



**UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS PRESS**

Chapter Title: Keyboards, Music Rooms, and the Bach Family at the Court of Frederick the Great

Chapter Author(s): Mary Oleskiewicz

Book Title: Bach Perspectives 11

Book Subtitle: J. S. Bach and His Sons

Book Editor(s): Mary Oleskiewicz

Published by: University of Illinois Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1x76dg4.6>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



University of Illinois Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bach Perspectives 11*

JSTOR

Keyboards, Music Rooms, and the Bach Family at the Court of Frederick the Great

Mary Oleskiewicz

FOR WALTER MAYHALL, IN MEMORIAM

Capellmeister Bach had arrived at Potsdam and was waiting in His Majesty's antechamber for His Majesty's most gracious permission to listen to the music. His August Self immediately gave orders that Bach be admitted, and went, at his entrance, to the so-called Forte and Piano. —Spensersche Zeitung, Berlin, May 11, 1747 (NBR, 224)

In what palace and in which rooms did Johann Sebastian Bach encounter King Frederick the Great on the evening of Sunday, May 7, 1747? On which of the king's fortepianos did Bach improvise that night, and, for that matter, just how many fortepianos by Gottfried Silbermann did the king really possess? Years earlier, on his first trip to Berlin in 1719, precisely where did Sebastian Bach appear before Margrave Christian Ludwig? And in 1738, when Emanuel Bach accepted his first “call to Ruppin,” where and upon what kind of keyboard instrument(s) did he perform for Frederick, then Crown Prince? After Frederick became king in 1740 and moved to Berlin, in what palaces, music rooms, and with which keyboard instruments did Emanuel's sinfonias, flute sonatas, organ sonatas, and other works at court reverberate? On October 28, 1753, where did Emanuel debut Johann Hohlefeld's so-called *Bogenflügel* for the queen? Furthermore, what do we know about court appearances and keyboard instruments played by other Bach family members active in Berlin, such as Johann Christian Bach, Emanuel's half-brother, who studied there with Emanuel from 1750

This essay has been expanded from a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Bach Society in Rochester, NY, September 29, 2012. I am grateful to Pieter Dirksen, Joachim Homann, John Koster, Andrus Madsen, Annette Richards, and David Schulenberg for helpful comments made during the genesis of this version; to Dan Melamed, the general editor; to Klaus Dorst, Afra Schick, Claudia Sommer, and the staff of the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg; and to Emily Chapman for invaluable assistance. My research for this project was generously supported by a two-year fellowship in Germany from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

to 1755, or Emanuel's older brother Wilhelm Friedemann, a pupil of Johann Gottlieb Graun (1703–71), who may have first visited the court with his father in 1747 and who, in 1774, relocated to Berlin? Like Emanuel, Friedemann was for a while admired by the king's youngest sister, Princess Amalia (1723–87), as well as by Frederick William II (1744–97), the king's nephew and the future king of Prussia.¹ Finally, did particular keyboard instruments at court directly influence works by Bach and his sons?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to review the musical roles of the Bach family at court and to identify all of the many music rooms in the Prussian royal palaces, taking into account archival and other information that identifies the precise locations and musical instruments mentioned in the literature about Johann Sebastian, Wilhelm Friedemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel, and Johann Christian Bach. The court's musical venues, many of them situated within the private living quarters of the king and immediate royal family members, merit discussion not only due to their importance for the history of music and musical performance but also because these are venues where members of the Bach family played and for which they composed music. I provide in this essay updated and corrected information and other important details about the court keyboard instruments, and, when possible, I connect specific pieces of music to particular instruments and musical spaces. An appendix at the end of this essay provides a series of tables to help the reader navigate the many palaces, invoices, and musical instruments under discussion. An online web-companion, found at <http://www.press.uillinois.edu/books/oleskiewicz/bp11/>, provides essential illustrations, including floor plans and photographs of palace rooms and keyboard instruments. These are indicated at the beginning of each relevant subheading by the icon , followed by an identifying number.

King Frederick II, “the Great,” of Prussia (1714–86), though active as a flutist, was a great collector of keyboard instruments. He is known to Bach scholars first and foremost as the dedicatee of *The Musical Offering* (*Das musikalische Opfer*) BWV 1079, composed in 1747 following Sebastian Bach's visit to court, and as the employer of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, who frequently served Crown Prince Frederick beginning in 1738 and then full-time as royal court keyboardist from 1741 until 1767.² As chamber

1. Much later, Sebastian Bach's grandson Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach became *Kapellmeister* to the Prussian king's widow, Queen Christine. This Bach lies outside the scope of the present essay.

2. Emanuel's autobiography, which outlines his employment, is published in Charles Burney, *Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise: Vollständige Ausgabe*, 3 vols. in 1, ed. Christoph Hust (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), 3:199–209. For a critical reevaluation of the composer's biography and his relationship to the Prussian court, see Mary Oleskiewicz, “Like Father, Like Son? Emanuel Bach and the Writing of Biography,” in *Music and Its Questions: Essays in Honor of Peter Williams*, ed. Thomas Donahue (Richmond: Organ Historical Society Press, 2007), 253–79.

musicians of the king, Emanuel and his colleagues accompanied the flute music and opera arias performed in Frederick's private chamber soirées, which normally took place nightly in the royal apartments of the king's various palaces in Potsdam, Charlottenburg, Berlin, and Breslau (Wrocław), the eighteenth-century capital of Silesia and Lower Silesia (Table 1).

King Frederick was highly interested in new developments in technology, and this interest extended to keyboard instruments; he had begun his musical studies on the harpsichord with Gottlieb Hayne before learning the flute.³ From his letters we also know that Frederick, who wrote a large number of flute works, liked to compose at the keyboard, which he felt improved his results.⁴ Once king, he became a significant collector of all types of keyboards and furnished his numerous private and larger salons or semipublic palace music rooms with the newest, technologically most advanced keyboard instruments available. He also financed the purchase of organs and other types of keyboard instruments for the music rooms of his closest family members.

The Royal Prussian Music Rooms 1

Music rooms were among the accoutrements required by French prescriptions for palace living quarters.⁵ Frederick had music rooms in the style of a *petit salon* constructed

3. Gottlieb Hayne, cathedral organist in Berlin and musician in the queen's service, also taught keyboard to Princess Amalia. Frederick apparently played harpsichord well enough to accompany Franz Benda's audition at Rheinsberg: as the violinist himself reported in his autobiography, "Ihro Hoheit befahlen mir gegen Abend zu Ihnen zu kommen, wo Sie so gnädig gewesen mir Selbst auff den Clavier zu accompagniren und hiermit trat ich Meinen Nunmehrigen Dienst an" (In the evening, His Highness ordered me to go to him and graciously accompanied me at the keyboard; herewith I entered his service). See the "Autobiographie Franz Bendas" of 1763, reproduced in Franz Lorenz, *Die Musikerfamilie Benda: Franz Benda und seine Nachkommen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), 138–59, quotation on 148.

4. Letter from Frederick to his sister Wilhelmine, Rheinsberg ("á Remusberg"), 29 October 1736, BPH Rep. 47, no. 305, vol. 3, fol. 14r: in speaking of a flute concerto he has just composed, Frederick writes, "Je creins fort quil ne reussira pas, car j'ai trop negligé le clavecin pour pouvoir produire quelque chose qui y' soit aplicable et brillent" (I am afraid that it will not succeed, for I have neglected the keyboard too much to produce something that is playable there and brilliant).

5. Jacques-François Blondel, *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance, et de la décoration des édifices en general*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jombert, 1737), 1:31, and on p. 156 he writes: "Dans un Edifice un peu considerable, on a coutume d'appeller pieces d'honneur les Salons, les Salles d'assemblée, les Salles de compagnie, Cabinets, Salles de concert, les Galleries, &c. sans parler des Vestibules, des Porches, des Peristilles & autres pieces qui servent à la communication de ces appartemens" (Within a somewhat substantial building, it is customary to call reception rooms the salons, assembly halls, meeting rooms, cabinets, concert halls, and galleries, not to mention vestibules, porches, peristiles, and other rooms that provide connections to the apartments).

within every one of his private apartments, and in every palace the apartments of his various family members also included small music rooms where private music making, sometimes involving court musicians, took place. His large residential palaces, with their many suites of apartments, featured not one but multiple music rooms of varying size. Original floor plans show that there were also larger concert halls in each abode, and it was in these spaces that the entire court orchestra (*königliche Kapelle*) regularly performed sinfonias, opera arias, concertos, and other works. Details of each palace and its music rooms are discussed below.

Many of the royal residences have since been structurally modified or were destroyed in World War II. However, the physical spaces at court where music was made, as well as the lost and surviving keyboard instruments in them, can be largely determined by studying previously overlooked sources, including eighteenth-century architectural floor plans, palace inventories, and historic photographs made before World War II.

The grand court concerts (called *grosse Hofkonzerte*) took place in the larger salons at court. They were hosted by the queen mother, Sophia Dorothea of Hanover (1687–1757), at her palace Schloss Monbijou, at Schloss Charlottenburg, and at the Berlin Stadtschloss (her own suite on the second floor did not, however, feature a music room); more rarely by the king in Charlottenburg or the Berlin Stadtschloss; by Queen Elisabeth Christine in the Berlin Stadtschloss and in her personal summer residence, Schloss Schönhausen; by the king's youngest sister, Princess Amalia, in the Berlin Stadtschloss, occasionally in Monbijou, and from 1767 in her own palaces and in the Neues Palais (New Palace); and less frequently by other members of the royal family.⁶ The performers sometimes included royal family members themselves, including Princess Amalia and, before her departure for Bayreuth, Princess Wilhelmine, who in 1728 accompanied a solo performed by the violinist Locatelli.⁷ These concerts also were the only ones open to members of the court and to guests, which sometimes included visitors to the city.

Every one of Frederick's palaces, of course, also had a *petit salon* in the king's quarters for his private use. Admission to the king's soirées was rare and granted by special permission only—even for the court *Kapellmeister*. Thus, it can in no way be taken

6. Mary Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," in *Music at German Courts 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2011), 99. Prince August William (1722–58), brother of King Frederick and father of the future King Frederick William II, also occasionally held *Hofkonzerte* in his palace on Unter den Linden, which would later become the palace of his son. His residences are beyond the scope of this essay. It should be noted that the surviving inventories of the queen mother's palace, Schloss Monbijou, do not include descriptions of a music room or items such as musical instruments.

7. *Ibid.*, 83–84, and note 16.

for granted that J. C. Bach, during his studies in Berlin with Emanuel Bach, “could have frequently heard the king playing his flute, accompanied by Philipp Emanuel” on Gottfried Silbermann fortepianos, although this might have been possible on some occasion.⁸

Dramatic spectacles—comic operettas, oratorios, and opera seria—and other festive music were performed at the king’s palace theaters in Potsdam (the Stadtschloss, the Neues Palais), at the Berlin Stadtschloss, and from 1741 at the large opera house in Berlin on Unter den Linden. In summer months, musical productions often took place on makeshift or semipermanent stages in the orangeries at the palaces of Charlottenburg and Sanssouci (neither of which had a permanent theater), when the structures were emptied of fruit trees, and at Monbijou, Schönhausen, and Breslau. At the end of the 1760s, the orangerie next to Schloss Sanssouci was converted into the elegant Neue Kammern (New Chambers), built to entertain guests at Sanssouci; its second largest room, the Ovidgalerie (Ovid Gallery), which measures 19.2 meters long by 9.5 meters wide, was a highly resonant marble hall similar in scale to the one in Rheinsberg, but more resplendent. Although it bore no special designation in any inventory or floor plan as a “music room,” its décor, featuring expensive gilt reliefs of scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, unmistakably defines its function as a musical space, like the music rooms of Rheinsberg, Sanssouci, Charlottenburg, and the New Palace. The small permanent theaters in the Potsdam Stadtschloss and the New Palace each possessed a harpsichord, whereas the large opera house on Unter den Linden was equipped with two.⁹

Details about the keyboard instruments at court and the historical spaces in which they were used must be pieced together from palace inventories, descriptions of palaces in eighteenth-century travel guides, eyewitness accounts, court records of purchases and payments, inventories, and historical photographs. These instruments included clavichords, harpsichords, fortepianos, and organs, as well as less common types such as the *Bogenflügel*. Some keyboards can be traced to purchases recorded in the *Schatullrechnung*, the monthly account of the king’s personal expenditures (see Table 2). However, because the ledger begins only in 1742, it by no means presents a complete picture. The Rheinsberg years and Frederick’s first two years as king are completely unaccounted for; moreover, records for certain months and years thereafter are missing.

