made out to Quantz for additional flute head joints exists (see Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau*, 32: 275 Taler "an p. Quantz für Fleuten-Köpfe").

Frederick II. Furthermore, Castillon not only played the flute; he played a two-keyed flute, probably one by Quantz.⁵⁴ The accuracy of the flute depicted in Castillon's article, which displays the correct, inwardly turned, embouchure hole alignment used by Quantz, demonstrates that Castillon was clearly aware of Quantz's instructions for playing.

Missing Hohenzollern Flutes. The fourth Quantz flute from the Hohenzollern Museum, no. 3841 (Table 1, A9), though still missing, is noteworthy in several respects. Made of amber and gold, its reported status as a "state" instrument (see Table 2) and its unusual materials suggest it may have been among the very first flutes that Quantz produced for Frederick II, perhaps in recognition of his royal pupil's accession to the throne in 1740, only a year after Quantz had begun making instruments of his own. Since Quantz's opus numbers II, III, IV, VI, XIII, XV, XVII, and XVIII are all ebony flutes (see Table 1, A1–7), it is possible that this presumably early flute was Quantz's Op. I. The flute's appearance in the lower central portion of fig. 1, together with the dimensions given in the Hohenzollern inventory (see Table 3), provides interesting clues to Quantz's earliest design, especially of the head joint, which at this time did not yet feature a tuning slide or screw cap.⁵⁵ Its head joint is unusually long, whereas its longest middle joint is correspondingly quite short, making its total length (and probably its pitch) similar to that of other Quantz flutes (see Table 3).⁵⁶ Other remarkable features of Hohenzollern 3841 are

54. Evidence of this is found in Castillon's article, where he defends the use of Quantz's additional key: "I had played the ordinary transverse flute for over five years, yet I became accustomed to the two keys in only a fortnight or so" ("J'avois joué pendant plus de cinq ans de la flûte traversière ordinaire, & en quinze jours je me suis accoutumé à la flûte à deux clés"), translated in Eric Halfpenny, "A French [*sic*] Commentary on Quantz," *Music and Letters* 37 (1956): 65.

55. Georg Müller, "Die Quantz'schen Königs-Flöten," 239, confirms that this flute has a round mouth hole, two keys, and neither the movable cork screw-cap nor the tuning slide of later Quantz flutes: "sie besitzt das runde Mundloch und die Quantz'schen zwei Klappen, und . . . noch nicht die bewegliche Korkschaube und auch noch nicht den Einschiebekopf."

56. Another two-keyed flute (C3)—not from the Hohenzollern Museum—provides helpful clues not only to Quantz's early head joint without the tuning slide, but perhaps also to the actual use of the slide, which of course determines overall pitch. This flute, an eighteenth-century copy of a Quantz flute, is in the Musée de la Musique, Paris, inventory no. E.0614 (see Florence Gétreau, *Inventaire descriptif des flûtes traversières* [Paris: Musée de la Musique, 1989] and the exhibition catalog *Voltaire: Voyageur de l'Europe* [Sceaux: Musée de l'Île de France, 1978], item no. 206). The flute features an

its distinctly round embouchure hole (unlike the later elliptical ones by Quantz) and the fact that both the fitted case seen in fig. 1 and the inventory description reveal that it possessed only three *corps de rechange*.⁵⁷

Also missing since World War II are two of the three flutes previously part of the Hohenzollern Museum collection that were supposedly once owned by Frederick II although not made by Quantz (Table 1, D1–3). These include nos. 3840 (at a low pitch, made of ivory, possibly by Georg Heinrich Scherer) and 5229 (the ivory walking-stick flute). Whether these were transported to Russia, destroyed in the fires, or simply never rescued from the rubble, as no. 3838 luckily was, is unknown. If they did survive the war, their obviously valuable materials (amber, gold, and ivory) probably sealed their fate soon thereafter. It is also strange that only portions of other flutes resurfaced, as with Hohenzollern nos. 3836 and 3837, since the remaining pieces could not have formed complete, useful flutes. Without essential pieces (since each flute had only a single heart piece and foot piece), what purpose could stolen head joints or stray *corps de rechange* have served?

Pre-war flute in Sanssouci. The complete Quantz flute (Table 1, A10) that was displayed in Sanssouci before World War II remains to be located. This flute does not appear to have been inventoried as part of the Hohenzollern Museum collection, nor is it one of the six in the composite Hohenzollern flute photograph (fig. 1). However, it does appear in two other photographs, taken in 1924 and 1929 by Harry V.

undivided head joint, making it of special interest here for comparison with the Hohenzollern flute no. 3841 (A9). Gâteau assigns the flute a German origin; it might well have been copied from an early flute by Quantz, or it might have been in Quantz's circle after 1726, the date at which he added the second key. The flute, made of boxwood, sounds today at about $a' = 390$ Hz (near the low pitch Quantz preferred), and its head joint, which is constructed in a single piece, is bored cylindrically at 20.3 mm, larger than other traversos of the period but similar to the typical Quantz flute. The length of the Paris flute's head joint is 233.1 mm, about 6.1 mm longer than a Quantz head joint assembled with a tuning slide. Since the remaining measurements of the Paris flute are virtually the same as those of other Quantz flutes, the longer Paris head joint may be a clue to about how far one should pull out the tuning slide in divided head joints when performing with the longest (no. 1) middle joint of the Quantz flutes. This amount of gap provides a safety measure against rising pitch that occurs naturally during play, and also creates greater volume in the flute tone.

