



OXFORD JOURNALS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Bach and the Flute: The Players, the Instruments, the Music

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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Early Music*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Flute Issue (Feb., 1995), pp. 9-10+13-14+17-29

Published by: [Oxford University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3137801>

Accessed: 05/10/2012 11:59

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Ardal Powell with David Lasocki

Bach and the flute: the players, the instruments, the music



1 Flute by Panon (Musée Paul Dupuy, Toulouse, no. 9.754)

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J. S. Bach's familiarity with the flute and flute players, or his lack of it, has been the topic of some of the most controversial commentary on the flute solos composed by or ascribed to him.¹ It is sometimes suggested, on the basis of the style of some of the pieces unquestionably written by him, that he did not understand the instrument or the characteristic kind of writing it required. Other views are that he wrote much of the music for a particular virtuoso who did not need to avoid difficulties, or that he did not intend it for the flute.

Over the course of Bach's lifetime composition for the instrument was extremely varied, with no single style predominating in German solo flute music. Thus, general considerations of what constitutes a typical and idiomatic style for the instrument become secondary to the question of how much Bach knew about current ideas on the various occasions when he wrote for the flute.² At the same time the instrument itself was the subject of vigorous experimentation,³ so that surviving examples which originate in the same time and place can have basic differences in sound—pitch, timbre, intonation, balance between registers and carrying power. Critical study of the sources and style of the flute music should not overlook these special details of how it was played and heard.

The flautists Bach met and worked with (see appendix 1 for a list of these) include three of the most famous players of the epoch, yet numerous other individuals in his circle played the instrument.⁴ Other flute music from the period suggests that Bach's pieces may not have been singular in their difficulty or musical concept, though of course they stood out in that they were by Bach. Recent progress in the study of 18th-century woodwind instrument makers and their work⁵ makes it possible to consider the kinds of flute in use during Bach's life with a view to distinguishing which of these types are more or less likely to have been in the hands of certain players at particular times. Exploring all these links can provide important clues to Bach's purposes in writing for the flute.

Transverse flutes, along with a serpent and a harp, were on a list of instruments repaired at Weimar during Bach's tenure in 1715–16,⁶ though we do not know who played them. Bach first worked with flute players we can put a name to when he was Kapellmeister in Cöthen

from December 1717. J. H. Freytag and J. G. Würdig had been engaged by A. R. Stricker, Bach's predecessor. A comparison between their salaries and those of other musicians at Cöthen shows that both flautists were considered assets to the court, and their playing must have been adequate if not outstanding.⁷ Freytag's starting annual salary in 1716 was 94 Thaler, compared with the 34 earned by his father, a ripieno violinist with the court, and with the 150 (raised from an initial 20) his brother, also a violinist at Cöthen, earned after further education in music, which he undertook on Bach's advice in Berlin during 1720–21. Würdig, who led the town band from 1721 to 1728, was paid 84 Thaler a year when he joined the court in 1714 as a chamber musician.⁸ An early version of Brandenburg Concerto no.5 from 1719 seems to be Bach's first extant ensemble composition involving the flute.⁹ Both Freytag and Würdig would certainly have been competent to play this, as well as the B minor Suite, BWV1067,¹⁰ if it was ever played as a flute suite at Cöthen.¹¹

The Dresden flautists P. G. Buffardin, J. J. Quantz, Friese and J. M. Blockwitz had an opportunity to meet Bach when he visited the city in the autumn of 1717, although it is unlikely that he heard any of them play at that time because of an official mourning period.¹² In view of Bach's later friendship with Buffardin it has been suggested that this was the occasion on which the two musicians met.¹³ The A minor solo (Partita), BWV1013, may date from as early as the end of 1717, though a case has also been made for 1724.¹⁴

In his autobiography¹⁵ Quantz describes the state of composition for the flute during Bach's Cöthen years:

At that time there were few compositions written especially for the flute. One had to make do for the most part with compositions for the oboe and violin, which one had to arrange as well as possible for one's purpose.

Although French influences at the Dresden court had been strong in the early years of the 18th century and Buffardin at least must have been aware of some of the kinds of flute music being published at Paris,¹⁶ the influence of Italy began to be felt in the second decade. The Hofkapelle returned to Dresden from a trip to Italy in 1716–17, where Johann Georg Pisendel

had studied with Vivaldi; in the 1720s Vivaldi manuscripts began to be copied in large numbers, and in 1728 Italian music became dominant when Pisendel succeeded Volumier as Konzertmeister. The Italian violin style had its effect on flute music in London, Amsterdam, Paris and Dresden, and thus on the demands performers made on their instruments. Differences in playing technique and style which may have been very marked in the first decade of the 18th century began in the following decade to be subject to the common influences of Italy and the violin. The 'violinization' of flute music in Paris was of long duration: Corrette's flute tutor¹⁷ of c.1739 contains instructions for transposing, as well as tricks for making arpeggiated passages in violin music fit the compass of the flute, indicating both that Corelli was still popular and that, despite the quantity of flute music printed, it seems to have lagged behind the demand.¹⁸

A glimpse into the diversity of the flute's repertory in Germany in the second decade of the century is given by Brussels MS Litt. XY 15.115,¹⁹ a manuscript collection of 54 instrumental solos, the largest proportion of which are specifically for flute (illus.2). Its earliest pieces copied from dated prints come from J. C. Schickhardt's op.1 (1709–10), and its latest from Loeillet's op.5 (1717).²⁰ It contains solos by Freytag, Blockwitz, Stricker, Christoph Förster (violinist in Merseburg 1717–23, whose music was known to Bach),²¹ Johann Sigismund Weiss (brother of the more famous lutenist at Dresden, Silvius Leopold Weiss), and Quantz, as well as better known composers such as Telemann and Handel. The Italian influence and the 'violinized' style are both very much in evidence in the collection. The first solos for transverse flute printed in Germany were in Johann Mattheson's *Der brauchbare Virtuoso* (1720; composed 1717).²² Mattheson's sonatas have much in common with pieces transmitted under the names of Quantz, Blockwitz, J. D. Braun²³ and J. C. Naudot,²⁴ and with the A minor solo, BWV1013;²⁵ a style characterized by constant semiquaver or quaver motion, arpeggiated passagework, and other 'violinistic' features. In Dresden c.1719 Quantz and Pisendel copied Telemann violin sonatas,²⁶ and his 1716 *Kleine Cammer-Music* gives a list of suitable instruments, including the 'Flüte traverse'. Telemann's solos



2 From Sonata XL, Traversa à Violino Solo col Basso, del Sr. Freytag (Brussels MS Litt. XY 15.115, p.184)

demonstrate the range of influences on the instrumental sonata: Corelli and Caldara are his models in Italian instrumental style, and Lully and Campra in suites, and he writes direct imitations of both Corelli and Lully. The Mattheson, Telemann and Quantz pieces have a low tessitura and avoid the highest range, while those by Blockwitz/Braun use the whole compass of the instrument and a wide range of keys, including B \flat minor.

The diversity in the music of this period is matched by the variety of instruments available to Freytag, W \ddot{u} rdig, Buffardin, Quantz, Friese and Blockwitz, the flautists Bach knew or had occasion to meet in his pre-Leipzig period. Recent work, which has largely been on French sources, might lead us to expect a list of French makers' names here, but a broader view (see appendix 2.1) reveals that flute making in Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, Switzerland and even England was already highly developed by 1720, and that certain makers, perhaps many of them, had reputations not confined to their immediate geographical area. The Parisian maker

J. J. Rippert made woodwinds for customers in London and Frankfurt, those made for London (to supplement ones by Nicolas (Colin) Hotteterre already in use) being tuned to the higher pitch standard there.²⁷

Three-joint flutes made in Berlin, Nuremberg, Berchtesgaden and Leipzig survive to show that at this early date more than one centre of excellent woodwind making activity existed within Germany, one of them in Saxony.²⁸ In Nuremberg Jacob Denner, whose father Johann Christoph had begun to imitate the new French-style oboe and recorder by 1696,²⁹ made two three-joint flutes which survived to this century. Both have alternative foot-joints, one of which plays low *c*'; this associates them with a pan-European vogue for extended foot-joints which seems to have occurred around 1720³⁰ and certainly would have helped extend the flute's range for playing oboe or violin music:³¹ besides Denner they were made by Bressan (London) and J. J. Schuchart (Germany, then London). German makers associated with three-joint flutes are J. Denner (Nuremberg),



3 Flute by J. H. Eichentopf (Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten-Museum no. 1244)—reconstruction by Folkers & Powell, 1993

Heitz (Berlin) and G. Walch (Berchtesgaden). Farther afield, Bressan (London) and Haka (Amsterdam) also left three-joint instruments, and others who presumably made examples now lost include Anciuti, Beukers, Boekhout, Borkens, Eerens, Eichentopf, Liebau,³² J. W. Oberlender I, Poerschmann, I. H. Rottenburgh, Schell, C. Schlegel, Scherer, Stanesby Junior, Terton, van Aardenberg and van Heerde, to say nothing of the French makers Bizey, Chevalier, Cornet, Delerablée, Fortier, Hotterre, Leclerc, Naust, Panon, Pelletier and Rippert, or any of the active woodwind makers of the period by whom no flutes at all survive. The three-joint flutes we do have share a generally low pitch ($a' = c.388\text{--}400$ Hz) and favour mean-tone intonation, but their characteristics of sound quality and effective range, as well as technical details such as bore size and taper, wall thickness and tonehole execution, are too diverse—and probably also too small a sample—to allow much insight into national distinctions. What they do reveal is that ideals of flute sound, and thus performance style, covered the whole range from the moaning and amorous sighs in which the French in general were said to excel, to the brilliance that seems to have characterized Buffardin's playing in particular.³³