Through contemporary eighteenth-century reports and by way of circumstantial evidence, we know that several members of the Bach family had, or likely had, access to court keyboards in certain residences on certain dates or at various times. Since few court documents record specific performances or explicitly define the complete range of duties assigned to any of the royal musicians, external evidence, period literature,

8. As suggested by Michael Latham, “Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties,” *Early Music* 36.3 (2008): 361.

9. See notes 12 and 167.

autobiographies, and other sources will help to clarify where and when Emanuel Bach, for example, would have been regularly called upon to perform. In this regard it is important to remember that the king never simultaneously employed more than two keyboardists in the *Hofkapelle*.¹⁰ Therefore, Emanuel alternated systematically with another full-time royal keyboardist for the king's soirées; similarly, he would have been called upon to rotate as accompanist in the grand court concerts frequently hosted by various members of the royal family. Emanuel appeared in these at least once as soloist, according to one newspaper and a court memo.¹¹ In addition, the entire *Hofkapelle* was regularly called upon to play for the serenades and festival music performed for the numerous birthdays, name days, and weddings of members of the royal family.

During performances of the *Hofoper*, Emanuel also must have been obligated to play one of the two harpsichord parts.¹² These performances took place in Berlin twice a week during the six weeks of Carnival (December to January), in October for Princess Amalia's name day, in March when the season's premiere was again performed for the queen mother's birthday, for royal weddings, and occasionally during the summer or for visits by special guests: "In both months [December and January], [opera] is performed every Monday and Friday. The remaining days of the week, during Carnival, alternate Redouten, Concerts, Operettas [*Comoedien*], and other entertainments at court. Otherwise, every evening from 7 to 9 in the chamber of the king a proper concert takes place, in which His Majesty is accustomed to presenting, in his own insightful and tasteful manner, his exceptional accomplishments on the flute."¹³

10. For the names, dates, and status of the keyboardists who served in the *Hofkapelle* beginning in 1740, see Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," 98.

11. Manuel Bärwald, "'... ein Clavier von besonderer Erfindung': Der Bogenflügel von Johann Hohlefeld und seine Bedeutung für das Schaffen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *BJ* 94 (2008): 282. See the discussion of this performance below.

12. Since the court *Kapellmeister*, Heinrich Graun, directed from the first harpsichord, the second continuo part would have been played, alternately, by Emanuel Bach and his current colleague. See Louis Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper und das königlichen Opernhauses in Berlin* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1852), 71, which reports that, "according to an old manuscript," the orchestra consisted of "2 harpsichords [2 Flügeln], 12 Violins, 4 Violas, 4 Violoncellos, 3 Contrabasses, 4 Flutes, 2 Bassoons, 2 French horns [2 Waldhörner], 4 Oboes, 1 Theorbo, and 1 harp"; on 109, Schneider cites further testimony to the use of two harpsichords: "Zwei Männer in rothen Mänteln unterschieden sich in demselben vor allen übrigen Tonkünstlern. Es waren die beiden Grauns. Der Capellmeister [C. H. Graun] sass *vor dem ersten Flügel* [emphasis added] und der Concertmeister [J. G. Graun] auf dem ersten Platze der Violinisten" (Two men in red coats distinguished themselves from all the other musicians. They were the two Grauns. The Capellmeister [C. H. Graun] sat at the first harpsichord and the concert master [J. G. Graun] at the first place of the violinists).

13. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, "Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Oper und Musik des Königs," *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 1 (1754): 75–84 (esp. 75–76): "[Opera] wird in den beyden Monathen alle Montage und Freytage gespielt. Die übrigen Tage der Woche,

After the king moved his primary residence to Potsdam, Emanuel Bach and select other royal chamber musicians commuted, in rotation, from Berlin to accompany the king's soirées—a fact documented by records of payments made to the “Potsdam Musici” for per diem expenses.¹⁴ There they joined a small number of resident Potsdam court musicians to form the orchestra that performed for the comic operas given at the small palace theaters in the Potsdam Stadtschloss and, from 1767, in the New Palace. Bach and his colleagues were thus kept busy working in numerous locations within the royal palaces and in other venues discussed below.

The only musician exempt from any of the above-described duties was the king's flutist and royal chamber composer, Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), who proudly declared that he had “the freedom not to play in the orchestra, but only in the royal chamber music, and to take orders from no one but the king.”¹⁵ By default, this privilege excused him from performing in the *Hofoper*, comic operas, and grand court concerts. Had Emanuel Bach—or, for that matter, any other musician in the *Hofkapelle*—enjoyed such a rare privilege, surely he too would have made a similar boast in his own autobiography. Franz Benda, for example, who was the lifelong concertmaster of the king's chamber music and the Potsdam comic opera orchestra, could state only that he accompanied the king in over ten thousand flute concerts.¹⁶ Similarly, although it was no small honor, Emanuel Bach could at most claim that the king “graciously had

während der [*sic*] Carnevalszeit, werden mit Reduten, Concerten, Comödien und andern Lustbarkeiten bey Hofe abgewechselt. Sonst aber wird alle Tage des Abends von 7 bis 9 in der Kammer des Königs ein ordentliches Concert aufgeführt, in welchem Sr. Majestät selbst von ihrem Einsichtsvollen schönen Geschmack und ihrer ausnehmenden Fertigkeit auf der Flöte Proben darzulegen gewohnt sind.”

14. The king's *Schatullrechnung* records payments of per diems for the Potsdam Musici; a few invoices record that the keyboard players (including Emanuel Bach), a harpist, bassoonist, and several string players rotated in Potsdam on a staggered, roughly four- to six-week basis, during which time they would have been on call for both the royal chamber concerts and the comic opera. The *Schatullrechnung* (GStA PK) has been published in full online at <http://quellen.perspectivia.net/bestaende/spsg-schatullrechnungen/jahre> (N.B.: my citations follow the original sources, which may contain spellings that occasionally diverge from the online transcriptions). At one point a dispute over per diem payments for travel and lodging arose, as Frederick's primary residence was Potsdam, and many of the instrumentalists, including Bach, chose to reside in Berlin.

15. “Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen,” in *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, by Willi Kahl (Cologne: Staufen, 1948), 248: “die Freyheit nicht im Orchester, sondern nur in der Königlichen Kammermusik zu spielen, und von Niemand als des Königs Befehl abzuhängen.”

16. Lorenz, *Die Musikerfamilie Benda*, 154: “Es ist für mich Keine Geringe Satisfaction dass ich die Gnade gehabt bey diesen in warheit grossen Friedrich in Diensten zu stehen und durch alle die Jahre wenigstens biss 10000 Flöten-Concerte S. Maj. zu accompagniren” (It gives me no small satisfaction that I had the grace to serve this truly great Frederick and to have accompanied him over the years in at least ten thousand flute concerts).

me accompany, quite alone on the harpsichord [*Flügel*], in Charlottenburg, the first flute solo that he played as King.”¹⁷ Even J. F. Reichardt, the king’s last *Kapellmeister*, boasted that he had earned the special privilege of attending the king’s private chamber concerts, which was in fact a great honor but not on a par with that which Quantz enjoyed. Thus, there can be no doubt that Emanuel, like every other member of the *Hofkapelle*, was required to perform for the opera and wherever else the *Hofkapelle* was commanded to appear.

SCHLOSS RHEINSBERG  2

In 1738, when Emanuel Bach received his “unexpected and gracious call” to Ruppín,¹⁸ precisely where and on what instrument did he play? At this date, Crown Prince Frederick had been living for two years in the palace at Rheinsberg, overlooking Lake Grienerick. Previously, he had resided in a modest abode in the nearby town of (Neu)Ruppín, and both accommodations were located in a rural area of Brandenburg called Ostprignitz-Ruppín. Since at the time Bach could have visited Frederick only at the Rheinsberg palace, it must be to this larger geographical area (“Ruppín”) that Bach’s autobiography refers. As soon as Frederick’s father purchased the castle in 1734, architectural renovations and an expansion began, initially under the direction of Johann Gottfried Kemmeter (d. 1748). Kemmeter was succeeded in 1736 by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff (1699–1753) upon the latter’s return from Italy. The plans naturally included spaces for music making.

Frederick and his wife, Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern (1715–97), moved into the palace in 1736 while construction was ongoing. The earliest surviving Rheinsberg palace inventories, of 1742 and 1745, document in “His Royal Majesty’s Music Chamber . . . a large, lacquered harpsichord, having a music desk fitted with two candlestick holders [and] 5 lacquered music stands,” precisely the number needed to perform a flute concerto in the manner that would remain typical at court throughout Frederick’s lifetime.¹⁹ Undoubtedly a double-manual instrument, the harpsichord was situated inside a small music room within Frederick’s private apartments, which would have been the precise place where Bach accompanied, or played

17. Emanuel Bach’s original German is given in Burney, *Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise*, 3:200: “Die Gnade hatte, das erste Flötensolo, was Sie als König spielten, in Charlottenburg mit dem Flügel ganz allein zu begleiten.”

18. *Ibid.*, 199–200.

19. SpSG Plansammlung, Inv. 843 (1742), *Inventarium aller auf hiesigen Königl: Schloß dem Stall und Domestiquen hause befindlichen Meublen . . . 4ten Sept. 1742*, 9–10, room 4, “Derer Königl: Majestet Music Kammer,” containing, among other things, “ein grosser lacquirter Flügel nebst dem Pulpet und 2 Geridons[;] 5 lacquirte Pulpets.” The information is repeated in Inv. 844, *Revidirtes=Inventarium . . . Decembri 1745*, fol. 97. This room, unique in having three windows, measured 5.72 meters long by 5.26 meters wide.

before, the Crown Prince and also the place where he subsequently played as a visiting artist. In a letter of 1739, Frederick's close friend Baron Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld (1717–70), who resided at Rheinsberg and sometimes attended Frederick's soirées as an invited guest, described them as taking place in Frederick's private apartments: "The evenings are dedicated to music. The prince has concerts in his salon, where no one is admitted unless called, and it is a mark of high favor to receive an invitation."²⁰

The interior structure of the Rheinsberg palace, still in existence, has been substantially remodeled over time, in part because Frederick gave it to his younger brother Prince Heinrich (1726–1802) upon the latter's marriage in 1752 to Princess Wilhelmine of Hesse-Kassel (1726–1808). However, it is possible to identify the earlier distribution of rooms from Knobelsdorff's floor plan of 1737, coupled with information from the 1742 inventory.²¹ The intimate music salon where Emanuel Bach first played for Frederick (and where Bielfeld heard these concerts) was located on the first floor of the south wing but no longer exists; about 1763 it was redesigned and enlarged as a bedroom for Prince Heinrich. It is identifiable on the original floorplan as the only room in the suite having three windows.

Modern restoration to the palace has uncovered architectural and decorative traces of a larger space in Frederick's apartments where music was made, the Spiegelsaal (Hall of Mirrors) with music emblems, located in the southwest corner of the first floor.²² During Prince Heinrich's renovations of 1763, it was divided up and subsumed under three separate rooms, including the present large picture gallery. The music room and the Spiegelsaal are identifiable in the inventories as the two largest rooms in Frederick's apartments by their greater number of windows and by the fact that they possessed chandeliers with sixteen arms (as opposed to six or fewer, as in those of the other rooms).²³ The Rheinsberg palace's Grosser Marmorsaal (Large Marble Hall), completed in 1740, is located in the northwest corner of the first floor's north

20. Letter VIII to Charles-Étienne Jordan, Rheinsberg, 30 October 1739, in *Lettres familières et autres, de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfeld, Tome I*, 2nd ed., revised, expanded, and corrected (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1767), 52: "Les soirées sont consacrées à la Musique. Le Prince a concert dans son salon, où personne n'entre qu'il n'y soit appelé, & c'est une faveur bien marquée qu'une pareille invitation."

21. Details from the inventories, such as the descriptions of abutting rooms, and from the floor plans, which provide the number of windows and directional orientation, have made it possible to identify with precision the location of the music rooms.

22. Detlef Fuchs and Claudia Sommer, eds., *Rheinsberg: Wiederherstellung von Schloss und Park* (Potsdam: Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, 1996), 43. The room measured 9.6 meters long by 5.56 meters wide.