57. The inventory describes the flute's case: "Aufbewahrt in einem Holzkasten mit Klappdeckel von Rhombusform, die Parallelgrenzen 18,5 und 28 cm lang, die Seiten-grenzen je 21 cm. Innen mit rotem Plüsch bezogen und fünf Fächern auf dem Boden, außen mit braunem Leder bezogen, z.T. mit Goldprägung."

Baxter during a tour of Sanssouci, where the flute was displayed in a small glass case atop the Silbermann fortepiano in the music room.⁵⁸ The photos are somewhat indistinct due to reflection from the glass display case, but they are clear enough to confirm that the instrument was a two-keyed, ebony flute with exclusively ivory decorations, assembled with the longest *corps de rechange*.⁵⁹ It is therefore unlike the Hohenzollern Quantz flutes inventoried as nos. 3836, 3837, and 3838 (A2, A3, and A6) or the Schetelig copies (C1 and C2), all of which feature silver rings on their foot joints.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, some evidence points to the possibility that the pre-World War II Sanssouci flute (A10) was once part of the Hohenzollern Museum collection. A letter dated January 30, 1930, from Dr. Achim von Arnim of Cunersdorf Castle to Dayton C. Miller, states that a flute of Frederick the Great, which had formerly been in the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin, was then being displayed in the palace of Sanssouci at Potsdam without a case. This statement about the Sanssouci flute's provenance remains unverified, but it is plausible. If von Arnim is indeed referring to the same instrument shown in Baxter's photos, it would have been moved from the Hohenzollern Museum to Sanssouci no later than 1924; since the inventory was compiled several years after this date, it probably would not have included an instrument that had already left the museum's collection.⁶¹ More probable is that the flute would have been given over to Sanssouci between 1916 and 1918, when, for historical reasons, many

58. The two photographs of the pre-World War II Sanssouci flute are preserved among Dayton C. Miller's uncatalogued papers concerning Frederick the Great (Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). On p. 5 of his unpublished typescript "Flutes of Frederick the Great" (also in the Library of Congress), Miller dates the photographs to 1924 and 1929.

59. No other *corps de rechange* are in evidence.

60. Miller himself visited the palaces of Sanssouci and Monbijou during August 1930 and August 1931. On p. 5 of "Flutes of Frederick the Great" he specifically notes that the Sanssouci flute has an ivory ring on the foot: "Palace of Sans Souci. Quantz Flute of Ebony. With ivory rings and cap (there is *not* a silver ferrule over the ivory ring on foot joint)."

61. Letter in the Dayton C. Miller collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The correspondance between Arnim and Miller took place just prior to Miller's purchase of an original Quantz flute (Table 1, A4) in a hand-painted porcelain case that had been inherited in 1929 by Arnim's wife, Marie Waleska von Arnim, née von Oppen (now no. 916 of the Dayton C. Miller collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). Briefly, its provenance is as follows: Frederick II; Frederick William II (reigned 1786–1797); Johann Christoph von Wöllner (Minister of Justice); Count Peter Ludwig von Itzenplitz of Cunersdorf; Heinrich von Itzenplitz; Friedrich von Oppen; Frau von Arnim. Other reports on the missing Sanssouci flute are found in Georg Müller, "Die Quantz'schen Königs-Flöten," 239, and "Friedrich der Große als Flötenspieler," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin, February 28, 1932), n.p.

objects displayed in the museum were returned to their former locations: Sanssouci, the Neues Palais, the Stadtschloß in Potsdam, Schloß Charlottenburg, and the Stadtschloß in Berlin.⁶² The original Quantz flute sold by Arnim to Miller (Table 1, A4) had been kept in Cunersdorf castle since about 1800. It had been exhibited in Berlin in 1912 at the Royal Academy of Art but had never formed part of the Hohenzollern Museum.⁶³

Burg Hohenzollern. Related to the problems concerning the Hohenzollern flutes has been the occasional tendency to confuse the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin with a palace in Hechingen (south-east of Tübingen) known as Burg Hohenzollern,⁶⁴ the location of a flute by Quantz (Table 1, A8) that was never part of the Hohenzollern Museum collection.⁶⁵ The flute was acquired by the founder of Schloß Glienicke (near Potsdam), Prince Carl Friedrich Alexander of Prussia (1801–1883), third son of Friedrich Wilhelm III and Queen Luise.⁶⁶ A certificate of authentication transmitted with the flute, signed by Carl, Prince of Prussia, and dated Berlin, October 21, 1876, states:

I received this flute in 1810 from the physician of my late parents, Dr. [Johann] Goerke [also spelled Görcke, 1750–1822], surgeon general of the army. It was bequeathed to him by his relative, *Kapellmeister* Quantz, who was required always to accompany the king, and to whom [i.e., Quantz] it was given after the king's death.⁶⁷

62. Hildebrand, *Führer durch das Hohenzollern-Museum*, 8.

63. *Friedrich der Grosse in der Kunst: Ausstellung der Königlichen Akademie der Künste zu Berlin. Januar/März 1912*, 3. Aufl. (Berlin: F. Bruckmann, 1912), 55: "Flute of Frederick the Great. With its Case of Porcelain. Owner: Lord Chamberlain von Oppen, Cunersdorf" ("Flöte Friedrichs des Grossen. Dazu gehörender Behälter aus Porzellan. Bes.: Herr Kammerherr von Oppen, Cunersdorf"; my translation).

64. For example, Powell and Lasocki, "Bach and the Flute," 23, include both "Hohenzollern" and "Schloß Hechingen" (*sic*) in a list of Quantz flutes; evidently both references are to the flute in Burg Hohenzollern. The reference in the same article (note 168) to two flutes formerly at Schloß Glienicke is in fact to the same ebony flute by Quantz now at Burg Hohenzollern, as well as to the ivory flute there which bears the stamp "London."

65. The flute has only one key and is unusual in certain other respects. For a photo and further documentation, see *Einrichtung des Schlosses Glienicke bei Potsdam, S. K. H. Prinz Friedrich Leopold von Preußen. Versteigerung Katalog, 18–21 Februar, 1931* (Berlin: Auktionshaus Leonor Joseph), 378 and Tafel 7; see also note 69 below.

66. Friedrich Wilhelm Goethert, *Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preußen im Schloß zu Klein-Glienicke bei Potsdam* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1972), ix.

67. "Diese Flöte erhielt ich vom Leibarzt meiner hochs. Eltern, / Generalstabsarzt der Armee Dr. Goerke i. J. 1810. / Sie wurde ihm von seinem Verwandten, dem Kapellmeister Quantz, der den großen König stets accompagniren mußte und dem sie / nach des Königs Tode überlassen wurde, vermacht. / Berlin 21. October 1876 / Carl Prinz v. Preußen." The certificate is kept with the flute at Burg Hohenzollern. The claim that Quantz (d. 1773) received this flute after the king's death (in 1786) is obviously in error. For biographical

This flute, which had been inherited from Carl by the Hohenzollern Prince Friedrich Leopold (1895–1959), remained in Schloß Glienicke until 1931. Shortly before the 1931 auction of Glienicke's contents, it was insisted that the flute, a piece of "national heritage," be withdrawn from the auction. A scandal ensued; the flute was not sold. However, it is reported to have been subsequently acquired by Leopold's physician, Dr. Paul Niehans.⁶⁸ In the 1950s the flute came into possession of Prince Louis Ferdinand; since then the flute has been displayed in the Schatzkammer of Burg Hohenzollern.⁶⁹

Schetelig's Model. It is uncertain which of the Hohenzollern flutes served as the basis for the Schetelig copies. Unfortunately, the lack of precision in Schetelig's design prevents a conclusive answer to this question. A comparison of the surviving Hohenzollern Quantz flutes with the Schetelig copy in Leipzig (Table 1, C1; see also Table 3, no. 1236a) shows that the latter only roughly approximates either of its putative models. In internal as well as external dimensions, including a significantly larger embouchure hole and a lack of tone hole undercutting, Schetelig's copies clearly depart from the surviving Hohenzollern Quantz flutes.⁷⁰

information on Görcke, see s.v. "Görcke, Johann," in *Deutsches biographisches Archiv: Eine Kumulation aus 254 der wichtigsten biographischen Nachschlagewerke für den deutschen Bereich bis zum Ausgang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Fabian and Willi Gorzny ([microform] New York: Saur, 1982), entry no. 401: 360–62.