Bach's move to Leipzig in 1723 began a new period in his use of the flute. C. G. Wecker and F. G. Wild, both students at the university, were available as flautists. They must have been at least adequate players: Bach wrote Wild a 1727 testimonial in which his flute playing was mentioned,³⁴ and though a similar document for Wecker of 1729 is not specific about his flute playing, referring only to his proficiency on a number of instruments, another contemporary noted his 'barely-matched dexterity and

experience on the Flaute Traver'.³⁵ Bach's third son, 'der Windige', Johann Gottfried Bernhard, was by c.1727 old enough to have begun learning the flute, and is recorded as having played flute duets with Jacob von Stähelin³⁶ (himself sometime soloist in Bach's *collegium musicum*) on many occasions before 'der Windige' left home in 1735. From 1731 Bach's keyboard student L. C. Mizler von Kolof may also have participated in the *collegium* as a flautist; inasmuch as he wrote of music as a sort of audible mathematics, his musical tastes were on the side of *ratio* against *sensus*, and he seems also to have been fond of music that was demanding to play.³⁷ Buffardin visited Bach in Leipzig at an indeterminate date, perhaps as early as 1724,³⁸ and mentioned to the Bach family that the composer's brother Johann Jakob had taken flute lessons from him in 1713.³⁹ This has been cited as evidence that Bach had personal contact with a flautist before 1717,⁴⁰ but in fact the original report states⁴¹ that he first learned of the lessons on Buffardin's visit, which cannot have been before he took up his Leipzig post. He therefore had not learned of the lessons from Johann Jakob himself—thus removing the only certain indication that he knew before 1723 of his brother's flute playing.

Leipzig⁴² rather than Dresden was the home of Saxon wind instrument making at this period, and during Bach's tenure Leipzig makers Eichentopf, J. C. E. Sattler, Poerschmann, G. Crone and J. G. Bauermann all made flutes that have survived to the present. Other Leipzig makers active during the period but not represented by any surviving flutes are A. Bauermann, J. R. and J. G. Poerschmann (successors to J. Poerschmann), C. Noack, G. Ebicht, J. P. Otto, J. C. Haupt, J. K. Grahl (known to have worked for Hirschstein—see below) and D. Wolff, some of whom may have been journeymen who did

not use their own stamp. J. C. or J. G. Hartwig and August Grenser are each represented by one surviving flute perhaps dating from as early in their careers as the last decade of Bach's life.

This might seem an extraordinary number of woodwind instrument makers for a town of only 21,000 inhabitants. It is partly explained by the fact that instrument making in Leipzig was at no time regulated by a guild. Anyone who wished could set up in business, without serving an apprenticeship, submitting a masterpiece, or even holding citizenship. This must have made for more diversity than was the case in guild-controlled cities where established Masters had a say in the attitudes, lifestyles and work of their junior colleagues or competitors. The merchant Mathias Hirschstein (c.1695–1760) took advantage of this plethora to set up a trade in 1744 in which he bought instruments (at least some stamped with his own name)⁴³ from many of the makers and shipped them to his warehouse in Frankfurt an der Oder for distribution to eastern parts.

Many of the Leipzig woodwind makers had personal connections with one another, and with the Thomaskantor. The violin maker Johann Christian Hoffmann, who shared a house with J. Poerschmann from 1721, delivered instruments to the Thomas and Nikolai churches, and bequeathed his 'good friend' Bach another instrument in his 1748 will. Poerschmann's wife, the merchant Hirschstein and Bach's oboist J. C. Gleditsch were godparents to children of Eichentopf, who in turn stood godfather to children of Poerschmann along with Christian Noack and J. C. Hoffmann and his sister. The oak leaves suggested by Eichentopf's name and used by him as a decoration also appear (suggesting a continuity of 'trademark') in the work of other makers, including A. Bauerman and, later, C. F. Sattler.

Influences on the style of writing for the flute continued to multiply during Bach's Leipzig period, while the effect of others was moderated by continued use. If Telemann's early sonatas were already eclectic, the 'methodical sonatas' of 1728 and 1732, *Der getreue Music-Meister* (Hamburg, 1728–9) and *XII Solos* (Hamburg, 1734) drew on an even wider array of highly distinctive genres, including Polish folk music.⁴⁴ The 'mixed taste' became practically a

German national style, and flute music in which there is almost no interest today was generated by composers such as J. A. Hasse, who left numerous concertos, solos and trios in manuscript, and was published by Walsh in many editions from 1734 to 1750.⁴⁵ The formerly distinctive French style of performing had thoroughly absorbed and naturalized the 'violinistic' influence by the time the *Sonates mêlées de pièces* by the virtuoso Michel Blavet were published in 1732. Composers from Dresden and its environs, including Bach, wrote concerto-like solos in a form strongly influenced by Vivaldi.⁴⁶

Bach's surviving Leipzig chamber music for flute begins with the continuo sonata in E minor, BWV1034, dated c.1724, the same time as featured flute parts began to appear in the cantatas. Later Leipzig compositions are the C major (c.1731), E \flat major (1730–34), B minor and A major sonatas (c.1736). Of these the B minor and C major are entirely or partially based on earlier works. The G major trio sonata for two flutes, BWV1027, is dated c.1729–31. A number of these works have a distinctly lower tessitura than others: the G major trio sonata, BWV1027, the E minor and A major sonatas and even the B minor sonata if played in its original key of G minor.⁴⁷ Like many of the flute solos of Telemann, Blavet and others, these pieces seem a good match with the most comfortable and effective range of some of the larger-bored four-joint flutes made during Bach's lifetime, which have a very powerful and direct low register, though in a few cases at the expense of ease in the highest. BWV1030 in G minor fits on a three-joint instrument with a C foot; of those mentioned above, the flutes of J. J. Schuchart, who began his career in Germany before 1720, have a characteristically large bore especially suited to the low range of the piece in this key. Jeanne Swack⁴⁸ reads BWV1032's low tessitura and avoidance of the highest register to indicate Quantz as the performer. These features would apply equally to any contemporary flautist who used a large-bored instrument: Quantz stands out only because we have unique indications of his tastes in flutes. The range and copying errors may indicate transposition from another key of a part originally written for another instrument, as Michael Marissen has argued.⁴⁹

The low chamber pitch⁵⁰ introduced by Kuhnau

in 1702 ($a' = c.388-400$) as the standard for performances in the Thomaskirche was probably not in general use there after *c.*1720, though it was employed in exceptional cases, including some cantata performances. Of course this standard need not have affected the pitch at which chamber music was played in any case. But evidence of a desire to establish $a' = c.410$ as a German standard pitch exists from about 1715, and the surviving flutes we can associate with Bach's Leipzig period, such as those by J. C. E. Sattler and the St Petersburg Poerschmann F flute, seem to belong to the period when the higher chamber pitch was in use there. The considerable number of flutes made in all parts of Europe in the 1730s, and for at least half a century after, which continued to be supplied with *corps de rechange* at lower pitches, show that the higher standard was far from universally accepted during Bach's lifetime. Quantz was one of those who held out against it in favour of the old low pitch long after it had gone out of general use.

In 1731, again in Dresden, Quantz was able to hear Bach play the organ,⁵¹ though there remains considerable doubt as to whether they met on this occasion, or indeed any other.⁵² Quantz's knowledge of Bach's flute music has been called into question: there are no references to it in any of the surviving printed or manuscript sources associated with Quantz.⁵³ Furthermore, when Bach visited Potsdam in the company of Wilhelm Friedemann in 1747, Quantz is quite absent from all the accounts. But none of this can be taken to show that the two men did not meet: Quantz knew and admired Handel,⁵⁴ his music too is absent from the Quantz sources we have.

C. P. E. Bach was appointed Frederick the Great's keyboard player in 1740; the E major sonata, BWV1035, dating from, at the earliest, the following year, is connected on the authority of its two 19th-century sources with the king's valet and duet partner Fredersdorf, and appears to be the last of Bach's surviving flute solos.⁵⁵ Although Quantz did not arrive in Potsdam until December 1741 it would be surprising if, as one of the two other flautists in residence at court, he should have been entirely ignorant of the piece's existence, even if it was not altogether to his taste. Though differing markedly from

Quantz's and Frederick's conservative composition styles, the musical excerpts in the probably later compilation of Quantz's *Solfeggi*⁵⁶ show that a wide variety of up-to-date composers and styles were in favour with Quantz and his royal pupil.

The *Musical offering* trio sonata in C minor, BWV1079, of 1747 shows that the broadmindedness of Quantz and Frederick extended to *Empfindsamkeit*, and that Bach was very familiar with the tastes of Berlin's composers for the flute, such as his son. Carl Philipp Emanuel's solos and trio sonatas of the 1730s and 40s feature the flute as a natural exponent of this mannered, expressive style: revisions of six of his trio sonatas for flute and violin, which originated in the early 1730s, were made at Berlin and Potsdam in the same year Johann Sebastian wrote the C minor trio sonata,⁵⁷ two new ones were written in the same year, and the E major trio sonata for two flutes and continuo, H580 (wq162), stylistically the most advanced of the trio sonatas, dates from 1749. Though Quantz's flutes with their low pitch, mean-tone intonation and powerful, serious sound were certainly used at Frederick's court after 1739 for the performance of his and Quantz's concertos, the royal instrument collection contained examples of flutes by other well known German makers. The rapid dynamic extremes, strongly accented appoggiaturas and agility between registers demanded by the more progressive style of music are hard to achieve on a Quantz flute; they are much more natural and effective on the newest instruments of the 1740s, which were quite probably at hand.