23. Tilo Eggeling, *Studien zum Friderizianischen Rokoko: Georg Wenceslaus von Knobelsdorff als Entwerfer von Innendekorationen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), 64.

wing. Intended for music making and spectacles on an even larger scale, it still survives today in its original form.²⁴ Again decorated with gilt reliefs of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, the Grosser Marmorsaal was completed just as Frederick became king and moved his court to Berlin. As a result, it is generally believed that Frederick never had occasion to use the space (as a modern guided tour of the palace informs); however, Bielfeld's letters show, to the contrary, that Frederick and a large entourage of friends, family, and courtiers continued to enjoy lavish summer festivities at Rheinsberg during the 1740s. We must assume, given their magnitude, that these excursions sometimes included Bach and other court musicians: "We passed part of the last two summers, sometimes at Sans-Souci, sometimes at Charlottenburg, sometimes at Oranienburg, and sometimes at Rheinsberg. The queens, the princesses, the princes, and most of the ladies and cavaliers, directly attached to the court, were at these festivities. Everywhere we found . . . prepared pleasures, . . . balls, illuminations, fireworks, food fit for kings, and drinks for the gods. The king has always been in the best humor of the world."²⁵ The 1741 and 1745 inventories make no mention of a keyboard instrument in either the Spiegelsaal or the Grosser Marmorsaal, and it may be supposed that the harpsichord kept in his private space was temporarily moved there for larger concerts or had been relocated permanently to Berlin.

SCHLOSS CHARLOTTENBURG  3

Schloss Charlottenburg, with its lavish gardens and situated on the River Spree on the outskirts of Berlin, was initially Frederick's preferred summer residence as king.²⁶ It had been built for his grandmother Sophia Charlotte of Hanover (1668–1705), a patron of music, a harpsichordist, and the dedicatee of Corelli's op. 5 violin sonatas. Soon after becoming king, Frederick had several existing rooms in the old part of the palace redecorated for himself and ordered Knobelsdorff to construct a splendid new wing that extended to the right of the existing palace.

24. The Marmorsaal (room 16 in the inventory of 1742) measures 12.6 meters long by 9.58 meters wide.

25. Letter LXXV to "M. de M.," 15 September 1747, in *Lettres familières et autres, de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfeld, Tome II*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1767), 168: "Nous avons passé une partie des deux derniers Étés tantôt à Sans-Souci, tantôt à Charlottenbourg, tantôt à Orangebourg & tantôt à Rheinsberg. Les Reines, les Princesses, les Princes & la plupart des Dames & des Cavaliers, immédiatement attachés à la Cour, ont été de ces fêtes. Partout nous avons trouvé des . . . plaisirs préparés, . . . des bals, des illuminations, des feux d'artifices, une chère toute Royale, & du breuvage des Dieux. Le Roi a toujours été de la meilleure humeur du monde."

26. The official palace website, with images, can be found at <http://www.spsg.de/schloesser-gaerten/objekt/schloss-charlottenburg/>.

The second floor of Charlottenburg's new wing would ultimately contain two new sets of apartments for the king. The music room of its first set of apartments, completed in 1742, continued themes from his previous music rooms in Rheinsberg: marbled walls overlaid with musical emblems and scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphosis* in gold relief. The room, which measures 10.23 meters long by 5.2 meters wide, was subsequently remodeled by Frederick's successor as a living space, but the earliest surviving inventory of the palace, from 1770/1780, describes its original décor and furnishings.²⁷ Probably because Frederick no longer used these apartments when it was drawn up, this inventory records no keyboard instrument there. However, we can surmise that the music room had been furnished with his grandmother's black double-manual harpsichord by Michael Mietke,²⁸ which had been "japanned" by the court lacquerer, Gerard Dagly (fl. 1697–1714), and which is today preserved in Charlottenburg (Table 3).²⁹ If so, this instrument could have been the one played by Emanuel Bach in Charlottenburg when he accompanied the "first flute solo that [Frederick] played as king."³⁰ At that early date, however, it may have been kept in one of the redecorated rooms (no. 212 or 213), where Frederick initially resided in Charlottenburg.

During 1746–47 a smaller second set of royal apartments, isolated from the rest of the palace by a series of grand festival halls, was constructed at the end of the new wing.³¹ By this time, however, Frederick had come to prefer the more rural Potsdam instead of

27. SpSG Plansammlung, Ak 31, *Inventarium von Mobilibres, im königl. Schlosse Charlottenburg* (p. 4), room 9 (now room 351), "Die Marmorierete Cammer" (the Marbled Chamber). Modern restoration work has uncovered additional details of the original space; see Tilo Eggeling, *Die Wohnungen Friedrichs des Großen im Schloß Charlottenburg* (Berlin: Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, 1978), 9, 22; page 22 (illustration 11) shows a reconstruction of the music room, which was later remodeled by his successor.

28. Mietke (d. 1719) was making harpsichords for the court by 1697. He became the official court keyboard maker to Frederick's grandfather Frederick I in 1707, succeeding Christoph Werner, and in 1712 was paid as *Clavier Stimmer* (keyboard tuner) (Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper*, 55). Three known surviving harpsichords attributed to Mietke include "a single-manual harpsichord, which is signed and dated (Berlin, 1710) . . . in Hudiksvall, Sweden, and a single- and a double-manual harpsichord are preserved in Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin. The latter two are not signed, probably because they were made for the court" (Dieter Krickeberg, "Mietke," in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, accessed 20 April 2015).

29. Harpsichord, ca. 1700, SpSG Plansammlung, Hohenzollern Inv. 2728. There are differing accounts as to when the black Mietke came to Charlottenburg. Gerd Bartoschek et al., *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss: Ein Musenhof des Barock in Brandenburg-Preußen* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1999), 248, suggests that the black Mietke could have been the instrument on which Emanuel Bach accompanied the king's first flute solo.

30. Burney, *Tagebuch einer musikalischen Reise*, 3:200. See also note 17.

31. Eggeling, *Die Wohnungen Friedrichs des Großen*, 44–46 (room 364).

Charlottenburg as his primary residence and seldom stayed at Charlottenburg. Thus, the new, second suite consisted of only four rooms with exceptionally plain walls, all designed to function as picture galleries. The inventory of 1770/1780 describes the music room, which measures 6.75 meters long by 9.70 meters wide, as “His Royal Majesty’s Concert Chamber” and notes the presence of “1 harpsichord [*Flügel*] and five music stands,” just as in Rheinsberg.³² These items and the rest of the furniture the inventory describes are lost.³³ The absence of an instrument from the first suite’s music room at this date suggests that its keyboard (the black Mietke?) might have been relocated to the new apartments.³⁴ However, as will be discussed below, it is possible that a Silbermann fortepiano stood in the new apartments until about 1765.

Probably during the 1740s, the black Mietke harpsichord was expanded from its original compass of FF–GG–AA–c3 (without FF# and GG#) to its current FF–GG–e3 (without FF#).³⁵ The instrument, probably in Charlottenburg by 1700, must have been used for opera performances at Queen Sophia Charlotte’s court: a portrait made in 1702 by Anthoni Schoonjans (1655–1726) of the Italian composer Attilio Ariosti, who from 1697 to 1703 was the queen’s court composer, shows Ariosti composing while seated at what is almost certainly an artistic rendering of this black japanned instrument.³⁶ It has been suggested that the black Mietke at one point belonged to Margrave Christian Ludwig of Brandenburg-Schwedt (who during the reign of Frederick William I resided in the Berlin Stadtschloss), Frederick’s great-uncle, but there is no compelling evidence for this.³⁷ However, a perusal of Christian Ludwig’s *Nachlass* reveals only one

32. sPSG Plansammlung, Ak 31, *Inventarium von Mobilibres, im königl. Schlosse Charlottenburg*, [p. 2], room 4 (now room 364): “Sr. Königl. Majestät Concert Cammer . . . 1. Flügel, 5. Pulpets.”

33. Afra Schick, “Die Möblierung des Konzertzimmers Friedrichs II. von Preußen im Schloss Charlottenburg—zur Neukonzeption nach 1918,” *Jahrbuch Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg* 7 (2005): 126.

34. The suite was destroyed in World War II and reconstructed in 1973. The museum currently does not display any instrument in the room, and the location of the five music stands is unknown.

35. Pitches are indicated using a variation of the Helmholtz system (which derives from German organ tablature), in which CC, C, and c are three, two, and one octaves (respectively) below middle c (c1), and c2 and c3 are one and two octaves (respectively) above. The instrument’s compass is given in Sheridan Germann, “The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach,” in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 136 and app. C (pp. 144–47), by William Dowd, which gives a full description of both the black and the white Mietke harpsichords in Charlottenburg.

36. See Bartoschek et al., *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss*, 248–49 (illustration of the harpsichord: catalog no. II.40; illustration of the Ariosti portrait on p. 86, catalog no. II.39).

37. Germann goes even further to speculate “that the possibility that the black harpsichord was also owned by Sophie Charlotte is interesting, for if it was hers it has as much chance as the white of having been at the Berliner Schloss in 1719, and therefore of being the harpsichord J. S. Bach played for the

keyboard instrument in his estate at his death in 1734: a blue and silver double-manual harpsichord, which was bequeathed to an obscure descendant of the family.³⁸

The only other room that possessed a harpsichord, according to the 1770/1780 Charlottenburg inventory, was located in Princess Amalia's suite on the second floor of the original, central section of the palace. The inventory describes the first of her three rooms, overlooking the garden (formerly those of her grandmother Sophia Charlotte), simply as a "chamber" (*Cammer*) in which stood a "Japanese lacquered harpsichord."³⁹ The room, Sophia Charlotte's former *Audienzzimmer*, measures 7.3 meters long by 6.75 meters wide; the instrument it contained was the white lacquered single-manual harpsichord built ca. 1702–4 by Mietke and also "japanned" by Dagly.⁴⁰ It had been owned and played by Queen Sophia Charlotte before being passed down to her daughter-in-law (Frederick II's mother) Sophia Dorothea of Hanover (d. 1757) and then to her granddaughter Princess Amalia. The instrument's case, in imitation of the white porcelain so prized at the time, depicts Chinese garden scenes with dancing and music-making figures and coordinates with the décor of the room, where it continues to be displayed. Lessons and intimate chamber music in Amalia's Charlottenburg suite would have taken place on this instrument, which therefore Emanuel Bach certainly would have known and played.

A third instrument probably known to Emanuel and previously owned by Queen Sophia Charlotte was a single-manual folding harpsichord that accompanied Frederick on his travels and military campaigns, during which he famously continued to compose and play. This instrument, called *clavecin brisé* and made in Paris by Jean Marius (Table 3), was constructed in three sections and possessed fifty-one keys. Its

Margrave" ("The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach," 132n46). Germann cites a private communication (dated 1980) that enigmatically claims that the black Mietke "has no historical connection to" Charlottenburg, but more recent literature published by the SPSG suggests otherwise (see note 29).

38. Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," 109. It has not been possible to determine the precise location of Christian Ludwig's apartments, but due to the limited number of music rooms, they were probably located on the second floor in the suite later occupied by Frederick William II.

39. SPSG Plansammlung, Ak 31, *Inventarium von Mobilibres, im königl. Schlosse Charlottenburg*, [p. 36], "Printzes Amalie Königl. Hoheit Cammern," room 1111 (now room 206), "ein Flügel Japanisch gemahlet."

40. Harpsichord, ca. 1700, SPSG Plansammlung, Inv. V, 104. Images and information about this instrument and about Dagly, court lacquerer and director of the Berlin lacquered furniture workshop, have been published at <http://www.spsg.de/nc/presse-foto-film/2015-09-28-gerard-dagly-und-die-berliner-hofwerkstatt/>. The instrument is illustrated in Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 208. See Bartoschek et al., *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss*, 250–51, and catalog no. II.48 (illustration). Dating of the white Mietke is from Germann, "The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach," 131.

compass, comprising a short G-octave with a split BB/D[♯], extended from GG/BB to c3. (There is no GG[♯], AA, or BB[♭], and in order to play BB one must use the split key between D and E, which plays either BB or D[♯], depending on whether one strikes the little key in front or the one in back.) After 1740, the instrument, which had been gifted to Sophia Charlotte in 1704 by her cousin the duchess of Orléans, received Frederick's coat of arms on the underside of its central section. After it was no longer used, the instrument was kept in the *Kunstammer* of the Berlin Stadtschloss and until it became part of the collection of the Berlin Musikinstrumenten-Museum.⁴¹

Charlottenburg's *Schlosskapelle*, planned by Johann Friedrich Eosander (1669–1728) before the death of Sophia Charlotte in 1705, was not consecrated until 1706. Its organ, built by the most famous organ builder of the time, Arp Schnitger (1648–1719), was installed in the same year (Table 4).⁴² The chapel, following Sophia Charlotte's wishes, was the most elaborately decorated room of the palace and was the location for royal family weddings. These events were followed by lavish festivities, including serenatas, held in the orangerie at Charlottenburg, where Frederick II had a small but exquisite theater installed. We have no documentation of a harpsichord in the orangerie.