68. Dayton C. Miller had attempted to acquire this flute; the event is thus thoroughly documented by numerous uncataloged newspaper clippings and correspondence from 1931 in the Dayton C. Miller Collection. A letter dated March 25, 1931, from the antiquarian Henning Opperman to Miller, explained that the flute went to Switzerland with Friedrich Leopold after the auction. Both it and an ivory flute (stamped "London") were reported to have been acquired from him by the late Dr. Paul Niehans of Montreux, Switzerland (1928–1971), an illegitimate son of William II who had been Prince Leopold's personal physician (verbal communication from Prof. Dr. Winfried Baer during my visit to Schloß Glienicke in September 1996). The two flutes were then acquired in the 1950s by the Hohenzollern Prince Louis Ferdinand, after which they were displayed in Burg Hohenzollern. The succession is also documented by a newspaper clipping held at the museum: "Friedrich der Große als Musiker: Zwei seiner Flöten aus der Schatzkammer der Burg," *Hohenzollern Zeitung*, Teil 9, Kunst in der Burg Hohenzollern, date unrecorded.

69. From November 28, 1992, to February 28, 1993, it was exhibited in the Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Munich, together with the ivory flute described in note 68 above. For photos, see the exhibition catalog: *Friedrich der Grosse: Sammler und Mäzen*, ed. Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern (Munich: Hirmer, 1992), 360–62 (items 185 and 186).

70. For example, the embouchure of the Leipzig Schetelig flute, no. 1236a, is 11.3 × 9.3 mm, as opposed to the approximately 9.9 × 8.9 mm of most Quantz flutes. Both the Brussels and Leipzig copies are equally rough and are basically mates, except for a more rectangular shape to the embouchure hole on the Leipzig copy.

It becomes apparent that Schetelig made little effort to produce close replicas, and thus Mahillon's complaints about the bad tuning of his copy were justified.⁷¹ However, a possible clue to Schetelig's model may be found in his claim that he based his copies on neither the longest nor the shortest middle joints, but rather on one of average length.⁷² In fact, both copies play at about $a' = 415$ Hz, at the highest end of the range spanned by a full set of six *corps de rechange* for Quantz's flutes. Their upper middle joints (158 mm in length) measure most like the short upper joints of Quantz's originals. This suggests that Schetelig did not copy Hohenzollern no. 3838, which by that time probably had only one upper-middle joint, but instead chose between Hohenzollern flutes nos. 3836 and 3837, which both had multiple *corps* and a silver ring on the foot. We probably will never know with certainty, however, which of the Hohenzollern flutes (if not a combination of them) served as the model.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated the possibility of tracing the complex history of the Hohenzollern Quantz flutes through the confusions created by war and the ravages of time. It has, moreover, established the authenticity of two Quantz flutes previously thought to be copies, thereby expanding the number of extant instruments by which the composer's contributions to flute building and flute playing can be

71. De Keyser, "De geschiedenis," 623–24, quotes a letter from Mahillon's assistant, Ernest Closson, to Schetelig in Berlin, dated November 9, 1913: "Even if the external appearance of the instrument is acceptable, this isn't entirely true of the tuning. It is quite impure, likely caused by errors in the bore" ("Wenn die äussere Ansicht des Instrument passt, so ist es nicht ganz so von der Stimmung. Diese ist herzlich unrein, was vermutlich durch Irrtümer in die Bohrung veranlasst war"; my translation).

72. De Keyser, "De geschiedenis," 624, quotes a letter from Kinsky to Mahillon, dated April 17, 1914, with Schetelig's reply: "The flute in the [Hohenzollern] museum is of an anomalous construction, even compared to other flutes by Quantz, and is unable to be played. In copying the instrument I have taken an exact medium, that is, of all the pieces belonging [to it] I have always chosen the one of average size. Therefore the reproach that is made of me, that I put together the longest foot with the shortest middle joint, is inapplicable" ("La flûte au Musée ne peut pas être jouée et est de construction anormale, même comparée avec d'autres flûtes de Quantz. En copiant l'instrument j'ai pris le juste milieu c.à.d. de toutes les pièces qui appartiennent j'ai toujours choisi celle de grandeur moyenne. C'est aussi pourquoi la reproche, qu'on me fait, que j'avais mis ensemble le pied le plus long avec la pièce intermédiaire la plus courte, ne me touche pas"; my translation).

judged. In sorting out the factors that led to the misidentification of these instruments, it has also been possible to cast light on a neglected chapter in the history of German woodwind collecting and organology. Important aspects of performance practice, notably the fine intonation and low pitch associated with Quantz's flutes, are also confirmed.