It was in the 1740s that August Grenser, after an apprenticeship with Poerschmann in Leipzig, moved to Dresden and eventually set up as a woodwind instrument maker, using mass-production techniques he may have picked up from French makers.⁵⁸ At about the same time, instruments with the outer profile turned in a new 'streamlined' style, without the usual ornamental beads above the mounts, began to be made in workshops such as that of Thomas Lot in Paris, though Grenser himself stayed with the classic style of turning until as late as 1796, even for instruments with additional keys. The surviving instruments of the period which began in the last decade of Bach's life, of which the most familiar today from modern copies are certain examples by

August Grenser (Nuremberg Museum), G. A. Rottenburgh (a probably rather later one used by Barthold Kuijken), Schuchart and Stanesby Junior, show that there had been a definite shift in the general concept of the flute's sound: their tone seems lighter and sweeter than that of earlier types—partly on account of their higher pitch, which favoured the qualities makers were probably aiming at in any case.

Bach may also have learned something about the flute from sources other than the players he knew. Christopher Addington⁵⁹ supposed the existence of a body of common knowledge of which Bach would have been aware, and even suggested that he had studied Hotteterre's writings in order to learn about transposition, though it is not at all easy to take seriously the idea of Germany's greatest organist studying this subject in a French work on pre-luding, or improvising, addressed to amateurs.⁶⁰ Addington's *bas dessus* theory—a claim that all Bach's flute chamber music was intended for the *flûte d'amour* pitched a major or a minor 3rd below the ordinary flute, and that every flautist of Bach's time would have recognized this at a glance—will be seen to be altogether inconsistent with the evidence presented here. The accepted position remains that 'flutes ... lower than the standard-sized instrument must have been very rare; they may have been made in the early eighteenth century ... as a sort of carry-over from the Renaissance bass flute, but they seem to have ceased being manufactured at some point and do not reappear until after 1760'.⁶¹ Though a not insignificant number of *flûtes d'amour* do appear in appendix 2 and several of the instruments with *corps de rechange* are supplied with a 'transposing' middle joint to play a 3rd or a 4th lower, they are overwhelmed in number by the surviving flutes of ordinary D pitch.⁶² As yet no satisfactory explanation has appeared for the paucity of specific repertory for the *flûte d'amour*, and the absence of contemporary commentary, as well as evidence for how such instruments might have been used.⁶³

The more details are known about Bach's contact with the flute, the more there is to conjecture. He worked with and met players of all levels of ability, who because of their heterogeneous back-

grounds and tastes must have used a wide variety of the very different instruments being made at the time. Far from being hampered by ignorance, or by partisanship for one particular aspect of the flute's character, Bach seems in fact to have been engaged in experiments with most or all of the musical styles under consideration (temporarily or more lastingly) as suitable for the flute during the entire course of his life. Knowledge of contemporary instruments and flute compositions can indeed affect our interpretation of Bach's flute music: according to the emphasis given to this knowledge the Solo, BWV1013, is either a somewhat awkward experiment by a composer unfamiliar with the instrument, or an especially audacious incursion by the flute into stylistic territory that had seemed to belong to the violin—an incursion which might be armed with the playing characteristics developed in particular types of instrument. The diversity in pitch, timbre, intonation, balance between registers and carrying power of surviving instruments, even those originating in the same time and place, would support the view that ideals of sound and expression as well as techniques of playing differed among individuals at least as much as they do today. Further study of and experience with the German flute music and the surviving instruments of the period will surely serve to broaden rather than restrict our understanding of Bach's writing for the instrument.

Appendix 1 Flautists known to Bach

1.1 Flautists Bach is known to have met

Bach, Johann Gottfried Bernhard (1715–39)

Third son of J. S. Bach, nicknamed 'der Windige'. Lived in Leipzig until 1735.

Bach, Johann Jakob (1682–1722)

Elder brother of J. S. Bach. 1704–12 oboist in Swedish guard; 1712–22 chamber musician at Swedish court; 1712 or 1713 had flute lessons with Buffardin in Constantinople.

Buffardin, Pierre Gabriel (1690–1768)

contact 1713; *met* 1717?

1712 or 1713 in Constantinople (age 23), where he gave lessons to J. Jakob Bach; 1715 appointed first flute of Dresden Royal Orchestra; 1726 appeared at Concert Spirituel (Quantz in Paris this year); 1728 presented a flute to Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia (age 16) who had begun taking lessons with Quantz; 1733 became friends with W. F. Bach; 1737

played at Concert Spirituel; 1742 first book of sonatas (lost);⁶⁴ 1749 (age 59) left Dresden orchestra; by 1752, possible inventor of foot-register and screw-cork;⁶⁵ 1764 wrote to *Mercur de France*⁶⁶ claiming to have developed a sophisticated system of quarter-tones. Painting, of very uncertain date, by Johann Sebastian Bach Junior (1748–78).⁶⁷

Frederick the Great (1712–86)

met 1747

1728 began lessons with Quantz; received a flute of Bufardin's as a present; 1738 offered a position to Blavet, visiting Prussia, who declined it; 1740 became King of Prussia, appointed C. P. E. Bach; 1741 Quantz entered his service on a permanent basis; 1745 wrote to Fredersdorf that Quantz was going to make him two 'extraordinaire' new flutes; 1747 Bach's visit to Potsdam, was presented with *Musical offering*.

Fredersdorf, Michael Gabriel (1708–58)

contact 1741; *met* 1747

1741 E major sonata.

Freytag, Johann Heinrich (d 1720)

met 1717

1713 flautist at Cöthen,⁶⁸ 1716 at a salary of 94 Thaler a year; six sonatas (4 flute, 1 oboe, 1 flute or violin) appeared in Brussels MS XY 15.115; 1766 *Solo del Sigr. Freytag* appeared in Breitkopf catalogue.

Gleditsch, Johann Caspar (1684–1747)

met ?1723

Leipzig Stadtpfeiffer from 1712; Kuhnau's and Bach's solo oboist (first dated solo 1717). May have played recorder and sometimes flute in cantatas when not busy on oboe.⁶⁹

Koloff, Lorenz Christoph Mizler von (1711–78)

contact 1731; *met* ?

Keyboard student of Bach, to whom he referred as his 'good friend and patron'; founder of *Leipzig Correspondirende Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften*, of which Bach was a member. May have played flute in Bach's *collegium*. A self-taught flautist, was interested in playing very difficult flute music: in letter of 6 November 1736 to J. G. Walther, he asked 'could you please send me a flute concerto—one that is difficult to play'. He mentioned the *Musical offering* trio sonata in a 1752 letter to Manfred Speiß.⁷⁰

Quantz, Johann Joachim (1697–1773)

contact 1717; *met* 1731

1707 began musical training; 1716 joined Dresden town band; 1718 replaced Friese at *Kleine Kammermusik* in Dresden; 1724 visited Rome, possibly bringing back a flute with a low c# key, but if so it was not the Biglioni instrument US-Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 44; 1725 met Alessandro Scarlatti, who wrote some pieces for him despite his distaste for wind instruments; 1726 visited Paris, had D# key added, began friendship with Blavet; 1727 visited London, where Weidemann and Festing were flautists; 1728 began teaching Crown Prince Frederick; 1731 heard J. S. Bach play the organ in Dresden; 1739 began making flutes; 1741 entered Frederick's ser-

vice on a permanent basis; 1747 was he present for Bach's visit to Potsdam?; 1752 *Versuch*, in which he did not mention Bach's flute music; 1754 autobiography.

Stähelin, Jacob von

contact ?

Often played flute duets with Johann Gottfried Bernhard Bach ('Der Windige'); occasionally appeared as a soloist in Bach's *collegium musicum*.

Wecker, Christoph Gottlob

contact 1724

His 'barely matched ... dexterity and experience on the Flaute Traver'. was noted by a contemporary, and Bach mentioned his ability on 'various instruments'.⁷¹

Wild, Friedrich Gottlieb

met 1724

Bach himself testified to Wild's 'well-learned accomplishments on the *Flaute traversière*' in 1727.⁷²

Würdig, Johann Gottlieb (d 1728)⁷³

met 1717

1713 appears in Cöthen ensemble payroll; 1722/3 disappears; 1717 became leader of the town band.⁷⁴

1.2 Flautists Bach may possibly have met

Blockwitz, Johann Martin (fl. c.1720–30)

contact 1717

1717–33 flautist of Royal Orchestra in Dresden; 1 piece in Brussels XY 15.115; 1766 *III Soli dal Sigr. Blochwitz* appear in Breitkopf catalogue.

Friese, ?

contact 1717

1718 replaced by Quantz as first flute of *Kleine Kammermusik* in Dresden.⁷⁵

Kirchhoff, [Johann Friedrich] (fl. 1737–69)

Solo oboe, doubling flute in *Grosse Konzertgesellschaft*, 1746–8.⁷⁶

Landvoigt, ?

Solo flute in Leipzig *Grosse Konzertgesellschaft*, 1746–8.⁷⁷

O[f]schatz, [Johann Christian] (fl. 1738–63)

Second oboe, doubling flute (and trumpet) in *Grosse Konzertgesellschaft*, 1746–8.⁷⁸

Poerschmann, Johann (1680–1757)

Leipzig wind-instrument maker working by 1708. One of two solo bassoonists in *Grosse Konzertgesellschaft*, played second flute to Landvoigt when Ofschutz and Kirchhoff busy on oboe.⁷⁹ Gleditsch (q.v.) and Leipzig wind-instrument maker Johann Heinrich Eichentopf (see appendix 2) were godfathers to one of Poerschmann's children.