Prior to Frederick II's reign, the court organist had been Gottlieb Hayne. From 1740 to 1742 he served as a keyboard tutor to Princess Amalia, and he continued to serve the queen mother in 1752–53.⁴³ After 1740 either of the court's keyboard musicians, including Emanuel Bach, as well as Princess Amalia's court musician the Bach pupil Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–83), also could have been among those who performed for weddings and other occasions on the Schnitger organ.

41. See Bartoschek et al., *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss*, 254, and catalog no. II.59 (illustration). In 1875 it was moved from the *Kunstammer* to the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum and in 1888 entered the collection of the Berlin Musikinstrumenten-Museum.

42. In 1944 the original Schnitger organ at the Charlottenburg *Schlosskapelle* was destroyed by fire and reconstructed by Karl Schuke. For an illustrated history of the chapel and its organ, see Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, "Charlottenburg, Schloß Charlottenburg, Eosander-Kapelle, Orgel von Arp Schnitger, 1706, Rekonstruktion von Karl Schuke, 1969–70," in *500 Jahre Orgeln in Berliner Evangelischen Kirchen*, ed. Berthold Schwarz, 2 vols. (Berlin: Pape, 1991), 1:70–79. A discography of the Schnitger organ is published at <http://www.armschnitger.nl/sberlineo.html>. The original organ's tonal design has been reconstructed in a new instrument at Cornell University; the new instrument's layout and visual design, however, are based on Schnitger's organ case at Clausthal-Zellerfeld in central Germany. See <http://music.cornell.edu/about-us/facilities-and-instruments/organs-and-keyboards/organs/anabel-taylor/>.

43. Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," 81.

Frederick, accustomed to the seclusion of idyllic Rheinsberg, soon tired of city living. Between 1744 and 1746 Knobelsdorff was charged with extensively remodeling and enlarging the Stadtschloss in the more remote Potsdam; the second story included new living quarters for the king.⁴⁴ Mainly the artistic work of Johann August Nahl (1710–81), the king's suite was split between the east and west wings on either side of the Grosser Marmorsaal. The east apartment included an exquisite music room, measuring 8.57 meters long by 7.48 meters wide (these dimensions are based on a floor plan of 1809), in Frederician rococo that faced the Lustgarten (Pleasure Garden).⁴⁵ The second story also received a new, larger concert hall in the west wing facing Breite Strasse. On the ground floor, Knobelsdorff installed a small theater whose interior was completed in 1748. All three spaces can be identified in the original palace floor plans.

In 1779 and again in 1786 the Berlin chronicler Friedrich Nicolai described the king's music room as having green wooden paneling and gold-leafed Chinese motifs, a fortepiano, and an ornate music stand: "The music stand of the king, by Melchior Kambly, is made of tortoiseshell with gold-leafed iron pictures. A fortepiano by Silbermann also stands here, the best he ever made."⁴⁶ Identical stands by Kambly stood in every one of the king's private music rooms; two are still known to exist.⁴⁷ The earliest surviving Stadtschloss inventory, from 1780, also confirms the presence of a

44. The palace was partially destroyed in 1945 by Allied bombs and torn down by the Communist government; in 2013 a reconstruction of the entire historic façade was completed, with a modern interior; it now houses the Brandenburg parliament.

45. Hans-Joachim Giersberg et al., *Potsdamer Schlösser und Gärten: Bau- und Gartenkunst vom 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert* (Potsdam: Stiftung Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam-Sanssouci, 1981), 74, 80–81.

46. Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam und aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten: Nebst Anzeige der jetztlebenden Gelehrten, Künstler und Musiker; und einer historischen Nachricht von allen Künstlern, welche vom dreyzehnten Jahrhunderte an, bis jetzt, in Berlin gelebt haben, oder deren Kunstwerke daselbst befindlich sind*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1779), 2:855: "Das Notenpult des Königes ist von Schildkröte mit vergoldeten erzenen Bildern, von Melchior Kambly. Auch steht hier ein Pianoforte von Silbermann, das beste, so er verfertigt hat." The text is similar in the edition of 1786, 3:1141. The extant music stands by Kambly have gilded rococo bronzework and inlaid pictures of wood and mother-of-pearl. Nicolai's publication of 1779 (in two volumes) was an expanded edition of a publication of the same title (in one volume) in 1769; in 1786 it was expanded to three volumes.

47. Johann Melchior Kambly (or Cambly) (1718–83), not "Rambly," as his name is sometimes mistakenly transcribed, was a Swiss sculptor (particularly of ornamental architectural elements, including wood, bronze, and plaster). From 1745 he contributed to the development of the style of Frederician rococo in Potsdam and Berlin.

“pianoforte of oak” in “His Majesty’s Chambers . . . Concert Cammer.”⁴⁸ The piano was reported here again in 1798, and a palace inventory of 1822 still notes there “a Silbermann pianoforte of Oak, together with a music stand having 2 candle holders.”⁴⁹

Insofar as the surviving but incomplete account books show, Frederick customarily purchased a new keyboard instrument for each new music room of every palace. The accounts show that a fortepiano costing 420 Taler, including transport, was recorded in 1746: “to Silbermann for [a] pianoforte” (see Table 2); on June 21 the king ordered payment, and on June 24 Silbermann signed the paid receipt.⁵⁰ Undoubtedly purchased for the completion of renovations to the Stadtschloss, this instrument may have been the first Silbermann fortepiano at court, and it is possibly one of the two surviving instruments currently on display in Potsdam (the one dated 1746; another arrived the following year for Sanssouci). Though the Stadtschloss was bombed during World War II and later demolished, a surviving photograph depicts the oak Silbermann fortepiano

48. sPSG Plansammlung, Ak 9, *Inventarium des königl. Schloßes zu Potsdam d. 20 Decbr. 1780 . . . von den im Königl. Schloß zu Potsdam befindlichen Meublen, Betten, sowohl Fürstlichen als für Domestiquen and andere den Castellan Knopf zu Inspektion allergnädigst anvertrauten Effecten . . .* (unpaginated), designated as room 175 (later room 10): “Concert Cammer, boisiert und laquirt . . . 1 piano forte von eichen Holtz” (Concert chamber, paneled and lacquered . . . 1 piano forte of oak). The inventory indicates that the room was located on the “erstes Obergeschoss / II. Étage / Mittlere Étage” (first upper floor / second story / middle floor).

49. Carl Christian Horvath, *Potsdams Merkwürdigkeiten, beschrieben, und durch Plans und Prospekte erläutert* (Potsdam: Horvath, 1798), 53: “ein vortreffliches Fortepiano von Silbermann”; sPSG Plansammlung, *Inventarium des Königl. Stadt Schloßes zu Potsdam, Vol. 2, welches aus 2te Stockwerk . . .*, Inv. 487 (1822), 42: “Corps de logis Sr. Majestät Friedrich des Ilten. / [room no.] 168. Concert. Kammer.” In Inv. 479, which is virtually identical, 175, the room number from the old inventory, has been added here in pencil: “ein Silbermannsches Pianoforte von Eichenholz, nebst Pult, u. 2 Leuchterstellen.”

50. *Die Schatullrechnung Friedrichs des Grossen*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 899, fol. 17r, “Extra-Geldausgaben,” 1746, item no. 13: “an den Silbermann vor Piano et Forte, 420 Taler”; GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 940, n.p.: “Auf Sr. König: Maj. in Preußen allergnädigsten Hohen Ordre, Habe ein Piano et forte, zu Freyburg [*sic*] in Saxen aller untertenigst verfertigt und in Potsdam geliefert, welches nebst den Transport sich ohn maßgeblich beträgt auf 420 RTl. Potsdam, d: 21 Juny 1746. Gottfried Silbermann [Unterschrift]” (According to His Royal Prussian Majesty’s most gracious high order, I have, at Freiberg in Saxony, most humbly finished and delivered a Piano and Forte, which, together with transport, comes to 420 Reichstaler. Potsdam, 21 June, 1746. Gottfried Silbermann [signature]). GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 940, n.p.: “Diese Rechnung ist richtig bezahlet worden, worüber ich hiermit gebührent quittiere. Potsdam d: 24 Juny, 1746, Gottfried Silbermann [Unterschrift]” (I hereby attest that this bill has been duly paid. Potsdam, 24 June, 1746, Gottfried Silbermann [signature]). John Koster errs in reporting 13 December 1746 as the date of payment to Silbermann (“The Quest for Bach’s Clavier: A Historiographical Interpretation,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 14 [1996]: 77).

as it was situated in the king's music room.⁵¹ The keyboard's plain oak cabinet stands in stark contrast to the room's elaborate décor.

General Graf Chasôt, a close friend of the king who in the 1740s attended Frederick's concerts in Potsdam, described this elegant private music room with its rounded corners, and he explicitly mentions its Silbermann fortepiano:

At Potsdam the daily concert would take place in a chamber 24 feet in diameter, with slightly rounded corners, 16 feet up to the cornice; all done up in woodwork with beautiful compartments and magnificently gold-leafed; a very pretty fireplace of red Egyptian marble; and in the middle a superb and a very large rock crystal chandelier culminating below with a crystal ball as large as a head; and, best of all, this chamber was so favorably built, and the furniture so well integrated for music, that we never lost the least bit of sound. The concert consisted in a single first and second violin (rarely doubled), a viola, a violoncello, and for a keyboard a fortepiano of Silbermann, [also] one or two flutes, when the king would play trios with Quantz; one or two castrati and once in a while one of the best singers from the opera would receive orders and a carriage for the journey from Potsdam. In these concerts one heard only voices or flutes; all the other instruments were there only for the accompaniment.⁵²

The "slightly rounded corners," visible in the original floor plans and in historical photos (see , 4), are not a characteristic of any other Frederician music room and unquestionably confirm the precise location in Chasot's description.

The second floor of the palace was also the location of the second, large music room. The 1780 palace inventory documents this room (designated "Concert Cammer, japanisch gemahlet") as having Japanese motifs on a gold background and furnished with "1 harpsichord."⁵³ Nicolai, who in 1779 and again in 1786 also described the large music room, identifies this instrument more precisely as "a beautiful harpsichord by Silbermann."⁵⁴ The king's *Schatullrechnung* records a good number of harpsichords (see Table 2), many of which are lost and cannot be identified as to maker, but at least

51. Latham, "Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties," 383 (illustration 16), shows a photograph of this instrument in the king's music room of the Potsdam Schloss but incorrectly identifies the room and instrument as those of Sanssouci Palace.

52. Kurd von Schlözer, *Zur Geschichte Friedrichs des Grossen und seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1856), 212–13.

53. SPSPG Plansammlung, Ak 9, *Inventarium des königl. Schlosses zu Potsdam* (n.p.), room 196, "Erstes Obergeschoss / II. Étage / Mittlere Étage / sogenannte Sommer Flügel . . . IX. die Concert Cammer, japanisch gemahlet . . . 1 flügel Clavier" (first upper floor / second story / middle floor). This larger room measured 9 meters long by 7.5 meters wide.

54. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte* (1779), 2:859 and (1786), 3:1145, room 18, "Das große Konzertzimmer. . . Ein schöner Flügel, von Silbermann."

several, including this one and perhaps most, were by Silbermann. This instrument (the second one listed in Table 3B) is undoubtedly one of the instruments documented by the *Schatullrechnung* (Table 2) and probably corresponds to the payment of 200 Taler in June 1746, “dem Silbermann vor ein Clavir” (to Silbermann for a harpsichord), since it was paid for just at the time renovations to the Stadtschloss were complete. The very next instrument paid for was the Silbermann fortepiano for Frederick’s private music room in the Stadtschloss, mentioned above.

This larger concert room was remodeled by Frederick’s successor as a bedroom;⁵⁵ thus no historical photograph helps to identify the instrument further. Unfortunately, neither Nicolai nor the inventories mention the presence of a keyboard instrument in the *Schlosstheater*. By the time of Nicolai’s writing, the comic opera had long been disbanded. The inventory of 1780 lists only a stand for a harpsichord (“1 Flügel Clavier Gestelle”).