National image, political identity, and world politics have all played roles in both the loss and the preservation, transmission, and recovery of the instruments of Frederick the Great. But a reassessment of the extant instruments by Quantz, now made possible by the rediscovery of additional, earlier flutes, has a greater, more practical, significance than does the story of each flute's individual transmission. Frederick first procured flutes from Quantz at about the time Quantz began building them, in 1739, and favored them over those of other makers for many years.⁷³ The flutes from Frederick's collection bearing low opus numbers, which probably originated during his early years as king, bear importantly on our view of Quantz as a builder. Because we can now see that the earliest of Frederick's flutes by Quantz do not differ significantly from those built later (that is, after the *Versuch*), we can conclude that all these flutes were used for music in various styles, composed over a period of several decades. We also can surmise that the instructions for performance in the *Versuch* can be applied not only to the music of mid-to-late eighteenth-century Berlin, but also to music from an earlier period. This view is supported by the many pieces by Quantz in Frederick's collection that originated before the time when the composer began building flutes. If Frederick in fact performed regularly on flutes by Quantz, the instruments must have been considered suitable for these early works as well as the very different style of music that Quantz was writing in the 1740s and 1750s.⁷⁴ In addition, the low pitch evidently used throughout

73. Receipts and other documents from the years 1742 to 1751 suggest that during this period Quantz may have produced as many as thirteen to sixteen flutes for Frederick. See Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau*, 29–36. Because we have no documentation from the period preceding this, and as Quantz was building complete flutes already in 1739, the evidence suggests that the king's flutes numbered I to IV were built prior to or just after Frederick's succession to the throne in 1740.

74. As I argue in detail in "The Quantz Flutes: Their Construction, Characteristics, and Implications for the Dresden Repertory," paper read at the Biennial Baroque Conference in Birmingham, England, July 4, 1996, and in my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation (Duke University). Multiple Berlin sources for solo sonatas and concertos composed by Quantz in Dresden suggest that these were later performed by Frederick in Berlin: see Horst Augsbach, *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisches Werkverzeichnis (QV)* (Stuttgart: Carus, 1997).

this repertory (about $a' = 385\text{--}387$ Hz, or slightly below modern g'), borne out by the construction of Quantz's instruments and others having belonged to Frederick, conforms to early eighteenth-century French practices with which Quantz evidently became acquainted early on and maintained throughout his career.⁷⁵

Appendix: Provenance of Flutes from the Hohenzollern Museum, Berlin

Section A: Flutes by Quantz

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3836 (A3)

Frederick II → Weigand → Ernst von Hessen → Karl von Hessen → Alexis von Hessen → William II → Hohenzollern Museum

After the king's death in 1786, the flute was given by a personal chamberlain (*Leibkammerdiener*) of the king to Professor Sebastian Weigand (also spelled Weygandt, 1769–1836),⁷⁶ court painter to Prince Friedrich Ludwig von Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (1746–1818). Friedrich Ludwig entered King Frederick II's service in 1768 as major of a regiment in Breslau,⁷⁷ bringing Weigand with him to Breslau in 1768 and later to Berlin,⁷⁸ where Friedrich Ludwig was named *Gouverneur* in 1791,⁷⁹ hence Weigand's connections to Frederick's court. In 1807 Weigand became court painter to King Jérôme Bonaparte (1784–1860, ruler of Westphalia 1807–1813), who took him to Kassel. Just before the fall of the Westphalian kingdom, Weigand was named director of a Westphalian Art Academy in Rome (Napoleon, Jérôme's brother, had declared himself king of Italy in 1805),⁸⁰ thus Weigand's title "Professor," mentioned in the inventory;⁸¹ after the fall of Westphalia in 1813, Weigand in 1818 became painter to the von Hessen-Philippsthal-Barchfeld family in Herleshausen,⁸² where he served Landgrave

75. I am grateful for two grants from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst in 1995 and 1996 to carry out field and archival research on the extant flutes and music of Johann Joachim Quantz.

76. He is listed simply as "Prof. Weigand" in the "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis. Hauptbuch 2–5," Part 3, no. 3836; for biographical information, see Hans Wolfgang Singer, "Weygandt," *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 5 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten & Loening, 1901), 5:86.

77. S.v. "Hohenlohe," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 12 (1880): 685–86.

78. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, "Weygandt," *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, 37 vols. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1942), 35:481–82.

79. "Hohenlohe," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

80. Singer, "Weygandt," *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*.

81. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3836.

82. Thieme and Becker, "Weygandt."

Karl von Hessen (1784–1854)⁸³ and his younger brother, Prince Ernst von Hessen.⁸⁴

Before his death in 1836, Weigand gave the flute to his patron, Prince Ernst von Hessen (1789–1850),⁸⁵ of the Philippsthal-Barchfeld line, who held the title of imperial Russian general of the cavalry; thereafter the flute was preserved in Barchfeld Castle.⁸⁶

On Karl's death in 1854, the flute would have passed into the hands of Karl's son, Landgrave Alexis von Hessen-Philippsthal-Barchfeld (1829–1905). In 1853 Alexis married Marie-Louise, a princess of Prussia (1829–1901), daughter of Karl, a Prince of Hohenzollern, a connection which likely played a significant role in the eventual return of Frederick II's flute to the Hohenzollern family possession.⁸⁷

In April 1895, Alexis von Hessen gave the flute to Emperor William II for display in the Hohenzollern Museum.⁸⁸

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3837 (A6)

Frederick II → Neumann von Cosel → Schulze → Bleichröder → William I → Hohenzollern Museum

After Frederick II's death in 1786, this flute was presented as a gift to David von Neumann (1737–1807), a Prussian major general who had been *Kammerhusar* (chamber hussar) and *Schatoullier* (court treasurer) to Frederick II.⁸⁹ The previous treasurer had also been a flutist: Michael Gabriel Fredersdorf (1708–1758). An officer in the Prussian *Freikorps*, Neumann was one of the few men accepted into Frederick II's regular army after the conclusion of peace

83. *L'Allemagne dynastique: Les quinze familles qui ont fait l'Empire* (Le Perreux: Alain Giraud, 1976), 162.