Tromlitz, Johann George (1725–1805)

Law student at Leipzig in 1740s; after Bach's death became solo flute of *Grosse Konzertgesellschaft*.⁸⁰

Appendix 2 Woodwind makers of Bach's lifetime

This appendix lists woodwind instrument makers active during Bach's lifetime, together with surviving examples of their work. It is intended to include all those flutes used in Bach's time—and any lost ones—details of which are still available for study.

Criteria for inclusion are that the maker:

- 1 was working at some time during the period 1685–1750;
- 2 is represented by at least one surviving conical-bore one-key transverse flute, whether or not it can be dated to the period or currently located.

Limitations to the accuracy and completeness of the register of instruments are:

- 1 where uncertainty exists about a maker's working dates or identity (e.g. Castel);
- 2 where several makers of the same name or the same family worked successively; in some cases modern research has been able to suggest datings and attributions, but in other cases (e.g. Scherer) this is extremely problematic;
- 3 where a maker's or a workshop's active period extends past 1750.

In all these cases a full list of instruments has been given irrespective of when they may have been made. Thus, not all the listed examples by prolific or long-lived makers were necessarily made during the 1685–1750 period, and in certain cases it is altogether probable that none of them were.

Anonymous instruments are not able to contribute much to a knowledge of flute making during Bach's lifetime. They are much more difficult to attribute and date reliably than stamped instruments. Though this study does not completely exclude them, it places little emphasis on them.

The appendix is divided into two sections corresponding broadly to Bach's Cöthen and Leipzig periods. Section 2.1 refers to the period of Bach's life before his appointment as Thomaskantor in Leipzig in 1723. Subsection 2.1.1 lists three-joint instruments only, though it is possible that instruments of this type continued to be used or even manufactured up to a decade after four-joint instruments first appeared around 1720. Subsection 2.1.2 is a list of makers who were working before 1723, and/or whose surviving output appears to contain at least one example from before that date (though it may contain many from after it). Section 2.2 is a list of makers who had not yet begun work by the time Bach moved to Leipzig.⁸¹

* = *Flûte d'amour*

2.1 Bach's early career

2.1.1 Three-joint instruments

Anonymous (late 17th century)
Assisi⁸²

Anonymous (probably Paris, before 1720)
private collection Stuttgart,⁸³ Berlin 2666 ex Snoeck,⁸⁴
private collection England,⁸⁵ Bissonet⁸⁶

Bressan, Pierre Jaillard (London, 1663–1731)
Oldham, DCM 1207,⁸⁷ Talbot MS⁸⁸

Chevalier (Paris: *fl.* 1680–1715)⁸⁹
Boston ex Galpin

Denner, Jacob (Nuremberg: 1681–1735)
Nuremberg (two foot-joints, one to *c'*),⁹⁰ Berlin
Grosskopf loan (two foot-joints, one to *c'*) (lost)⁹¹

Haka, Richard (Amsterdam: 1646–1705)
*Ehrenfeld⁹²

Heitz, Johann (Berlin: 1672–1737; *fl.* post 1702–37)
Vienna Rothschild loan⁹³

Hotteterre (probably Martin or Jean, before 1720)⁹⁴
Graz,⁹⁵ private collection Paris⁹⁶

Leclerc, Jean Nicolas (Paris, *d.* 1752)⁹⁷
private collection Sao Paulo ex Cotte

Naust, Pierre, workshop of (Paris: *fl.* 1692–1734)⁹⁸
Berlin, *Paris, private collection Brookline, MA,⁹⁹ St
Petersburg 465 ex Snoeck

Panon (?)
Toulouse¹⁰⁰

Rippert, Jean Jacques (Paris: began 1696, *fl.* 1701)
Glasgow, St Moritz,¹⁰¹ Dorgeuille ex le Roy¹⁰²

Walch, Georg (Berchtesgaden: 1690–1764; *fl.* 1716–64)
unlocated¹⁰³

2.1.2 Early four-joint flutes

† A maker who has already made an appearance in the list of three-joint instruments in section 2.1.1

‡ A maker who may have made three-joint flutes, though none has survived

‡Aardenberg, Abraham van (Amsterdam: 1672–1717)
Reported by Jan Bouterse¹⁴⁴

‡Anciuti, Johannes Maria (Milan: c.1690–1740)
Milan Castello Sforzesco 320¹⁰⁴

Anonymous (place, date unknown)
Ritz¹⁰⁵

- Bauer, Johannes Gottlob** (Leipzig: 1696–c.1736; *fl.* 1719–24)
*Zurich¹⁰⁶
- ‡**Beuker, Jan Barend** (Amsterdam: 1691–?; another, 1737–1816)
Brüggen, Ehrenfeld, Paris (three examples: one is ‘bass’), Gruskin, private collection The Hague, private collection Portugal,¹⁰⁷ The Hague (bass)
- ‡**Beukers, Willem** (Willem Sr.: Amsterdam: c.1669–1750, Willem Jr.: 1703–81)
Ehrenfeld, The Hague
- ‡**Bizey, Charles** (Paris: c.1685–1752; began working 1716)
Nuremberg,¹⁰⁸ Bate 106, Paris, Bate 1, Edinburgh U 11,¹⁰⁹ Edinburgh U 12 ex Glen,¹¹⁰ The Hague (attrib.), Paris, Balestracci, Linz, LeVezinet, Beaudin, Vermillion, Horniman ex Dolmetsch,¹¹¹ private collection,¹¹² Bingham
- ‡**Boekhout, Thomas Coenraet** (Amsterdam: 1666–1715)
Berlin 2678¹¹³
- ‡**Borkens, Philip** (Amsterdam: 1693–c.1765)
The Hague (two examples), Horniman, The Hague auction¹¹⁴
- †**Bressan**
Victoria and Albert Museum
- ‡**Cornet, Louis** (Paris: c.1678–1745; *fl.* c.1710–45)
Hamburg, Zimmerman¹¹⁵
- Crone, Gottlieb** (Leipzig: 1706–66)
Ehrenfeld, Sneider, Spohr,¹¹⁶ *see appendix 2.1.2, s.v. ‘J. Poerschmann’ and note
- ‡**Delerablé[e, Antoine** (Paris: 1686–1734)]¹¹⁷
Bate ex Jeans ex Morley-Pegge
- †**Denner, Jacob**
Nuremberg, Hünteler,¹¹⁸ Brussels, private collection Stuttgart ex van Zuylen, Poznan¹¹⁹
- ‡**Dumont** (Paris: *fl.* 1692)
*DCM 870, Berlin
- ‡**Eerens, Frederick** (Utrecht and Den Bosch: 1694–1750)
NY Metropolitan ex Frank, private collection Delft, private collection Groningen, private collection Japan ex Sotheby’s¹²⁰
- ‡**Eichentopf, Johann Heinrich** (Leipzig: 1678–1769, working 1710–49)
Leipzig 1244¹²¹ (illus.3)
- Eisenmenger, Johann Georg** (Mannheim: 1698–1742)
Ruhland, *Nuremberg, ex Frankfurt¹²²
- ‡**Fortier [, Jean-Baptiste** (Rouen: *fl.* c.1708)¹²³
Paris,¹²⁴ Sax sale 1877
- ‡**Heerde, Jan Juriaens van** (Amsterdam: 1638–91) (widow and sons, Albertus (1674–c.1720) and Johannes (1704–50), continued trade after his death)
*The Hague Ea 292-1933, Ea 80-X-1975,¹⁴⁵ Ea 68-1983,¹⁴⁶ private collection Alkmaar,¹⁴⁷ private collection Haren, private collection Alphen a/d Rijn¹⁴⁸
- †**Leclerc**
Naples, Brussels 197, Brussels 1075 ex Sax, Asakura
- ‡**Liebau** (*fl.* c.1700)
Bonn, Joppig ex Klemt¹²⁵
- †**Naust**
Copenhagen, Antwerp,¹²⁶ private collection Doorn,¹²⁷ private collection Tokyo ex Sotheby’s,¹²⁸ private collection Paris¹²⁹
- ‡**Oberlender, Johann Wilhelm I** (Nuremberg: 1681–1763; *fl.* c.1705–45)
Rome, Modena,¹³⁰ Burger (two examples), Vermillion, private collection Stuttgart,¹³¹ Zürich, *Boston, Leipzig¹³²
- ‡**Poerschmann, Johann** (Leipzig: 1680–1757; working by 1708)
*Schmitz ex Burger,¹³³ St Petersburg
- ‡**Rottenburgh, Johann Hyacinth** (Brussels: 1672–1756; *fl.* c.1700–1735)
Brussels (six examples),¹³⁴ Stockholm,¹³⁵ Berlin 2654, Berlin 2668 ex Snoeck (lost),¹³⁶ DCM 1128, de Keyser, Iino ex van Zuylen, Kuijken, Sotheby’s 31 March 1988, Antwerp¹³⁷
- ‡**Schell, Johann** (Nuremberg: 1660–1732; *fl.* post 1697)
Private collection Celle
- ‡**Scherer, Johannes Junior** (Butzbach: 1664–1722)
numerous examples, difficult to attribute and date¹³⁸
- ‡**Schlegel, Christian** (Basel: c.1667–1746; *fl.* 1712–46)
*Bern, Paris¹³⁹
- ‡**Schuchart, John Just** (Germany: *b* c.1695, then London where *fl.* c.1726–c.1753) and his son **Charles** (London: 1720–65; *fl.* 1753–67)
Bate 101, Bate Baines loan, DCM 1183,¹⁴⁰ 1233, Tribschen, Edinburgh,¹⁴¹ Spohr, Dodman, Horniman (4 examples), Bristol, Jones, Straus, Willoughby (2 examples), Preston, Morley-Pegge, [B.?] Galpin, Kneller Hall, Friis, Christie’s 16 March 1988, ex van Zuylen, Sotheby’s,¹⁴² Made flutes with C-foot c.1720.¹⁴³ Many of these instruments quite probably date from after Bach’s lifetime.
- ‡**Stanesby, Thomas Junior** (London: 1692–1754; *fl.* c.1713–50)
very numerous examples: see Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*.
- ‡**Terton, Engelbert** (Amsterdam: 1676–1752; *fl.* 1710–52)
The Hague
- †**Walch, Georg**
Salzburg, Zurich¹⁴⁹

2.2 After 1723

Makers from section 2.1 still active:

Anciuti, J. B. Beuker II, W. Beukers Sr. and Jr., Bizey, Borlens, Bressan, Cornet, G. Crone, Delerablée, J. Denner, J. H. Eichentopf, Eisenmenger, Eerens, Heitz, Leclerc, Naust, J. W. Oberlender I, Poerschmann, I. H. Rottenburgh, Schell, J. Scherer Jr., G. Walch.