When in 1746 Frederick relocated to Potsdam, many of the musicians who accompanied the king’s chamber concerts, including Franz Benda, concertmaster of the chamber music, followed suit. Others, including Emanuel Bach, remained in Berlin and thus commuted to Potsdam in rotation, alternating stays there of roughly four to six weeks. Duties in Potsdam included serving in the twelve-member orchestra that accompanied the Italian comic operettas (*intermezzi*) regularly produced in the new *Schlosstheater*.⁵⁶ The Potsdam Stadtschloss remained the king’s main residence until the completion of his summer palace, Schloss Sanssouci, in 1747. From then on, Frederick spent the winter months from November to April at the Potsdam Stadtschloss and May through October at Sanssouci.

SCHLOSS SANSSOUCI 5

A second Silbermann piano, delivered to the king no later than April 1747, was purchased through Quantz for 373 Taler, 12 Groschen (see Table 2).⁵⁷ The new instrument could only have been acquired for and placed in Sanssouci Palace.⁵⁸ The timing could not have been better: the palace’s extravagant new music room, an exquisite rococo

55. Hans-Joachim Giersberg, *Das Potsdamer Stadtschloss* (Potsdam: Potsdamer Verlag, 1998), 95.

56. The *Schlosstheater*, payments, and the specific duties of the *Hofkapelle* are outlined in greater detail in Oleskiewicz, “The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia,” esp. 100.

57. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 900, fol. 5r, May 1747, item no. 7: “dem Virtuosen Quantz vor ein Piano et Forte L.Q. 373 Taler, 12 Gr” (47 Taler less than the payment for the piano of 1746, discussed above, which was made directly to Silbermann; it is unclear whether the payment to Quantz included transport). Payments were sometimes recorded well after the invoice was due.

58. The official palace website, with images, is <http://www.spsg.de/schloesser-gaerten/objekt/schloss-sanssouci/>.

jewel whose decorative interior was completed and invoiced in April,⁵⁹ was furnished with a brand new fortepiano just in time for Frederick's summer residency (May to October). This palace, perched atop a terraced vineyard, is where Frederick would spend the majority of every summer season for the rest of his life.

It has usually been supposed that because the interior of the entire palace was not yet finished, the king would not have resided there in May and that his encounter with Bach, whose famous visit occurred that month, must have taken place in the Potsdam Stadtschloss. However, there is no reason to think Frederick waited to occupy Sanssouci: as he did with Rheinsberg and every other one of his subsequent residences, Frederick moved into a new palace as soon as his apartments were ready but before the remainder of the palace was complete. The final payment for the Sanssouci music room's décor, made in April 1747 to the artist Johann Michael Hoppenhaupt (1709–69), provides unequivocal evidence that this new space was ready for use before Sebastian Bach's visit to Potsdam. Perhaps it was no coincidence that the elder Bach elected (or, more likely, was invited) to make his journey at this very juncture.

If indeed Sanssouci was to be inhabited by the king beginning in May, intense pressure would have been on the artisans to have it ready in time for the change of season. Its music room, the most richly decorated of all of Frederick's music rooms and, moreover, the largest space in his elaborate apartments at Sanssouci (the room measures 10.1 meters long by 8.2 meters wide by 6.2 meters high), featured five integral wall paintings by Antoine Pesne, each depicting a scene from Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (continuing the theme from the Rheinsberg and Charlottenburg music rooms). It also featured large mirrors opposite the windows (which overlooked the vineyard and park) and two console tables of Silesian chrysoprase, Frederick's favorite stone. The Ovid theme also inspired a hunt motif here that would be recalled later in the New Palace: a large portrait of the hunting goddess Diana bathing overlooks the room (a clear reference to the Acteon story in book 3 of the *Metamorphosis*); Frederick's favorite Italian greyhound, named Biche, springs into her lap, while additional dogs (in plaster relief) chase rabbits along the room's gilt cornice. Just as in the Potsdam and Berlin palaces, the room's centerpiece is a large Silesian rock crystal chandelier. Sanssouci was the prized and much-anticipated new summer residence of the king; it is thus hard to believe that he would not have wanted to occupy it immediately. There can be little doubt that this palace—and not the old Potsdam Stadtschloss, as has traditionally been believed—was the location of the famous encounter that interrupted the royal chamber concert on the evening of May 7, 1747.⁶⁰

59. Friendly communication by Klaus Dorst, art historian and caretaker of monuments, spsg.

60. Latcham, "Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties," 382, supposes that "the Silbermann *Hammerflügel* had not yet been installed in Sans Souci"; he thus concludes that "Bach and his son

The king's suite in Sanssouci was located not, as usual, on the second floor but rather on the ground floor of the palace. The music room's décor and its prominent position as the largest room within the entire royal suite (though still relatively intimate) are, however, features typical of his other palaces. The antechamber, a picture gallery that formed the first room of the suite, preceded the music room: this antechamber is where Emanuel Bach and his colleagues waited each evening to be summoned for the royal chamber concerts. This is also where the visitor Charles Burney stood as he listened to the king's concert.⁶¹ And it is surely the very "antechamber" where Johann Sebastian Bach also waited "for His Majesty's most gracious permission to listen to the music."⁶² No other keyboard instrument besides this Silbermann fortepiano ever resided in Sanssouci during Frederick's life.

Nicolai's descriptions of Sanssouci palace unfortunately are far more cursory than those of the other palaces; he instead focuses on the neighboring picture gallery, listing in utmost detail the paintings it contained. His earliest description, published in 1769, contains a mere paragraph describing the king's suite, and it can be surmised from the minimal information provided that Nicolai himself probably never personally gained access to the interior. Nevertheless, according to the earliest surviving palace inventory for Sanssouci, in 1782 the "pianoforte" still stood in "das Concert=Zimmer."⁶³

BERLIN STADTSCHLOSS  6

The Berlin Stadtschloss, a veritable fortress constructed on a massive scale on Unter den Linden, had long been the official city residence of the Prussian capital. In addition to many rooms and festival halls used for conducting official state business, the palace contained apartments, each complete with a music room, for several members of the immediate royal family: the king; Queen Christine (whose suite had two music rooms); Princess Amalia; and the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia.

The Berlin Stadtschloss had also been the residence of the king's great-uncle Margrave Christian Ludwig of Brandenburg-Schwedt, the dedicatee of the so-called *Brandenburg Concertos*, until his death in 1734. As Sebastian Bach's 1721 dedication makes

[Friedemann] were received by King Frederick in the Stadtschloss" where "the king played his famous theme." I have not been able to locate any contemporary eighteenth-century report that documents the Stadtschloss as the location of the encounter. On the contrary, the preponderance of evidence, both archival and circumstantial, points instead to Sanssouci.

61. A point he neglected to disclose, although it is mentioned by Frederick's last *Kapellmeister*, J. F. Reichardt; see Oleskiewicz, "Like Father, Like Son?," 255 and n. 9.

62. NBR, 224.

63. SPSPG, Acta V, *Inventarium. Von dem Königl: Schloss zu Sanssouci, und den neuen Cammern . . . Aufgenommen den 20. März. 1782* (n.p. [pp. 3–4]), esp. p. 4, no. 7: "ein Piano forte."

clear, Bach performed before the Margrave while in Berlin during a visit in 1719: “As I had a couple of years ago the pleasure of appearing before Your Royal Highness, by virtue of Your Highness’s commands, and as I noticed then that Your Highness took some pleasure in the small talents that Heaven has given me for Music . . . Your Highness deigned to honor me with the command to send Your Highness some . . . pieces of my composition.”⁶⁴ It has not been possible to identify which of the apartments belonged to him; but since Christian Ludwig necessarily must have occupied one of the suites with a music room, his may have been the one on the second floor that was later inhabited by Crown Prince Frederick William II. Christian Ludwig’s music room would have been the location in which Sebastian Bach appeared before him in 1719.

Emanuel Bach and the court’s other musicians would have had occasion to play in other multipurpose spaces within the Berlin Stadtschloss as well. The large Rittersaal (Knight’s Hall), on the third floor of the palace, was the location on July 17, 1744, of a large royal wedding party—with a “magnificent” *Tafelmusik* by the *Hofkapelle*—to celebrate the marriage of Princess Luise Ulrike (1720–82) to the crown prince of Sweden.⁶⁵ The room was situated over the fifth Portale (Portal) and faced the Lustgarten (Pleasure Garden) to the north (i.e., directly above the Balkonzimmer [Balcony Room]). The immense chapel, also located on the third floor over the third Portale (Portal) and facing the Schloßfreiheit (the area flanking the south side of the palace), would have provided yet another venue for occasional music.

It was not until 1745 that King Frederick bothered to have his suite of apartments in the Berlin Schloss decorated. The first four rooms to be furnished, including the concert room, were assigned to the decorator Johann August Nahl. The remaining rooms were taken up in 1747–48 by Johann Christian Hoppenhaupt (fl. 1742, d. 1778–86). As was customary, the music room was the most lavish. Like the much later music room of the New Palace, it featured green-paneled walls ornamented with gold leaf, and—similar to the music room of the king’s second set of apartments in the new wing of Charlottenburg that soon would be created—it simultaneously served as a picture gallery, with numerous precious paintings on display. The king’s suite, located in the southeastern corner of the second floor, overlooked the Schlossplatz, on one

64. Bach’s dedication to Christian Ludwig of the *Six concerts avec plusieurs instruments*, BWV 1046–51, is given in NBR, 92–93, text quote on 92.

65. Christoph Henzel cites the newspaper report in “Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–1786 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse,” *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (2004): 231. The Rittersaal (room 792) measured about 16 meters long by 13 meters wide by 9.75 meters high. See Goerd Peschken and Hans-Werner Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloß: Das klassische Berlin* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1982), 476.

side, and the Spree River, on the other.⁶⁶ Frederick resided here only for state visits and during brief stays to attend festivities, including his birthday (January 14).

Although Nicolai described the Stadtschloss in Berlin as having five music rooms (including those of King Frederick, Queen Christine, and the future king, Frederick William II, then called the “Prince of Prussia”) in his guides of 1769, 1779, and 1786, he took notice of not a single musical instrument in the palace. During the nineteenth century, many of the palace rooms were remodeled, and no photographs survive that depict the music rooms in their original state. The palace was thoroughly destroyed during World War II.

The King's Music Room

Fortunately, Frederick's successor left the king's apartments untouched: the earliest available palace inventory, dated 1793, records that the king's music room still housed “a fortepiano by Silbermann.” The fortepiano's whereabouts today are unknown; most likely, it was destroyed in 1945 with the palace, when the building was struck by incendiaries. The inventory also specifies that this room contained “various pieces of music and drawings,” a music stand, and, as in all of Frederick's music rooms, a large rock crystal chandelier.⁶⁷ Berlin newspapers confirm that the king held his chamber music soirées here on occasion.

Crown Prince Frederick William's Music Room

Crown Prince Frederick William, an important patron of music and a cellist, and his wife, a keyboard player, also enjoyed a small private music room on the second floor of the Berlin Stadtschloss, overlooking the Schlossplatz; Nicolai mentions that it was decorated with red silk damask walls.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, no inventory of Frederick Wil-

66. Tilo Eggeling, “Die Wohnung Friedrichs des Großen,” in Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, 69. The author argues that Frederick had little connection to the “lively life” of the city, which is also why he eventually gave up his costly apartments in Charlottenburg, about an hour's carriage ride from Berlin.

67. SPSP Plansammlung, Inv. 44, *Inventarius des Königl. Schlosses zu Berlin aufgenommen im Jahr 1793*, 72–73, room VI (room 216 in the floor plan of 1794): “Im Zimmer überhaupt . . . Ein Piano Forte von Silbermann”; “Verschiedene Noten und Zeichnungen”; “ein Notenpult.” In another version of the inventory bearing the same date (Inv. 45), a few items were struck through (at a later date) and noted as no longer at hand, but the fortepiano is not one of them. An earlier inventory of 1777 (Inv. 39) concerns only mundane household items, not furniture or musical instruments. The dimensions of the king's music room (room 659) were approximately 11.4 meters long by 10.5 meters wide by 6.25 meters high.