84. *L'Allemagne dynastique*, 163. Cf. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3836.

85. *L'Allemagne dynastique*, 163.

86. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3836. The owners up through Prince Ernst and Karl von Hessen were documented by a white label affixed inside the lid of the now-missing flute case: "Einliegender Flöte Seiner Majestät Königs Friedrich des Großen wurde nach Allerhöchst dessen Tode von einem der Leibkammerdiener dem Maler und nachherigen Hofmaler Professor Weigand (verstorben zu Herleshausen 1836) übergeben. Professor Weigand, früher Hofmaler beim König Jérôme, später in Diensten des Prinzen Ernst von Hessen (Philippsthal-Barchfelder Linie) Kaiserlich Russischer General der Kavalerie und des Landgrafen Carl von Hessen (Philippsthal-Barchfelder Linie) übergab diese Flöte vor seinem Tode dem Prinzen Ernst von Hessen und wurde dieselbe seitdem im Schlosse zu Barchfeld verwahrt."

87. *L'Allemagne dynastique*, 191.

88. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3836, remark under "Herkunft": "Geschenk Landgrafen Alexis von Hessen-Philippsthal-Barchfeld an Kais. Wilhelm II April 1895."

89. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3837; cf. s.v. "Neumann," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 23:518–19.

(*Friedensschluß*) that ended the Seven Years' War. Neumann, ennobled for his valor in the War of the Bavarian Succession, became commander of Cosel in 1802.⁹⁰ He may have received yet another flute from King Frederick II's collection, Hohenzollern no. 5229 (see section B, below).

After Neumann's death in 1807, his flute-playing brother-in-law⁹¹ Johann Gottlob Schulze (1755–1834) owned the instrument.⁹² From 1777 Schulze was royal building engineer (*Baukondukteur*) in Potsdam and was later treasurer of the royal construction funds (*Rendant der königlichen Baukasse*).⁹³ In 1790 he became royal chief surveyor and director of gardens of Sanssouci (*Königliche Oberhofbaurat* and *Gartendirektor* for Sanssouci) under King Frederick William II; he was knighted in 1827 during his fiftieth year of service (*Ritter des rothen Adlerordens 3. Kl.*).⁹⁴

The next documented owner of this flute, Gerson von Bleichröder (1822–1893), may have received it from Schulze's daughter, Karoline Schulze (1794–1881), although his connection to the Schulze family is unclear.⁹⁵ Bleichröder inherited his father's banking house, serving both as *Hofbankier* of the House of Hohenzollern and as Bismarck's privy finance counsellor (*Geheime Kommerzienrat*); he became one of the wealthiest men in Germany. Via his connections to the Rothschild bank in Paris, he secured the necessary funds and political information that made possible the founding of the Prussian Empire during 1870–71. At the prompting of Bismarck, Bleichröder was raised in 1872 to the hereditary nobility.⁹⁶ Karoline Schulze attested on March 12, 1878, to the succession of the flute's owners up through her father.⁹⁷ She does not mention Bleichröder.

90. *Ibid.*

91. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3837.

92. For biographical information see "Johann Gottlob Schultze" [*sic*], in *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*, ed. August Schmidt and Bernhard Voigt, vol. 12 for 1834 (n.p., 1836), reproduced in *Deutsches biographisches Archiv*, entry no. 1152: 154–55.

93. Johann Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, vol. 3, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Nicolai, 1786), Anh. 3, p. 49, reproduced in *Deutsches biographisches Archiv*, entry no. 1152: 152, and s.v. "Johann Gottlob Schultze," *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*, entry no. 1152: 154.

94. "Johann Gottlob Schultze," *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*.

95. S.v. "Bleichröder, Gerson von," *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 19th ed., 24 vols., (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1986) 3:568. Karoline's birth and death dates were communicated to me by Matthias Gärtner, Stiftung Preußischer Gärten und Schlösser Berlin-Brandenburg.

96. Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the Building of the German Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 167.

97. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3837. Karoline Schulze's testimony was kept with the flute. Its text is reproduced in the inventory: "Diese Flöte Friedrichs des zweiten, die ihn wahrscheinlich auch auf seinen Feldzügen begleitete, erhielt mein Vater, Königlicher Oberhofbaurat und Gartendirektor Schulze (der die Flöte blies) von seinem Schwager Neumann, Friedrichs des Großen erster Kammerhusar und Schatoullier, der sie nach des Königs Tode, bei Verteilung der Andenken erhalten hatte"; the inventory also mentions that a similar testimony by the "Stadtrat Schulze" dated Berlin, August 4, 1861, was at hand.

On March 22, 1878, Bleichröder presented the flute as a gift to Emperor William I for display in the Hohenzollern Museum.⁹⁸

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3838 (A2)

Frederick II → von Diebitsch → Royal Prussian *Kunstammer* → Hohenzollern Museum

This flute belonged to the Highest Baron (*Oberster Freiherr*) Hans Karl Friedrich Anton von Diebitsch (1785–1831),⁹⁹ whose father, Baron Hans Ehrenfried von Diebitsch (died 1822 as imperial Russian major general), had fought under Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War. Thus, it is possible that the flute had been a gift from King Frederick II to Hans Ehrenfried, from whom Hans Karl would have inherited it. In 1797, Hans Karl entered the Cadet Corps in Berlin. Later called to Moscow by Czar Paul I, he led a brilliant military career in the Russian army. For his securing of the Porte, and the subsequent treaty at Adrianople (1829), Diebitsch was raised to the dignity of imperial Russian field marshal.¹⁰⁰ On December 14, 1830, Diebitsch was sent to Berlin, where the Prussian court received him with great distinction; the king presented him with a diamond-studded sword¹⁰¹ and perhaps this flute of Frederick the Great.

On March 6, 1833, by royal council order, the von Diebitsch flute was made part of the collection of the royal museums (*Kunstammer der Königlichen Museen*).¹⁰² It was sent to the Altes Museum (until 1859 called the Neues Museum) on the Berlin Museumsinsel, which had been built by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) to house the royal *Kunstammer*.¹⁰³ In the winter of 1876–77 the flute was transferred to the Hohenzollern Museum.¹⁰⁴

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3841

Frederick II → Royal Prussian *Kunstammer* → Hohenzollern Museum

From 1822 this flute was part of the royal collection (*Kunstammer der Königlichen Museen*). In 1852 the general director of the royal museums, Ignaz Franz Werner Maria von Olfers (1793–1871),¹⁰⁵ wrote to the minister of the royal

98. *Ibid.*, remark under "Herkunft": "Geschenk des Geheimen Kommerziensrats Bleichröder an Kais. Wilh. I am 22.3.1878."

99. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3838. For biographical information, see s.v. "Diebitsch," in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, nouvelle édition, 11 (Paris: M. Michaud, 1855): 35–38.

100. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, "Diebitsch," *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexikon*, 9 vols. (Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1860), 2:475–76.

101. "Diebitsch," *Biographie universelle*.

102. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3838: "Durch Allerhöchste Kabinets-Order vom 6. März 1833 zur Kunstammer gekommen, Eigentum des damaligen Obersten Freiherrn von Diebitsch." Diebitsch died in 1831, shortly before this date.

103. Renate Petras, *Die Bauten des Berliner Museumsinsel* (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1987), 24–28, 38ff.

104. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3838, remark under "Herkunft": "Vom Alten Museum im Winter 1876/77."

105. For biographical information, see s.v. "Olfers, Ignaz Franz Werner Maria von," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 24 (1887): 290–91.

house: "Two flutes of Frederick the Great are found in the *Kunstkammer* of the royal museums; both have been there, however, since 1822 and 1833" (the flute placed there in 1833 was Hohenzollern no. 3838, see above).¹⁰⁶ According to a letter dated Berlin, March 1, 1822, from the privy cabinet secretary Daniel Ludwig Albrecht (1765–1835)¹⁰⁷ to the concertmaster Carl Benda (1748–1836), a flute enclosed in a case was submitted as an instrument formerly belonging to Frederick II; he said that the flute should not be sold, describing it as being worthy of preservation (*ein aufbewahrungswerther Gegenstand*), and asked Benda whether he could verify its provenance (*Besitzverhältnis*).¹⁰⁸ The obvious value of the instrument referred to in this letter suggests that it was made of unusually precious materials, leading to the supposition that it may well have been the flute of solid amber and gold later cataloged as Hohenzollern Museum no. 3841;¹⁰⁹ as such, it would have been transferred to the Altes Museum in Berlin along with Hohenzollern no. 3838 and the other royal treasures sometime after that museum's opening in 1825. Before that, i.e., from 1822, the flute was probably placed in the Berliner Stadtschloß, the location of the *Kunstkammer* from 1701 to 1825.¹¹⁰ Not surprisingly, this flute is the only one for which the Hohenzollern inventory names neither a donor nor any other details of provenance.