Anonymous (? Nuremberg, c.1730)
Spohr

Anonymous (German)
Paris E.1188 (C.1103), E.94, E.95¹⁵⁰

Castel, Giuseppe (Italy: several makers, second quarter to end of 18th century)
Private collection;¹⁵¹ Stockholm¹⁵²

Clapisson, ? (Lyons: ?)
Stockholm¹⁵³

Grenser, August (Leipzig: 1720–1807; began working 1744)
most or all of the numerous examples (see Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*) date from after Bach's lifetime; the one exception is DCM 140, made between 1744 and 1756.

Hartwig, Johann Christoph (Leipzig: fl. 1746–50)/Johann Gottfried (Leipzig: c.1705–48)
Leipzig

Heise, Johann Conrad (Cassel: fl. 1741–63)
Korbach¹⁵⁴

Hemsing, B. (Flemish or Dutch: fl. before 1749)
The Hague, Hastings, Amsterdam Scheepvaartmuseum¹⁵⁵

Hirschstein, Mathias (fl. post 1744)
*DCM 1267,¹⁵⁶ *Berlin, Stockholm¹⁵⁷

Lot, Martin (Paris: 1718–85; fl. 1743–85)
DCM 804, Brussels, St Petersburg, The Hague, Paris (two examples)¹⁵⁸

Lot, Thomas (Paris: 1708–86)
numerous examples: see Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*. Many probably date from after Bach's lifetime (Giannini, Chapter 1).

Oberlender, Johann Wilhelm II (Nuremberg: 1712–79;
fl. 1735–79)
DCM 1343

Palanca, Carlo (Turin: fl. 1719–83)
Spohr, Stockholm¹⁵⁹ F.179, Stockholm 695, Stockholm F.191, DCM 851,¹⁶⁰ Fermi, Ann Arbor, The Hague Ea 10-1949, The Hague Ea 80-1950, Horniman ex Dolmetsch, Bologna, Turin, Copenhagen, Musashino, Rome, Paris Savoye sale,¹⁶¹ Morgan¹⁶²

Pelletier, Charles III (Paris: fl. c.1743)
Oldham¹⁶³

Quantz, Johann Joachim (1697–1773: made flutes from 1739)
DCM 916, Berlin 4229, Berlin 5076, Hamamatsu ex Rosenbaum ex Hohenzollern, Paris, Bizzi,¹⁶⁴ *Halle,¹⁶⁵ Hohenzollern,¹⁶⁶ Schloß Hechingen,¹⁶⁷ several others lost¹⁶⁸

Rottenburgh, G. A. (Brussels: fl. c.1740–1803)
Most or all of the 17 examples in Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments* and St Petersburg 460¹⁶⁹ very probably date from after Bach's lifetime.

Rydiger, Johann Georg (Breslau, Berlin, Danzig, Augsburg, Pressburg, Vienna, Brixen, Trient, Meran: 1722–35; Bozen: post 1735)¹⁷⁰
Leipzig

Sattler, Johann Cornelius E. (Leipzig: c.1691–1739; fl. 1718–39)
Yasui ex Joppig, Sotheby's¹⁷¹

Scherer, Georg Henrich (Butzbach: 1703–78)
numerous examples, difficult to attribute and date¹⁷²

Villars, Paul (Paris: fl. 1741–76)
Vienna, Paris,¹⁷³ St Petersburg 464, Stockholm F738, Edinburgh U 15¹⁷⁴

Wijne, Robert (Nijmegen: 1698–1774)
The Hague Ea 11-1935, Ea 22-1981, private collection Heinkesand,¹⁷⁵ Nijmegen, Ehrenfeld, Stolk,¹⁷⁶ Ede,¹⁷⁷ Schloss Albstadt

FOLKERS & POWELL

Catherine Folkers and Ardal Powell
MAKERS OF HISTORICAL FLUTES

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This article was written by Ardal Powell with extensive contributions of ideas and bibliographic help from David Lasocki. Further valuable contributions of substance were made by Michael Marissen. Phillip T. Young kindly shared unpublished material for appendix 2. Thanks for specific information are also due to Philippe Allain-Dupré, Tony Bingham, Rod Cameron, Tula Giannini, Bruce Haynes, Jan Hermans, John Henry van der Meer, Wilson Melo, Peter Spohr, Jeanne Swack, Peter Thalheimer and Steven Zohn.

- 1 The flute solos examined here comprise Bach's music for flute with continuo, with written-out keyboard, and without accompaniment; ensemble and orchestral music with a prominent flute part is also considered.
- 2 The chronology of the flute works presented here follows R. L. Marshall, 'The compositions for solo flute: a reconsideration of their authenticity and chronology', *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the sources, the style, the significance* (New York, 1989), pp.224–5 (a revised version of 'J. S. Bach's compositions for solo flute: a reconsideration of their authenticity and chronology', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxii (1979), pp.463–98), and C. Wolff, 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', *Early music*, xiii (1985), pp.165–75, which gives a critical summary of other work on the subject, including Marshall's. Objections are raised to a number of Marshall's points in H. Eppstein, 'Zur Problematik von Johann Sebastian Bachs Flötensonaten', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, lxvii (1981), pp.77–90, and R. Jones, review in *Music and letters*, lxxi (1990), pp.555–7.
- 3 J. Bowers, 'New light on the development of the transverse flute between about 1650 and about 1770', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, iii (1977), pp.5–56, the most recent study of the flute in this period, concentrates on the appearance of the instrument rather than its construction and playing qualities, of which so far no systematic study exists.
- 4 E.g. Carl Friedrich Pfaffe performed 'quite well' on a long list of instruments, including the 'Flute Travers' in his 1745 examination for promotion from apprentice to assistant in the Leipzig *Stadt Pfeifer*: W. Neumann and H.-J. Schultze, *Bach-Dokumente*, i (Kassel, 1963), p.147, cited in M. Marissen, 'J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos as a meaningful set', *Musical quarterly*, lxxvii (1993), pp.228–9. However, contacts with persons like this, whose flute playing was rather insignificant, will not be considered in this study.
- 5 P. T. Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments* (London, 1993); W. Waterhouse, *The new Langwill index* (London, 1993); T. Giannini, *Great flute makers of France* (London, 1993); detailed measured drawings of many instruments by Jean-François Beaudin; numerous articles by Marcelle Benoit, Jane Bowers, Maurice Byrne, Norbert Dufourcq, Herbert Heyde, Phillip T. Young and others.
- 6 R. Jauernig, 'Johann Sebastian Bach in Weimar: neue Forschungsergebnisse aus Weimarer Quellen', *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen: Festgabe zum Gedenkjahr 1950*, ed. H. Besseler and G. Kraft (Weimar, 1950), pp.49–105, see p.50, n.53.
- 7 Though not comparable with the Cöthen figures, an interesting list of salaries for Dresden Hofkapelle musicians ranging from 200 to 1,200 Thaler, and a caution on interpreting them, appear in O. Landmann, 'The Dresden Hofkapelle during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach', *Early music*, xvii (1989), p.24. In 1715 Buffardin's salary was 500 Thalers, raised to 800 in 1733 and 1,000 in 1741.
- 8 E. König, 'Die Hofkapelle des Fürsten Leopold', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, xlv (1959), pp.160–67.
- 9 A. Dürr, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des 5. Brandenburgischen Konzerts', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, lxi (1975), pp.63–9; Wolff, 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', p.173.
- 10 Pace M. Bernstein, 'Bach problems', *Report of the Eighth Congress of the IMS, New York, 1961* (Kassel, 1962), p.127, stating that no Cöthen flautist could have played the B minor suite.
- 11 I. Godt, 'Politics, patriotism, and a polonaise: a possible revision in Bach's *Suite in B minor*', *Musical quarterly*, lxxiv (1990), pp.610–22, places the surviving version of the piece in the mid-1730s, with the original version as a variation suite possibly not including the flute. Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Auführungstätigkeiten von 1736 bis 1750', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, lxxiv (1988), pp.7–72, gives dates of c.1738/1739 and c.1743–6 for performing parts for the work. Thus there were probably two Leipzig performances with flautists whose identity we can only guess at.
- 12 M. Marissen, 'On linking Bach's F-major Sinfonia and his Hunt Cantata', *Bach* (Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute), xxiii/2 (1992), pp.31–46, see p.36, n.22.
- 13 Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p.212.
- 14 M. Castellani, 'Il Solo pour la flûte traversière di J. S. Bach: Cöthen o Lipsia?', *Il flauto dolce*, no.13 (Oct 1985), pp.15–21 (and in German as 'J. S. Bachs "Solo pour la flûte traversière": Köthen oder Leipzig', *Tibia*, xiv (1989), pp.567–73).
- 15 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen', in F. W. Marpurg, *Historisch-critisch Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, i (Berlin, 1755), pp.197–250; trans. in P. Nettl, *Forgotten musicians* (New York, 1951), pp.280–319.
- 16 See J. Bowers, 'A catalogue of French works for the transverse flute, 1692–1761', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xviii (1978), pp.89–125.
- 17 Anon. [Michel Corrette], *Methode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière* (Paris: Boivin, c.1739; 2/1773).
- 18 See also Castellani, 'J. S. Bachs "Solo"'. The stylistic observations made by Castellani on the 'violinization' of flute technique are valid, though the period of its effect is not accurately defined by the publication of flute music, which was only a symptom, and a necessarily delayed one, of its occurrence. Castellani's argument, especially as it concerns instruments, has a bias toward France, and does not account for the evidence of activities in the Low Countries and Germany provided by appendix 2. The conclusion (his n.11) that 'violinization' had an