68. Room 683. According to Peschken and Klünner, the room measured approximately 8.6 meters long by 6.9 meters wide by 6.3 meters high (*Das Berliner Schloss*, 518).

liam's or the other family members' suites is available. However, the king's accounts (Table 2) show that in summer 1765 Frederick purchased a "fortepiano" by an unspecified maker for 300 Taler as a gift to Crown Prince Frederick William's new bride, Elisabeth Christine Ulrike of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1746–1840).⁶⁹ This instrument, probably made by the court keyboard maker Christian Friedrich Hildebrandt (ca. 1711–72), was likely destined for their music room in the Berlin Stadtschloss, since their new suite in the New Palace in Potsdam (which also had a red silk damask music room) was fitted with a harpsichord by Burkat Shudi (Tables 2 and 8; and see below).⁷⁰

Queen Elisabeth Christine's Music Rooms

In the summer months from May through October, Frederick's unloved wife, Queen Christine, resided in Niederschönhausen at Schloss Schönhausen in northern Berlin.⁷¹ During the winter months she had a suite of apartments in the Berlin Stadtschloss (her official state rooms) where she received dignitaries and attended to other court business. Located on the third floor of the Berlin Stadtschloss, directly above the king's apartments, her apartments contained both a small private music room and a large concert hall.

In 1779 Nicolai first described the queen's music rooms in detail. Her small music room (*das kleine Konzertzimmer*), located directly above the king's, was decorated with French tapestries sent as a gift from Louis XIV. The large concert hall (*der grosse Cour: und Konzertsaal*), located over the first Portale (Portal) facing the Schlossplatz (Palace Square), featured French tapestries that had been presented by Louis XV. Nicolai does not mention what keyboard instrument either room contained (undoubtedly Silbermann harpsichords), nor do we have an inventory of the queen's suites in the Berlin Stadtschloss or in Schönhausen; thus, there is no documentation about keyboard instruments in any of her music rooms.⁷²

69. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 914, fol. 41r, August 1765, item no. 8: "Für das forte piano der Printzessin von Preussen, 300 Taler" (For the Princess of Prussia's fortepiano, 300 Taler). The piano was purchased too late (and cost too little) to be an instrument by Gottfried Silbermann.

70. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1769), 1:437, lists "Hildebrand" as a maker of fortepianos.

71. Queen Christine resided at Schloss Schönhausen from 1740 until 1797. The official website of the palace, with illustrations, is <http://www.spsg.de/schloesser-gaerten/objekt/schloss-schoenhausen/>.

72. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1779), 2:651–53 (the edition of 1769 only states the location of her rooms on the third floor of the palace; see Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte* [1769], 72). The festival hall in Schönhausen still exists; it features three large windows and measures 13.5 meters long by 7 meters wide. The measurements of her Stadtschloss music rooms were (approximately) 10.5 meters long by 6.6 meters wide by 6.25 meters high (an

The Berlin newspapers reported on the *grosse Hofkonzerte*. Those hosted during the summer by Queen Christine (from about mid-May to the end of October) normally took place in Schloss Schönhausen's large festival hall. During the colder months (and on some rarer occasions in the summer) her concerts took place in the larger concert hall in her suite in the Berlin Stadtschloss, where she resided from October to May.⁷³ At no time did she have a suite of apartments in Potsdam, nor was she ever permitted to enter Sanssouci. Thus, her large concert hall must be the location where, on October 28, 1753, C. P. E. Bach performed on the novel *Bogenflügel*. A Leipzig newspaper reported:

On the 28th in the evening the Royal Kapelle performed a concert at Her Majesty the queen's in the presence of Her Majesty the queen mother and the princes and princesses of the royal house. On this occasion the famous artist Herr Hohlefeld introduced a keyboard of special design before Her Majesty. It possessed gut strings stroked by a violin bow, whereby the various tones of violin instruments are imitated. The royal chamber musician Herr Bach played a concerto on this instrument, which received general approval from all the high company present.⁷⁴

A similar report on November 2 in the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* verifies the location of this concert more precisely:

On this very day Herr Hohlefeld, who, by way of sheer genius, often succeeds in creating new mechanical inventions, had the honor of presenting, in the rooms of Her Majesty the queen [i.e., Queen Elisabeth Christine] and before all the high nobility present, a special type of keyboard on which he made it possible to execute everything

estimate of the smaller room, based on the floor plan); the larger room (room 844, also called the Elisabeth-Saal) measured 11 meters long by 16 meters wide by 9.75 meters high (Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, 498).

73. With some exceptions, probably when there was a particularly cold May, Queen Christine's and the queen mother's concerts continued to be held in the Stadtschloss to June. Whenever the reports do not specify location, Henzel suggests that Christine's summer concerts were held in the "Stadtschloss?" whereas Schönhausen is the more likely location. He also by default suggests "Stadtschloss?" whenever a host is unstated, but again, this is unjustified (see "Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt," esp. the tables on 229–91).

74. Bärwald, ". . . ein Clavier von besonderer Erfindung," 282: "am 28. Abends die Königl. Capelle bey Ihro Majest. der Königin, in Gegenwart Ihro Majest. der Königl. Frau Mutter und der Prinzen und Prinzessinnen des Königl. Hauses, ein Concert aufgeführt, der berühmte Künstler, Hr. Hohlefeld, bey solcher Gelegenheit Ihro Majest. der Königin ein Clavier von besonderer Erfindung vorgestellt. Selbiges hat Darm-Seiten, auf welche ein Violin-Bogen streicht, wodurch auf diesem Clavier die verschiedenen Töne der Violin-Instrumente nachgeahmet werden. Der Königl. Cammer-Musicus, Hr. Bach, hat auf solchem Instrumente ein Concert gespielt, das den allgemeinen Beyfall der höchsten und hohen Anwesenden erhalten hat." Hohlefeld's name is sometimes spelled Hohlfeld.

found by virtuosos to be lacking in ordinary harpsichords, namely, the sustaining of tones and the various modification of the same, according to the desired degrees of strength and weakness.⁷⁵

Carl von Ledebur must have erred in stating that this concert took place “at the court of the queen mother,” which at this time would have meant not Queen Christine but Sophia Dorothea.⁷⁶ One can only guess what works Bach might have performed on this program. His only known composition for an instrument of this type, the Sonata Wq 65/48, was written much later, in Hamburg.⁷⁷ Although Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg reported in 1754 that the king had praised Hohlfeld’s instrument, the court did not purchase one until 1770 (see below).

The Comoediensaal

The Berlin Stadtschloss was the location of the Comoediensaal, or first opera theater that Frederick had erected, and that space served for the premiere of C. H. Graun’s *Rodelinda*, which took place while the opera house on Unter den Linden was still under construction; it also would have been where Emanuel Bach first accompanied a large-scale opera. Located on the second floor of the palace, the Comoediensaal was situated at the northern end of the central wing, which separated two interior courtyards. In December 1741 and thus at the outset of Carnival season, it was also used as the location of a performance by the *Hofkapelle*.⁷⁸ After the permanent opera house was completed, rehearsals still took place in the Comoediensaal in winter to save on heating expenses. The 1793 inventory of the Berlin Stadtschloss also notes the presence in the “Commoedien Saal” of twenty-four music stands and adds that

75. Ibid., 283: “An eben dem Tage hatte der Herr Hohlfeld, ein Mann, welchem es durch sein bloßes glückliches Genie schon oft gelungen ist, neue brauchbare Erfindungen in der Mechanik zu machen, die Ehre, *in den Zimmer Ibro Majestät* [emphasis added], der Königin, und allen daselbst versammelten hohen Herrschaften eine Art eines Clavecins zu zeigen, in welchem er alles, was Kenner bisher an den gemeinen Clavecins vermißt haben, das Aushalten der Töne und die verschiedene Modification derselben, nach beliebigen Graden der Stärke und Schwäche, auf eine besondere Art angebracht hat.”

76. “Er [Hohlfeld] hatte 1753 die Ehre, [den Bogenflügel] bei Hofe der Königin Mutter zu zeigen” (He [Hohlfeld] had the honor in 1753 of showing the Bogenflügel at the queen mother’s court). Carl von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin’s von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1861), 253.

77. Concerning the *Bogenflügel* and other works by Emanuel for so-called expressive keyboards, see David Schulenberg’s chapter in the present volume.

78. The newspaper report calls it the “Theatersaal im Stadtschloss”; the concert report is cited in Henzel, “Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt,” 230.

“the harpsichord and remaining music stands, as well as other things belonging to the theater, are found in the inventory of Baron von Beck, Maître de Spectacle.”⁷⁹

Surely Emanuel Bach and other court keyboardists performed in the Berlin Stadtschloss in the king’s music room, the Comodiensaal, and the large Konzertsaal. How often they privately served Queen Christine, the Crown Prince and Princess, or Princess Amalia, who had apartments in the palace until at least 1767 (see below), cannot be determined.

THE KEYBOARDS OF PRINCESS AMALIA’S RESIDENCES

Before she became abbess of Quedlinburg in 1755—a title with income that would allow her (in lieu of marriage) to obtain her own residence—Princess Amalia primarily resided in apartments in the Berlin Stadtschloss. As discussed above, from at least 1740 she enjoyed a small suite in Schloss Charlottenburg with a music room and a Mietke harpsichord. From about 1766 she also had summer apartments with a large music room in the New Palace in Potsdam.

Amalia, like the king’s other immediate family members, hosted both grand court concerts and chamber soirées in her various living quarters. By the mid-1760s, her music soirées at the Palais Unter den Linden 7, attended by international guests and featuring music of the Bach family and of Berlin composers and no doubt fueled by her extensive music collection of the same, had become a central address for Berlin’s musical life. Emanuel Bach, who, in 1768 at his departure for Hamburg, received from her the title of *Kapellmeister von Haus aus* (honorary director of music), no doubt participated in them.⁸⁰ Wilhelm Friedemann Bach also enjoyed Amalia’s patronage from 1774 until 1778, the year in which he dedicated to the princess his eight fugues without pedal, Fk 31.⁸¹

79. The inventory of Baron von Beck is referred to in spsg Plansammlung, Inv. 44, *Inventarius des königl. Schlosses zu Berlin aufgenommen im Jahr 1793* (p. 208). A nearly identical copy of the inventory with this title is found under Inv. 45, with the same date.

80. David Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 180. Contrary to what one sometimes reads, Kirnberger never possessed the title of *Kapellmeister* to the princess.

81. David Schulenberg, *The Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 121–22. A letter of Princess Amalia to King Frederick dated 24 March 1774 extols Friedemann’s genius: “This man unites all the knowledge of his father with the taste of the late Graun; he is the only composer living who will serve as a model through the centuries, he composes in all genres. . . . Let me express to you, my dear brother, my enthusiasm, but I am not exaggerating, for he is excellent and raises up again this great art that has fallen into decadence.” Cited in Peter Wolny, “. . . welche dem größten Concerte gleichen”: The Polonaises of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,” in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Amalia's first organ, which was contracted with Peter Migendt (1703–67) but completed by his student Ernst Marx as his *Meisterstück* at age twenty-seven, cost 2,000 Taler.⁸² It was much larger than a typical chamber organ and was installed in the large Balkonzimmer (Balcony Room) over the fifth Portale (Portal) of the Berlin palace's Lustgarten Flügel (Pleasure Garden Wing).

As the original floor plans show, the Balkonzimmer directly abutted Amalia's apartments on the second floor of the palace.⁸³ Its location is further confirmed by a letter of December 8, 1755, written by Amalia to her sister-in-law Princess Wilhelmine of Hesse-Kassel, wife of Prince Heinrich: "In 8 days my organ will be completed. It is being tuned right now. [Several days later:] Today I have played my organ for the first time. The Countess Schwerin said it's a little loud, naturally, but the tone is charming. . . . The boys in the street did not stop to listen, even though the *balcony doors* were open [emphasis added]. This proves that the instrument is less powerful than one for a church. I am going to practice so that I can accompany my brother in a solo."⁸⁴ Her letter refers to the room's balcony doors. Moreover, a period illustration by Johann David Schleuen (1711–71) corresponds to the architectural features and disposition of her apartments in the Berlin Stadtschloss and depicts the organ in the spacious balcony room with its large doors to the right. The organ's date of construction precludes any possibility that it could have been created for Amalia's first palace at Unter den Linden 7, which she first acquired in 1764, nine years after the organ was finished. Renovations to the palace that would accommodate the organ were not completed until 1767, at which time the organ was relocated.⁸⁵ The palace became the location of the Russian embassy.

Press, 2003), 178. Martin Falck outlines the details concerning Bach's intrigue against Kirnberger and his consequent fall from royal favor (*Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine Werke, mit thematischem Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen* [Leipzig, 1913], 52–53).