In the winter of 1876–77 the flute was transferred, along with no. 3838, from the Altes Museum to the Hohenzollern Museum.¹¹¹

Section B: Provenance of Other Flutes

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3839 (D2)

Frederick II? → ? → Emperor William I → Hohenzollern Museum

This flute is not likely to have belonged to Frederick II. The construction of the flute is much different from that of others that were in his collection, placing it much later than other flutes known to have belonged to Frederick. Its provenance is not fully documented.

106. See Heyde, *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen*, 39: "Auf der Kunstkammer der Königlichen Museen befinden sich zwei Flöten König Friedrichs des Großen, beide sind aber schon seit den Jahren 1822 und 1833 in dieser Sammlung" (my translation).

107. S.v. "Albrecht, Daniel Ludwig," *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 17th ed., 20 vols. (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1966), 17:295.

108. The document is paraphrased in Dieter Krickeberg, "Meine Herren, der alte Bach ist gekommen," *Ausstellungskatalog*, Bachfest 1976 in Berlin (West), August 25–30, 1976 (Berlin: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1976), item no. 57: "Inhalt: Die Flöte in beiliegendem Kästchen sei dem König als ein ehemals Friedrich II. gehöriges Instrument eingesandt worden, und zwar nicht zum Kauf, sondern als 'ein aufbewahrungswerther Gegenstand.' Ob Benda das behauptete Besitzverhältnis nachprüfen könne?" Exhibited as item 65 was also a Quantz flute (A7) that had belonged to Frederick II, loaned by the Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, no. 5076.

109. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis. Hauptbuch 2–5," Part 3, no. 3841.

110. Renate Petras, *Die Bauten des Berliner Museumsinsel*, 24–28, 38ff.

111. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3841, remark under "Herkunft": "Vom Alten Museum im Winter 1876/77."

The flute was given in November 1879 by Emperor William I to the Hohenzollern Museum.¹¹²

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 3840 (D7)

Frederick II → Radziwiłł Family? → Wilhelm Radziwiłł → William I → Hohenzollern Museum

This flute, which bears no resemblance to instruments by Quantz, has been falsely attributed to him; however, there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to Frederick II, as described by the inventory. The gold letters stamped on the flute's case (C. F. v. P. = ? Carl Friedrich von Preußen) suggest that it may have passed through the hands of at least one Hohenzollern prince after Frederick's death, before belonging to the Radziwiłłs.¹¹³ The Radziwiłł family, descended from the Polish ruling house before the partitioning of Poland, had intermarried on occasion with Hohenzollerns. Which prince of Radziwiłł first came to possess this flute is uncertain. It was perhaps Prince Michał (1744–1831), who was a marshal at the Sejm that convened to confirm the first partition of Poland. Afterwards, Michał was given possession of Nieborów, in Poland; there his wife established a lavish "Arcadia," which Frederick II was fond of visiting. In perhaps 1831 the flute went either to Michał's son, Anton Henri (1776–1833, a composer and musician whom Chopin visited in Berlin in 1829, and to whom Beethoven dedicated his overture Op. 115), or to the latter's son, Prince Wilhelm (1797–1870), the eventual (documented) possessor.¹¹⁴

Prince Wilhelm Radziwiłł is the only member of the family certain to have owned this flute.¹¹⁵ A Prussian general and chief of the engineer corps,¹¹⁶ he became a close friend of the emperor and consequently had strong influence at court.

Before 1870 (the year of his death), Prince Wilhelm Radziwiłł gave the flute to the Hohenzollern Museum. The Hohenzollern inventory does not give a date.

Hohenzollern Inventory no. 5229 (D3)

Frederick II → Neumann-Cosel → William II → Hohenzollern Museum

This flute most probably belonged to Frederick II, as suggested by its engraved monogram (see description in Table 2). The flute was bequeathed in December 1917 by Major General Neumann-Cosel to Emperor William II.¹¹⁷ Neumann-Cosel was probably a descendent of the David von Neumann (called von Cosel), who had also owned one of Frederick's flutes (see section A, Hohenzollern no. 3837, above). The inventory reads "Fake?" (*Fälschung?*). Neumann-Cosel also bequeathed a number of other valuables to the Emperor.

112. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3839, remark under "Herkunft": "Von Kaiser Wilhelm I überweisen, im November 1879."

113. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3840.

114. Tadeusz Nowakowski, *The Radziwiłłs*, trans. E. B. Garside (n.p.: Dell Publishing Co., 1974).

115. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 3840.

116. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, "Radziwiłł" *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexikon*, 7:321–22.

117. "Hohenzollern-Museum Alphabetisches Inhaltsverzeichnis," no. 5229, remark under "Herkunft": "testamentarisch vermacht von Generalmajor v. Neumann-Cosel an Kaiser Wilhelm II. und dem Hohenzollern-Museum überwiesen. Dezember 1917." Neumann's given name has not been identified by the present author.