instant and a direct effect on instrument-making, to the extent that post-1722 flutes were 'more brilliant, more agile and better in tune' than earlier ones is a grave and misleading oversimplification.

19 A facsimile of the MS appears in *Manuscript allemand du XVIIe siècle*, Thesaurus Musicus, Nova Series (Brussels, 1979).

20 J. Swack, *The solo sonatas of Georg Philipp Telemann: a study of the sources and musical style* (PhD diss., Yale U., 1988), p.295. In her opinion the works not copied from prints may cover a wider chronological range, and the composers represented are mostly Thuringian or connected with Dresden, Düsseldorf or Neuburg an der Donau.

21 J. R. Swack, 'On the origins of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlvii (1993), pp.369–414. I am grateful to Prof. Swack for sharing unpublished versions of this and other articles.

22 Stephen Zohn, letter to the author, 20 July 1993, writes: 'The distinction of having printed the first music for flute in Germany may be Telemann's: his *Six Trio* (Frankfurt, 1718; dedicated to Duke Friedrich II of Saxony) includes a trio "à Violon, Flûte traverse et Basse chiffré" (Trio 3) ... The fast movements ... include much "violinistic" writing. I don't believe that this piece was Telemann's first go at writing for flute. In fact, there are good reasons to date six or seven manuscript trios with one or two flutes (some at Dresden) to 1720 or before.'

23 See F. Vester, *Flute music of the 18th century* (Monteux, 1985), listings B 943, Q 374.

24 Castellani, 'J. S. Bachs "Solo"', p.569.

25 Castellani, 'J. S. Bachs "Solo"', p.573.

26 Swack, *The solo sonatas of Georg Philipp Telemann*, pp.197ff.

27 See the letter of Louis Rousselet to Julien Bernier, 24 January 1711/12, cited in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pp.44–6, n.11, and E. Preußner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach* (Kassel, 1949). Rippert may have had an unusually cosmopolitan

outlook: he is credited with the first book of French *Sonatas* (as opposed to suites or other French forms), published in Paris in 1722: Bowers, 'A catalogue of French works for the transverse flute', p.103.

28 Quantz, who has been followed by all subsequent authorities, states that the three-joint flute was divided into four about 1720 principally to allow changes of pitch by means of *corps de rechange*. Another possibility is suggested in A. Powell, 'Die Eichentopf Flöte: die älteste erhaltene vierteilige Traversflöte?', *Tibia* (forthcoming). The earliest documented four-joint flute can be dated 1715 or before (see appendix 2.1.2, s.v. 'Boekhout' and note), but the division is here assumed to have become widely accepted—though probably not to the total exclusion of the three-joint flute—by about 1720.

29 E. Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenbau in der Freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg* (Musich, 1971), p.204.

30 M. Byrne, 'Schuchart and the extended foot-joint', *Galpin Society journal*, xviii (Mar 1965), pp.7–13; M. Byrne, 'Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan', *Galpin Society journal*, xxxvi (Mar 1983), pp.2–28; Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar Majer, *Museum musicum theoretico practicum* (Schwäbisch Hall, 1732); Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), I.16, translated as *On playing the flute*, trans. and ed. E. R. Reilly (New York, 2/1985), p.34.

31 In the Solo, BWV1013, a C-foot would allow the *c''* in bar 50 of the *Bourée angloise* to be played an octave lower, to match the *d'* in bar 48. This could be taken to suggest that it was intended for a flute with a C-foot, another factor which would suggest it was composed around 1720. B. Kuijken, Postface to his edition of the Solo, BWV1013 (Wiesbaden, 1990), p.16, states that 'The early 18th-century transverse flute only very rarely had a *c'* foot', but of the surviving German three-joint flutes in appendix 2.1.1, 40 per cent do in fact have a C-foot. During the short period of their popularity, therefore, it is possible that a large proportion of instruments had the extended range.

32 See note to appendix 2.1.2, s.v. 'Liebau'.

33 For further discussion of the origins of differing flute sound ideals, see J. Bowers, 'Mozart and the flute', *Early music*, xx (1992), pp.31–42.

34 Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p.215 assesses the likelihood that Wild could play some of the 1724 cantata solos.

35 Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p.323, n.63.

36 H.-J. Schultze, 'Vier unbekannte Quittungen und ein Briefauszug Jacob von Stähelins', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, lix (1973), p.88.

37 See the listing s.v. Mizler in appendix 1.

38 Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p.211. Marshall suggests (p.213) that a superior flautist may have spent some months in Leipzig in 1724 on the basis of a number of compositions employing unusually prominent and 'difficult' flute parts.

39 Buffardin may have meant 1712: Johann Jakob passed through Constantinople after being a prisoner of war while an oboist in the Swedish guard in 1704–12.

40 C. Addington, 'The Bach flute', *Musical quarterly*, lxxi (1985), p.280, n.19, where the date is given incorrectly as 1707.

41 The statement, cited in Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp.211–12, is from a genealogy by J. S. Bach, annotated by Carl Philipp Emanuel, and sent to Forkel.

42 H. Heyde, 'Der Instrumentenbau in Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs', *300 Jahre Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. U. Prinz (Tutzing, 1985), and conversations with Dr Heyde have been relied on for a description of Leipzig woodwind making.

43 P. Hailperin, 'Three oboes d'amore from the time of Bach', *Galpin Society journal*, xxviii (Apr 1975), pp.26–36.

44 J. Swack, 'G. P. Telemann: the cosmopolitan composer', *Traverso*, 4.3 (Jul 1992), p.2.

45 Vester, *Flute music of the 18th century*, s.v. 'Hasse, J. A.'.

46 Swack, 'On the origins of the

Sonate auf Concertenart', p.412.

47 See Marshall, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p.324, nn.65, 66.

48 J. Swack, 'Bach's A major Flute Sonata (BWV1032) revisited', forthcoming.

49 M. Marissen, 'A critical reappraisal of J. S. Bach's A-major Flute Sonata', *Journal of musicology*, vi (1988), pp.367–86.

50 B. Haynes, 'Johann Sebastian Bach's pitch standards: the woodwind perspective', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, xi (1985), pp.64–5, and communications from Bruce Haynes have been relied upon for details of Leipzig pitch standards.

51 Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.10, suggests that Quantz was playing an instrument from the Naust workshop at this period.

52 Swack, 'On the origins of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*', p.391, makes the point that Bach's familiarity with Quantz as a composer is certain.

53 Kuijken, Postface to BWV1013, pp.12–13. Kuijken also cites the lack of source material presently located in Dresden as evidence that Bach did not write BWV1013 for a Dresden flautist; this is a precarious line of reasoning, considering the fate of that city in the wars of the past two centuries. Swack, in 'Bach's A major Flute Sonata' and in 'Quantz and the Sonata in E_b major for flute and cembalo, BWV1031' (elsewhere in this issue), advocates a personal connection between Bach and Quantz on the basis of musical style and other considerations.

54 C. P. E. Bach, letter of 27 February 1788, quoted in *The Bach reader*, ed. H. T. David and A. Mendel (New York, 2/1966), p.285. Whether Quantz knew Handel's flute music is another question: some of it was published in London, and may have circulated in manuscript.

55 Bach may have planned a performance of the *Musical offering* trio sonata for solo instrument and obbligato keyboard: in 1748 or 1749, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach began a copy of the piece on two staves marked 'Cembalo' and containing the first five bars of the first movement's violin and continuo lines. (See the *Neue Bach-*

Ausgabe, viii/1, KB, pp.74–5 and Y. Kobayashi, 'Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs', pp.58, 60–61.) I am grateful to Michael Marissen for bringing this matter to my attention.

56 *Solfeggi pour la flute traversiere avec l'enseignement, par Monsr. Quantz*, MS, Copenhagen Royal Library, ed. W. Michel and H. Teske (Winterthur, 1978). Michel and Teske date the compilation of the MS to the period 1728–42, though H. Augsbach (preface to the facsimile edition of Johann Joachim Quantz, *Sonate E-moll für Flöte und obligates Cembalo* (Leipzig, 1982), p.7) argues for a much later dating, between 1775 and 1782.

57 Vester, *Flute music of the 18th century*, s.v. 'Bach, C. P. E.'

58 Indications of mass-production in flute making are discussed in A. Powell, 'Science, technology and the art of flutemaking in the eighteenth century', *Flutist quarterly*, xix/3 (Spring 1994), pp.33–41.