82. The organ survives in the Kirche zur frohen Botschaft in Berlin. For further details of the organ's disposition and history, see Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, "Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft, Orgel von Ernst Marx und Peter Migendt, 1755," in Schwarz, *500 Jahre Orgeln*, 1:123–35. The organ, as built (p. 126), possessed "22 klingenden Stimmen" (22 sounding voices) (as shown in Table 5), though it had been first conceived with twenty-five. The introduction to *СРЕВ:СВ, 1/9, Organ Works*, xii, incorrectly reports the organ's constructed disposition as being that of the initial, conceptual draft.

83. The location of her former apartments is described in Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 2:875–76. The "so-genannte Balkonzimmer" (so-called balcony room) was located "über dem Flügeleingang in unmittelbarer Nähe zur Zimmerflucht der Prinzessin" (over the entrance to the wing, right next to the rooms of the princess) (Behrens and Pape, "Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft," 127).

84. Cited by Behrens and Pape, "Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft," 127, my translation.

85. Behrens and Pape report that when Amalia moved to her new palace in the Wilhelmstrasse in 1776, the organ remained at Unter den Linden 7, where it fell into a state of decay ("Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft," 127, 129).

Kirnberger seems to have influenced unusual features of the organ, whose original disposition is given in Table 5. In order to accommodate chamber music, it was tuned to chamber pitch (*Kammerton*).⁸⁶ The organ's manual also possessed a wider range than was typical: four and a half octaves from C to f₃, including C# (organs of the time did not normally exceed c₃). Its higher range no doubt reflected the instrument's use as a concert instrument and Amalia's training as a keyboardist. Emanuel Bach must have taught Amalia organ lessons in the Balkonzimmer, and he also would have known the instrument from Amalia's chamber soirées. Passages in his organ sonatas, Wq 70/2–7, not only require this atypical high range, but four of them, Wq 70/3–6, composed in 1755, originated in the same year as the organ. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, biographer of J. S. Bach, moreover, affirms that these four sonatas were produced expressly for Amalia. All but one of the sonatas (Wq 70/7) avoid the pedals altogether.⁸⁷ Several English harpsichords purchased by the king for the New Palace during the 1760s and having connections to Amalia also possessed an extended range; these are discussed below (see Table 7).

In 1776 Ernst Marx built a larger house organ for Amalia that was designed for the organ hall on the third floor of her subsequent palace in the Wilhelmstrasse.⁸⁸ The new organ, also paid for by the king, must have reflected, like the first one, Amalia's

86. Behrens and Pape confirm that her organ, like the one then in the Berlin Dom, “stood in *Kammerton* for ease of ensemble playing” (ibid., 126). The organ's chamber pitch may have been a' = 415 Hz; see Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Trio in Bach's Musical Offering: A Salute to Frederick's Tastes and Quantz's Flutes?,” in *Bach Perspectives 4: The Music of J. S. Bach, Analysis and Interpretation*, ed. David Schulenberg (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 100 and n. 52.

87. The organ sonatas have been published in CPEB: CW, 1/9, where further musical and tonal connections between Bach's sonatas and the organ are drawn. See also Darrell Berg, “C. P. E. Bach's Organ Sonatas: A Musical Offering for Princess Amalia?,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51.3 (1998): 477–519.

88. Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, *Die Orgel der Prinzessin Anna Amalie in der Kirche zur frohen Botschaft in Berlin-Karlshorst* (Berlin: Pape-Verlag, 1991), 15: an “28stimmigen Orgel von Ernst Marx” (an organ possessing 28 sounding voices by Ernst Marx). The maker must have been Ernst Marx, as there was no other maker in Berlin during the 1770s. The specifications given by them differ somewhat from those given in Martin Rost, “Die Orgeln der Anna Amalia von Preußen von Migendt und Marx,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Musik für Europa. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 8. bis 12. März 1994 in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder: Konzerthalle Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 1998), 411. The palace, constructed under Frederick William I, had originally served as the residence of the Baron Vernezobre de Laurieux (1690–1748); it was located in the historic Friedrichstadt (present-day Kreuzberg, near Potsdamer Platz). The palace was destroyed by bombs in 1944. However, “after [Amalia's] death the organ was gifted to the Reformierte Kirche at Frankfurt/Oder” and “in the 1880s was replaced with a modern instrument by the Sauer firm” (see Behrens and Pape, “Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft,” 127).

continuing preference for chamber music of an earlier period, which comprises so much of her music library (Table 6).⁸⁹ Like the earlier organ, the new one also stood in chamber pitch. It featured a compass from C to f₃ and a pedal range of C to d₁. Although Emanuel Bach was no longer at court, Friedemann Bach, who resided in Berlin during the last ten years of his life (1774–84), must have known both this and the earlier organ through his connections to Amalia.

At her death in 1786, Amalia's instruments still included the two organs described above. Her palace in the Wilhelmstrasse also contained two harpsichords (*Flügel*), one in her Orgelsaal (Organ Hall) and another in the Marmor-Kammer; one fortepiano in the first green chamber; a "Clavier" (clavichord?) in the second green chamber; and a gamba in the third chamber on the second floor; as well as three lutes and twelve music stands (*Pulpets*).⁹⁰

Frederick's Keyboards by Shudi, Silbermann, and Hohlefeld

Beginning in 1765, King Frederick began collecting innovative harpsichords by the Swiss-born London harpsichord maker Burkat Shudi (1702–73). These harpsichords were equipped with special features and, as this essay shows for the first time, were placed in locations that connect them directly with Princess Amalia. Although Emanuel Bach would spend only a few more years in Berlin, these instruments may explain

89. Tobias Debuch writes: "Paßt schon im Jahr 1755 eine Hausorgel nicht mehr in die musikalische Landschaft, so muß der Bau einer Hausorgel im Jahr 1776 geradezu anachronistisch gewirkt haben" (If her first house organ of 1755 already did not fit into the musical landscape, the second one must have seemed downright anachronistic) (*Anna Amalia von Preussen: Prinzessin und Musikerin* [Berlin: Logos, 2001], 82). This, however, overlooks the fact that house concerts were still performed midcentury in Berlin with house organs, Janitsch's music academy serving as an example. See *Johann Wilhelm Hertel: Autobiographie*, ed. Erich Schenk (Graz: H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1957), 33: "So freudig war sein Betrieb in der Musik; daher er auf seiner neuen Orgel, die er sich auf eigne Kosten zur musikalischen Akademie in seinem Hause hatte setzen lassen, die erste Zeit fast Tag und Nacht spielte u. dieß so lange trieb, daß die Nachbarschaft drohte, die Abstellung seiner nächtlichen, Schlaf störenden Uebungen auf derselben beym König nachzusuchen" (So enthusiastic was his musical activity that at first he played almost day and night on his new organ, which he had set up at his own expense for the musical academy in his house; and this went on for so long that the neighbors threatened to complain to the king to stop his nocturnal sleep-disturbing practice).

90. Eva Renate Blechschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Amalia von Preußen (1723–1787)* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), 26, quotes from Amalia's *Nachlassverzeichnis*: "Zwei Orgeln, je ein Flügel im Orgelsaal und der Marmor-Kammer, ein Fortepiano in der ersten grünen und ein Clavier in der zweiten grünen Kammer, eine Gambe in der dritten Kammer der zweiten Étage, drei Lauten, ferner zwölf Pulpete." Michael O'Loughlin misinterprets Amalia's *Nachlass* as including "two organs, three fortepianos, a harpsichord, a viola da gamba and three lutes" (*Frederick the Great and His Musicians: The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School* [Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008], 53).

peculiar features of works both by him and by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. In addition, the recent rediscovery of a lost Shudi instrument of the king kept in the former royal palace at Breslau may help to explain one of Charles Burney's puzzling observations about these instruments.

THE BRESLAU SCHLOSS AND SHUDI'S HARPSICHORDS  7

In 1750, following his victory in the Silesian wars, Frederick purchased in Breslau a nobleman's palace with a garden, to which was added in 1751 a long, two-story rear wing that contained his apartments: these included a rococo music room (*Concert-Zimmer*; room 53), designed by J. M. Hoppenhaupt,⁹¹ and an only slightly larger adjacent concert hall (*Concert-Saal*, room 52), identified in the 1835 inventory as a throne room. In September 1752 the king resided in his newly finished suite for the first time. It is not known what kind of keyboard instrument initially furnished the music room. However, during 1765 and 1766 Frederick purchased several harpsichords by Shudi, one of which was destined for Breslau (see Table 7).

An eighteenth-century affidavit signed in 1767 indicates that four instruments built for Frederick were completed by Andrew Clark and John Broadwood working under the direction of Shudi himself.⁹² Three of the instruments have been identified with serial numbers 496, 511, and 512. The first of these, number 496, was purchased during the 1760s for Frederick's palace in Breslau. At this time Frederick also purchased several more Shudi harpsichords for the New Palace, his final architectural project. All were exceptional in their construction and possessed the latest features available from Shudi's shop.

An early nineteenth-century inventory of the Breslau palace records in the king's private second-floor music room "a harpsichord by Burkat Tschudi, double manual, in a mahogany case with gold leaf, four feet and pedal, and a mahogany music rack."⁹³ A later entry in the same inventory notes that the stand was *erneuert* (renovated) in

91. According to a floor plan of 1900 (SPSG, no. 11604), the king's music room (room 53) measured approximately 8.52 meters wide by 8.95 meters long. The floor plan of 1834/35 gives the dimensions in Ohlau feet as 27 feet 6 inches wide by 33 feet 6 inches long.

92. David Wainwright and Kenneth Mobbs, "Shudi's Harpsichords for Frederick the Great," *Galpin Society Journal* 49 (1996): 85–86.

93. SPSG Plansammlung, Inv. 199, 1835, 109: "Grosser Seitenflügel, Zweites Stockwerk [Raum] Nr. 53. Concert=Kammer. . . Ein Flügel von Burkat-Tschudi, mit 2 Klaviaturen, in Mahogany Kasten, mit Vergoldung verziert, mit 4 Füßen und Pedal, dazu: ein Pult von Mahoganyholz." A twentieth-century addition in the margin states that the instrument was gone. The inventory also notes a cedar music stand with two bronze candlestick holders: "Ein Notenpult von Zedernholz, mit 2 messingen Leuchter=Armen à zwey Tillen."

1850. This instrument (no. 496) had arrived in Potsdam in 1765 before being shipped almost immediately to Breslau. An entry for July 1765 in the king's *Schatullrechnung* records 15 Taler for the freight from London to Potsdam. In August an additional 9 Taler are recorded for instrument's transport from Potsdam to Breslau.⁹⁴ Purchase of the harpsichord was transacted on behalf of the court by the *Kaufmann* (merchant) Bachmann in Magdeburg, who received reimbursement for his services that October.⁹⁵ The price for this mahogany instrument (presumably including Kaufmann's fee) was 800 Taler, about three times that of a good German instrument.

In 1765 the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* reported on the purchase of this instrument and described its novel machine-stop mechanism: "The celebrated Klaviermacher, Burkhardt Tschudi, a born Swiss of Schwanden in the canton Glarus, had the honour to make a harpsichord with two keyboards for His Majesty the King of Prussia, which was very much admired by all who saw it. It was remarked as an extraordinary thing that Tschudi has placed all the registers in one pedal, so that they can be taken off one after the other, and the decreasing and increasing of the tone can be produced at will, which crescendo and decrescendo harpsichord-players have long wished for."⁹⁶ This harpsichord was pictured and again described in a 1932 museum catalog of the royal palace in Breslau, which notes that it was signed and dated "Burkat Tschudi Nr. 496 Fecit Londini 1765."⁹⁷ A two-manual instrument, it featured a compass with an unusually extended low register: CC–f3. This extended compass and the machine stop are special features of all three of Frederick's surviving Shudi instruments (see Table 7).⁹⁸

94. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 914, fol. 36r, July 1765, item no. 20: "Für Fracht des Flügels aus Engeland [*sic*], 15 Taler" (For freight for the harpsichords from England, 15 Taler); and BPH, Rep. 47, no. 914, fol. 41r, August 1765, item no. 20: "die Fracht für den Flügel von Potsdam nach Breslau, 9 Taler" (the freight for the harpsichord from Potsdam to Breslau, 9 Taler).

95. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 914, fol. 51r, October 1765, item no. 5: "An den Kaufmann Bachmann für den Flügel aus Engelleand [*sic*], 800 Taler."