59 Addington propounded his theories in 'In search of the Baroque flute', *Early music*, xii (1984), pp.34–47, a letter to the editor, *Early music*, xiii (1985), pp.331–5, and 'The Bach flute', pp.264–80. The unrewarding task of dismantling all Addington's arguments in order to certify where he has made mistakes has not so far been undertaken. Refutations of certain of his misreadings can be found in: M. Castellani, 'L'art de "transposer" sur la flûte traversière. La pratica della trasposizione secondo Jacques Hotteterre', *Il flauto dolce*, no.17 (Apr 1987), pp.26–31; U. Thieme, 'Die Blockflöte im Kantate, Oratorium und Oper. II: Das 17. Jahrhundert (2)', *Tibia*, xi (1986), p.171; P. Riedemeister, "'Neueste Forschungen" auf dem Holzweg: Die "Bachflöte"', *Tibia*, xi (1986), pp.200–203; Marissen, 'A critical reappraisal of J. S. Bach's A-major Flute Sonata', p.379, n.23. But despite their surprising nature Addington's conclusions have been all too easily accepted: for example in the Introduction to *Antoine Mahaut: A new method for learning to play the transverse flute*, ed. E. Hadidian (Bloomington, IN, 1989).

60 Addington, 'The Bach flute', p.265.

On p.269 Addington makes the astonishing suggestion that Bach was a slow learner in transposition.

61 J. Bowers, *The French flute school from 1700 to 1760* (PhD diss., U of California, Berkeley, 1971), pp.396–7.

62 Addington asserts ('The Bach flute', n.10, pp.271–2) that the ratio of surviving *flûtes d'amour* to ordinary flutes made in Germany before 1750 is about 1:2. According to appendix 2, the ratio is 5:57, or roughly 1:10. The count of 57 'normal' flutes is inflated by an indeterminate number which were actually made after 1750; but it excludes the numerous examples by A. Grenser, Thomas Lot and the Scherers which are not individually listed, and so can be considered a usable approximation in this case.

63 A short study of the *flûte d'amour* is given in P. Thalheimer, 'Flauto d'amore, B-flat Tenor Flute und "Tiefe Quartflöte": ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der tiefen Querflöten im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', *Tibia*, viii (1983), pp.334–42. Alan Lumsden's suggestion that 'the flûte d'amour enjoyed a vogue in the late 1720's and early 1730's' in *Performance practice: music after 1600*, ed. H. M. Brown and S. Sadie (New York, 1990), p.86, is disputed in A. R. Rice, *Performance practice review*, iv (1991), pp.76–7.

64 J. Bowers, 'A catalogue of French works for the transverse flute', p.103.

65 Antoine Mahaut, *Nouvelle Méthode pour Apprendre en peu de tems a Jouer de la Flute Traversiere/Nieuwe Manier om binnen korte tyd op de Dwarsfluit te leeren speelen* (Paris: Lachevardiere, [1759]; Amsterdam: Hummel, [1759]), p.2.

66 *Mercure de France*, September 1764, pp.186–8; see also E. R. Reilly and J. Solum, 'De Lusse, Buffardin, and an eighteenth-century quarter tone piece', *Historical performance*, v (1992), pp.19–23.

67 Kuijken, Postface to BWV1013.

68 G. Hoppe, 'Köthener politische, oekonomische und hofische Verhältnisse als Schaffensbedingungen Bachs (Teil 1)', *Cöthener Bach-Hefte*, iv (1986), pp.13–62, esp. pp.28, 57.

69 B. Haynes, 'Bach's pitch standards', p.81.

- 70 F. Wöhlke, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler, Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Gelehrten-geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940); *Johann Gottfried Walther: Briefe*, ed. K. Beckmann and H.-J. Schulze (Leipzig, 1987), p.202. I am grateful to Michael Marissen for these references.
- 71 *Bach-Dokumente*, i, p.60.
- 72 *Bach-Dokumente*, i, p.57.
- 73 König, 'Die Hofkapelle des Fürsten Leopold'.
- 74 Hoppe, 'Köthener ... Verhältnisse als Schaffensbedingungen Bachs', p.19.
- 75 Quantz, autobiography.
- 76 *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte J. S. Bachs*, ed. W. Neumann (Leipzig, 1975), p.231.
- 77 *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte J. S. Bachs*, p.231.
- 78 *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte J. S. Bachs*, p.231.
- 79 *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte J. S. Bachs*, p.231.
- 80 E. Hadidian, Introduction to *The virtuoso flute-player by Johann George Tromlitz*, trans. and ed. A. Powell (Cambridge, 1991), pp.xiii-xxvi.
- 81 Notes to this appendix refer to sources and illustrations only for those not covered in Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*. Where listings for instruments in the St Petersburg and Stockholm museums differ from Young, further information can be found in A. Powell, 'Flutes in St Petersburg', *Traverso*, 5.4 (Nov 1993), pp.1-3, and A. Powell, 'Flutes in Stockholm', *Traverso*, 6.2 (Apr 1994), pp.1-3.
- 82 F. Puglisi, 'A three-piece flute in Assisi', *Galpin Society journal*, xxxvii (Mar 1984), pp.6-9; V. de Gregorio, 'Il traversiere di Assisi', *Il flauto dolce*, nos.10/11 (Jan-Jun 1984), pp.48-51.
- 83 Illustrated in P. Spohr, *Kunsthandwerk im Dienste der Musik* (Frankfurt, 1991), p.12.
- 84 The instrument's head-joint is missing and its bore has been altered.
- 85 Reported by Bruce Haynes, letter to the author, 28 April 1993. Haynes is unable to trace the source of the report, which includes the remark 'Similar to the Hotteterres in Berlin and Leningrad.'
- 86 Horn mounts; reported by Tony Bingham.
- 87 The consensus is that the middle joint is not original. DCM = Dayton C. Miller Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington DC.
- 88 A. Baines, 'James Talbot's manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187)', *Galpin Society journal*, i (Mar 1948), pp.9-26.
- 89 See Bowers, 'New light on the development of the transverse flute', pp.13-14.
- 90 Illustrated in J. Solum, *The early flute* (Oxford, 1992), p.40.
- 91 The museum lists the instrument as a war loss. See also C. Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1922), col. 255.
- 92 Solum, *The early flute*, p.37 (illus.).
- 93 Unsigned, attrib. by M. Kirnbauer and D. Krickeberg, 'Musikinstrumentenbau im Umkreis von Sophie Charlotte', *Sophie Charlotte und die Musik in Lietzenburg* (Berlin, 1987), pp.29-60, (illus.) p.51. I am grateful to Phillip T. Young for directing my attention to this article. The museum does not allow proper study of this or any of its instruments; however, superficial observation raises possible questions about the attribution.
- 94 T. Giannini, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin: a re-examination based on recently found documents', *Early music*, xxi (1993), pp.377-95, following Thoinan, attributes the surviving 'Hotteterre' transverse flutes to the workshop of Martin Hotteterre (d 1712) and his son and successor Jean (d 1720). See also the following note.
- 95 Bowers, 'New light on the development of the transverse flute', p.23 (illus.). Two other instruments marked 'Hotteterre' with an anchor below are Berlin 2670 ex Snoeck (Bowers, 'New light on the development of the transverse flute', p.13 (illus.)) and St Petersburg 471 ex Snoeck (Solum, *The early flute*, p.38. (illus.)) However these, the unmarked St Petersburg 472, and an instrument at La Couture are to the best of my knowledge 19th-century copies of an instrument now lost.
- 96 Reported by John Henry van der Meer (letter to the author 8 July 1993), who saw the instrument in 1958. It is not located at present.
- 97 Leclerc's trade name was used after his death by Gilles Lot, according to Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.13.
- 98 Naust himself died in 1709. A chronology of the Naust workshop and an identification of the various makers and associations under which the stamp was used can be found in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.12 and chap. 1, *passim*.
- 99 Spohr, *Kunsthandwerk*, pp.12-13 (illus.).
- 100 Paul Dupuy. I am grateful to Philippe Allain-Dupré for the report, and for arranging access to study this interesting instrument.
- 101 Illustrated in Solum, *The early flute*, p.40, and R. Meylan, *Die Flöte* (Bern, 1974), p.64.
- 102 Illustrated in R. Le Roy and C. Dorgeuille, *Traité de la flûte* (Paris, n.d.), p.15, fig.8.
- 103 Reported by Peter Spohr as having been offered for sale in Switzerland.
- 104 Three *corps de rechange*, dated 1725 (Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p.2). For illustration see his reference. Attribution doubtful.
- 105 Ebony flute with silver rings, pitched c.392, cf. V&A Bressan, reported by Bruce Haynes.
- 106 Walterhouse, *New Langwill index*.
- 107 I am grateful to Jan Bouterse for information about the makers named Beuker (letters to the author, 2 and 6 April 1993).
- 108 Dated 1736.
- 109 *Historical musical instruments in the Edinburgh University collection*, ed. A. Myers (Edinburgh, 1990), p.68 (illus.).
- 110 *Historical musical instruments in the Edinburgh University collection*, p.68 (illus.).
- 111 Illustrated in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pl.23b p.39, where it is dated in the period c.1755-75. In my opinion the instrument's low pitch, long head-joint, and unusual construction (the middle socket is in the left-

hand joint, rather than the right-hand one) suggest it is an early four-joint instrument, from the beginning of Bizet's career.

112 Illustrated in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pl.22a (p.38).

113 Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente*, p.643. Listed by the museum as a war loss, and most unfortunately no details or photograph survive. As Boekhout died in 1715, this would have been the earliest known four-joint flute, indicating that such instruments were made at least half a decade before any other evidence (30 December 1721: see Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.9) seems to suggest. Boekhout claimed to have invented the bass flute and a clarinet by him is also known. See R. van Acht, 'Dutch wind-instrument makers from 1670 to 1820', *Galpin Society journal*, xli (Oct 1988), p.91.

114 Reported by Jan Bouterse, letter to the author, 6 April 1993.

115 Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.22. Cornet's 1745 workshop inventory (Giannini p.49, n.48) lists some 500 instruments, including '25 old transverse flutes'—could 'old' here refer to obsolete, three-joint flutes? I am grateful to Tula Giannini for drawing Cornet's work to my attention.

116 Spohr, *Kunsthandwerk im Dienst der Musik*, p.14 (illus.).

117 Tula Giannini (private communication to the author) is uncertain whether this instrument is by Antoine Delerablée, who seems to have used the Naust stamp during his working life (see note s.v. 'Naust').

118 K. Hünteler, 'Ein neuentdeckte Traversflöte von Jacob Denner', *Tibia*, xviii (1993), pp.461–4 (illus.).

119 Head-joint by Eisenmenger, three keys added later. See M. Kirnbauer and P. Thalheimer, 'Jacob Denner and the development of the flute in Germany' (elsewhere in this issue).

120 Sold December 1988; current location reported by Jan Bouterse, letter to the author, 2 April 1993. Other information from J. Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes of the 17th and 18th century', *FoMRHI quarterly*, no.64 (July 1991), pp.33–7.

121 H. Heyde, *Flöten* (Leipzig, 1978), p.84 and Tafel 9 (illus.). See also A. Powell, 'Die Eichentopf Flöte' (illus.).

122 Reported by Peter Spohr as having been stolen from a violin dealer.

123 Langwill, *Index*, 6th edn, p.53.

124 F. Gétreau, *Inventaire descriptif des flûtes traversières* [typescript] (Paris, 1989), p.15.

125 Peter Thalheimer's opinion is that this is a much later instrument and cannot have been made by the same Liebau who made chalumeaux (private communication).

126 Illustrated in J. Lambrechts-Douillez, *Catalogus van de Muziekinstrumenten uit de versameling van het Museum Vleeshuis* (Antwerp, 1981), p.63.

127 Repaired by Martin Wenner; measured by Jan Bouterse.

128 Ivory flute with silver bands, key mounted in boss, Tokyo: Suga, ex Sotheby's London sale, 22 November 1989, lot 66 (illus. [p.25]) cited in Solum, *The early flute*, p.42, n.15. I am grateful to Bruce Haynes for reporting the present location of this instrument.

129 Illustrated in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pl.4c p.5.

130 Restored by Rainer Weber (per P. Thalheimer).

131 R. Weber, 'Die Rekonstruktion einer Traversflöte von I. W. Oberlender—ein Restaurierungsbericht', *Tibia*, xi (1986), pp.205–8.

132 Listed as by J. W. Oberlender II in Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*.

133 M. Wenner, 'Eine Flauto d'Amore von Poerschmann/Crone', *Glareana*, 38.2 (1989), pp.16–24 (illus.).

134 *Instruments de musique anciens à Bruxelles et en Wallonie—17e–20e siècles*, ed. P. Mardaga ([Brussels], [1985]), pp.47, 49 has illustrations of an ebony flute fragment stamped I.H./ROTTENBURGH/*/PERE, and a complete boxwood instrument.

135 C. Karp, 'Baroque woodwind in the Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm', *Galpin Society journal*, xxv (Jul 1972), pp.80–86.

136 Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musik-*

instrumente, col. 257.

137 VH76.1.228, catalogued as anonymous.

138 P. T. Young, 'The Scherers of Butzbach', *Galpin Society journal*, xxxix (Sep 1986), pp.112–24. One of the earliest may be the example in the Vleeshuis museum, illustrated in Lambrechts-Douillez, *Catalogus van de Muziekinstrumenten uit de versameling van het Museum Vleeshuis*, p.63, and on the cover. An argument for the early date of the Eichentopf flute and those, such as the Antwerp Scherer and Brussels I. H. Rottenburgh, which resemble it closely, is in A. Powell, 'Die Eichentopf Flöte'.

139 Illustrated in Addington, 'In search of the Baroque flute' p.46.

140 M. Seyffrit, *Musical instruments in the Dayton C. Miller flute collection at the Library of Congress: a catalog*, i (Washington, DC, 1982), p.325 (illus.).

141 Head-joint only.

142 Numerous examples, mostly probably by Charles Schuchart and dating from after Bach's lifetime.

143 Byrne, 'Schuchart and the extended foot-joint', pp.7–13.

144 Fifth-flute: Jan Bouterse, letter to the author, 2 June 1993.

145 This instrument is not included in Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes', and its existence is doubtful. See note in Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, s.v. 'van Heerde'.

146 One of these instruments, formerly in the Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection, is illustrated in *The Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments*, ed. C. van Leeuwen Boomkamp and J. H. van der Meer (Amsterdam, 1971), p.167.

147 Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes of the 17th and 18th century'.

148 The last two entries reported by Jan Bouterse, letter to the author, 2 June 1993.

149 H. Bruckner, 'Die Pfeifenmacherei in Berchtesgaden', *Tibia*, iv (1979), p.294.

150 Reported by Bruce Haynes, letter

to the author, April 1993. According to Gétreau, *Inventaire descriptif des flûtes traversières*, E.94 and E.95 are in painted Saxon porcelain.

- 151 Instrument dated c.1736 by Spohr, *Kunsthandwerk im Dienste der Musik*, p.14 (illus.).
- 152 Karp, 'Baroque woodwind in the Musikhistoriska Museet', p.80.
- 153 Karp, 'Baroque woodwind in the Musikhistoriska Museet', p.80.
- 154 See F. Brusniak, 'Johann Conrad Heise (1703–1783)—ein wenig bekannter Holzblasinstrumentenbauer aus Kassel', *Glareana*, 33.2 (1984), 8–21, (illus.) pp.12, 13, 18. I am grateful to Phillip T. Young for bringing this interesting instrument to my attention.
- 155 Head-joint only, Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes of the 17th and 18th century'.
- 156 Seyfrit, *Musical instruments in the Miller collection*, p.334 (illus.).
- 157 Karp, 'Baroque woodwind in the Musikhistoriska Museet', p.80.
- 158 Illustrated in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pl.22c p.38 (dated 'c.1745') and pl.24 p.40 (dated '1775–1795').
- 159 Karp, 'Baroque woodwind in the Musikhistoriska Museet', p.81.
- 160 Seyfrit, *Musical instruments in the Miller collection*, p.320 (illus.).
- 161 Langwill, *Index*, 6th edn, p.131.
- 162 Ivory flute, reported by Peter Spohr.
- 163 Waterhouse, *New Langwill index*, p.324; Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, p.22.
- 164 Illustrated in G. Bizzi, 'Flutes for royalty', *Continuo*, 3.5 (Feb 1980), p.4. The listing under Y5 in Young, *4900 historical woodwind instruments*, p.182, doubtless refers to this example.
- 165 Illustrated in H. Heyde, *Katalog zu den Sammlung des Händel-Hauses in Halle: 7 Teil, Musikinstrumentensammlung* (Halle an der Saale, 1980), pp.386–9.
- 166 F. von Huene, 'Six Quantz flutes', *Continuo*, February 1980, pp.9–10. The extremely cryptic reference in this brief notice is presumably to one of those instruments mentioned in the follow-

ing note.

- 167 R. Weber, 'Was sagen die Holzblasinstrumente zu Mozarts Kammer-ton?', *Tibia*, xvii (1992), pp.291–8, see p.293.
- 168 The Hohenzollern Quantz instruments (three ebony two-keyed flutes, an amber two-keyed flute, an ebony and an ivory one-keyed flute) are among those described in D. C. Miller, *Flutes of Frederick the Great*, MS in the Dayton C. Miller Collection, Library of Congress, Washington DC (where there is also a photograph on a glass negative), and by G. Müller, *Friedrich der Große, seine Flöten und sein Flötenspiel* (Berlin, 1932). Miller further lists two instruments which, when he wrote in 1930–31, were at Schloß Glienecke, another belonging in 1932 to E. Kramsta von Prittwitz, and still another 'in Hamburg'. Yet another Quantz flute is mentioned in the *Hamburger Freudenblatt*, 24 Feb 1931. Most of these have not reappeared since World War II. Further flutes possibly by Quantz are an ivory two-keyed flute in Stockholm (no inventory number; see Powell, 'Flutes in Stockholm') and a boxwood two-keyed flute at present on loan to Konrad Hünteler.
- 169 Catalogued in G. I. Blagodatov, *Katalog Sobraniya Muzikalnich Instrumentov* (Leningrad, 1972) as anonymous.
- 170 Waterhouse, *New Langwill index*, p.367.
- 171 London sale 9 October 1981, lot 112 (illus.).
- 172 Young, 'The Scherers of Butzbach'.
- 173 Illustrated in Giannini, *Great flute makers of France*, pl.23a p.39.
- 174 *Historical musical instruments in the Edinburgh University collection*, p.39; p.68 (illus.).
- 175 Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes of the 17th and 18th century'.
- 176 Head-joint missing, Bouterse, 'Dutch recorders and transverse flutes of the 17th and 18th century'.
- 177 J. Bouterse, 'The flutes of Robert and Willem Wijne', *FoMRHI quarterly*, no.55 (Apr 1989), pp.29–36.



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