96. Wainwright and Mobbs, "Shudi's Harpsichords," 80.

97. Erwin Hintze, *Führer durch das Schlossmuseum in Breslau* (Breslau: Schlossmuseum, 1930), 16–18; the harpsichord is illustrated in plate 3. A 1932 publication entitled *Führer und Katalog zur Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente: Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* by Peter Epstein and Ernst Scheyer also contains a description of the harpsichord and its location at the time: "Im Musikzimmer des Breslauer Schlosses, aus dem Besitz Friedrichs des Großen, bezeichnet: Burkat Tschudi Nr. 496 Fecit Londini 1765, Höhe 96, Breite 103, Länge 270. London 1765. Staatseigentum. Schloß Inv. Nr. 73."

98. Not all of Shudi's instruments at the time were so equipped. Another surviving Shudi harpsichord of 1767, not from Frederick's collection, features only a single manual, three hand stops and no machine stop, and the more conventional five-octave compass, FF, GG–f3 (no FF#). See Albert

Shudi number 496 disappeared in the years following World War II. Until recently, only a photo of the instrument and an early twentieth-century palace museum catalog description survived. The instrument resurfaced recently and is now on display at the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań.⁹⁹ An inspection of the instrument shows that its soundboard was replaced with one numbered 497 and signed by the maker; the less than ideal quality of this later workmanship strongly suggests that it was not undertaken in the Shudi workshop. Could the soundboard have been replaced during the renovation of 1850 mentioned in the inventory? Was number 497 the “missing” fourth instrument purchased by Frederick and perhaps delivered in 1765 together with or shortly after number 496?¹⁰⁰ If so, why have we no evidence for its purchase or transport? Was it sent as a gift from Shudi to the king? Could the instrument have been damaged beyond repair during shipping, then later used for spare parts?

A partial solution to the puzzle may lie in Charles Burney’s account. During his tour of the New Palace, he was told that one of the king’s Shudi harpsichords had been badly damaged during transport and since then had been rendered unusable. At the time, Burney assumed that this anecdote referred to Shudi harpsichord number 511, which he had personally viewed in the New Palace.¹⁰¹ But that instrument shows no evidence of damage. Perhaps Burney misunderstood, and the story he was told instead applies to the mysterious missing instrument, number 497. If Emanuel Bach ever played number 496, it would have been during its brief time in Potsdam before it was shipped to Breslau or on a subsequent journey to the Silesian residence. The remaining Shudi harpsichords were all designated for the New Palace, where he would have had better access to them.

Rice, *Four Centuries of Musical Instruments: The Marlowe A. Sigal Collection* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2015), 11. I am grateful to Marlowe Sigal for kindly granting access to his private collection to see and hear this and several other instruments.

99. An initial report of the discovery by Patryk Frankowski and Alina Mądry, “A 1765 Harpsichord by Burkat Shudi (No. 496) Rediscovered in Poland,” was published in the *Galpin Society Newsletter* 34 (October 2012): 5–6, together with color photographs of the keyboard manuals and faceplate.

100. Wainwright and Mobbs, “Shudi’s Harpsichords,” 85. I am grateful to Patryk Frankowski and Alina Mądry, curators at the Museum of Instruments in Poznań, for generously providing me with their unpublished manuscript detailing the presence of the soundboard no. 497 in Shudi no. 496.

101. Charles Burney writes: “This instrument which cost 200 guineas, was sent to Hamburg by sea, and from thence to Potsdam, up the Elb and the Havel, which, I was told, had injured it so much, that it has been useless ever since; however, it is natural to suppose, that some jealousy may have been excited by it, and that it has not had quite fair play from those employed to repair it; for I never heard of any one of the great number of harpsichords, which are annually sent from England to the East and West Indies by sea, receiving so much damage as this is said to have done, in a much shorter passage” (*The Present State of Music in Germany* [London: Becket, 1773], 2:145–46).

At least one work by Emanuel Bach, the Concerto in C Major, Wq 112/1, one of the few pieces Emanuel Bach composed specifically for “cembalo solo” and printed in 1765, may have been composed in July of that year in response to the arrival of this newfangled instrument.¹⁰² The work’s three levels of rapid dynamic changes (*piano*, *forte*, and *fortissimo*) are absolutely impractical on an ordinary two-manual instrument; this strongly suggests that they were inspired by the presence of a machine stop.

THE NEW PALACE AT SANSSOUCI  8

The remaining Shudi harpsichords all were purchased for Frederick’s last residence, called during the eighteenth century the Neues Schloss bei Sanssouci (New Palace at Sanssouci).¹⁰³ This palace was first conceived in 1755 to serve as a spacious summer palace that, in contrast to the intimate Sanssouci, would offer all the comforts needed for family, princely guests, and a splendid court culture. Delayed by the Seven Years’ War, construction was begun in 1763 and not completed until 1769.¹⁰⁴ It has usually been assumed that Frederick did not reside in the New Palace until 1767. However, the king’s suite of apartments was sufficiently complete by 1765 that in that year Frederick could drink his first cup of coffee in them. Moreover, in 1767 and 1768 hefty payments were already recorded in the *Schatullrechnung* for the tuning of keyboard instruments in the New Palace; given Frederick’s habit of paying his invoices months later, these payments also may have included tunings from the previous year.¹⁰⁵

Like the Berlin Stadtschloss, the New Palace at Sanssouci was a representational palace suitable for grand affairs of state, and Frederick resided there for about four weeks each summer. The palace contained five music rooms plus a theater (on the same intimate scale as the one in the Potsdam Stadtschloss). Only the first three rooms were called “Concert Cammer” in the original floor plans, but all five rooms were already furnished with keyboard instruments during the early period of construction (Table 8). Although these circumstances may seem peripheral to musical activities by members of the Bach family, during the summer months of 1765–67 Emanuel Bach would have accompanied some of the king’s concerts here. Members of the *Hofkapelle*

102. As suggested in Christine Blanken and Wolfram Enßlin, eds., *Unterwegs mit Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Musikalisch-biografischer Reiseführer zu seinen Lebensstationen* (Berlin: Lehmann’s Media, 2014), 136.

103. The official palace website, with images, is <http://www.spsg.de/schloesser-gaerten/objekt/neues-palais/>.

104. C. F. Foerster, *Das Neue Palais bei Potsdam* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1923), 10.

105. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 916, fol. 15v, September 1767, item no. 38: “Das Clavier zu stimmen im neuen Palais, 7 Taler, 8 Gr.” (For tuning the keyboard in the New Palace, 7 Taler, 8 Gr.); and September 1768, item no. 58: “das Clavier zu stimmen im neuen Palais, 14 Taler, 4 Gr.” (for tuning the keyboard in the New Palace, 14 Taler, 4 Gr.).

would also have participated in performances of opera and oratorio in its theater, whose ceremonial dedication took place on July 19, 1768. Included was a private performance of Hasse's oratorio *La conversione di Sant' Augustino*, attended by Frederick and his siblings Princess Amalia and Prince Heinrich.

The New Palace was also open to the public for tours on application for admission to the palace castellan: even without his connections to Princess Amalia and the Crown Prince, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach could have viewed the many keyboards of the palace just like any other member of the public. More likely, both Friedemann and Emanuel would have had the opportunity to play the Shudi instruments—if not with the permission of Frederick, then via the king's sister Princess Amalia and probably also by way of the Crown Princess, both of whom (as Burney pointed out) also enjoyed one of the (five) suites with a music room in the palace. At least one composition by Friedemann may be closely associated with these Shudi harpsichords.

Although it has been claimed that “nothing is known of the locations of the four [*sic*] Shudi harpsichords in the Neues Palais,”¹⁰⁶ a detailed description of each of the music rooms makes it possible to untangle the number and locations of the keyboards and the occupants of each suite (confusingly hinted at by Burney). Palace inventories and other evidence show conclusively that the Shudi harpsichords had been acquired for three of these music rooms already at the time of the palace's construction, excluding King Frederick's music room, which received a Silbermann fortepiano (Table 8). The following discussion clarifies, insofar as possible, which rooms received which instruments.

The Music Rooms of the Oberes and Unteres Fürstenquartiere

Two “English harpsichords” were purchased for each of the New Palace's lavish apartments called the upper and lower *Fürstenquartiere* (princely quarters). These instruments (nos. 511 and 512), which arrived in Potsdam in 1766, were (like the instrument for Breslau) acquired via the *Kaufmann* Bachmann.¹⁰⁷ The *Schatullrechnung* records a payment of 36 Taler for freight for the two instruments in June, an amount slightly more than twice the cost of the freight for a single Shudi instrument (no. 496) in the previous year.¹⁰⁸ Shudi harpsichord number 511, moreover, was decorated specifically

106. The text quote is from Latcham, “Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties,” 384.

107. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 915, fol. 24r, December 1766, item no. 6: “An den Kaufmann Bachmann in Magdeburg für zwey englische Clavire, 1600 Taler” (To Merchant Bachmann in Magdeburg for two English keyboards).

108. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 915, fol. 11r, June 1766, item no. 21: “die Fracht für die aus Engelland [*sic*] gekommene[n] Flügel, 36 Taler” (transport for the harpsichord that arrived from England, 36 Taler).

to coordinate with the decorative theme of the *Oberes Konzertzimmer* (upper music room, in the *Oberes Fürstenquartier*).

The music room of the lower *Fürstenquartier* (or Apollo-Saal) was conceived as a temple to the Greek god of music. Situated on the ground floor of the palace, it was completed ca. 1767–68 by Johann Christian Hoppenhaupt after an older design by his brother, J. M. Hoppenhaupt.¹⁰⁹ In addition to its five stunning integral wall paintings by Jacques van Schuppen (1670–1751) on themes of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, the room featured an overall Apollo / sun god motif, gold draperies, and gold-gilt reliefs. The “English Fortepiano” with a “wood and bronze decorated stand,” mentioned in the palace inventory of 1784, no doubt refers to the mahogany Shudi harpsichord (no. 512), which itself featured matching gold-gilt bronze embellishments and hardware.¹¹⁰

In poetic contrast to the golden theme of the lower *Fürstenquartier*’s temple to Apollo, the sun god of music, the silver-gilt music room in the upper *Fürstenquartier*—located on the second floor of the New Palace—was envisioned as a temple to the moon goddess and hunter, Diana; it featured pale yellow lacquered walls covered with silver reliefs so extravagant they border on the grotesque. A uniquely spectacular Shudi harpsichord (no. 511) was destined for this room (Tables 7, 8). Unlike Shudi number 512, the exterior of number 511’s case features silver bands. The bronze hardware of its mahogany stand and its ball-and-claw feet, frame, and hinges were completely painted with oxidized silver (possibly upon its arrival in Berlin) to match the ostentatious silvering of the room’s walls.¹¹¹ As in Sanssouci’s music room, the Ovidian mythologi-

109. Both the upper and lower *Fürstenquartiere* measure 11.2 meters long by 10.38 meters wide. According to Nicolai’s *Beschreibung* (1786), 3:1242 and 1239, the rooms were numbered 46 and 17 (now 260 and 161).

110. SPSG Inv. 398, *Inventarium von sämtlichen . . . Pretiosen*, Tableaux, Mobilier-Sachen, als Gardinen Sopha’s, Canapéés, Fauteuils, Stühlen, . . . *im königlich. Neuen=Palais . . . 18 October 1784*, 8: “1 Fortepiano” [inserted by another hand: “englisch”] mit holzernenen mit Bronze decorirte Gestell.” In 1786 Nicolai, like the inventory, described this room as paneled (*boisier*), with gold decorations and possessing a chandelier of Berlin porcelain. By the time of writing, however, Nicolai noted that this music room currently housed a Silbermann fortepiano, evidently the one that had been previously in the king’s suite (see below), which in the same inventory currently lacked its piano. See Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 3:1239. (Why it was moved to this room is unclear, except that the king in his last year of life resided solely at Sanssouci and no longer played music; perhaps a family member had requested to use it.) An 1896 palace inventory, however, indicates that the Silbermann piano had by then been returned to its original position in the king’s music room; SPSG: “Ein Flügel-Fortepiano von Silbermann, auf einem ganz geschnitzten und vergoldeten Rococogestell mit 7 verbundenem Füßen, mit einem Kasten von polirtem Eichenholz” (A keyboard-fortepiano by Silbermann, on a carved and gilded rococo stand with seven bound feet, with a case of polished oak). Friendly communication of Klaus Dorst.

111. Today, no. 511’s original silvered stand and pedal are missing. They can be observed in historic photographs and are pictured by William Dale, *Tschudi the Harpsichord Maker* (London: Constable

cal hunting theme is highlighted by a parquet floor with an elaborately inlaid central motif of dogs pursuing a rabbit.

The extravagance of this room and its matching Shudi harpsichord was noted by Charles Burney, who toured the palace in 1772: “In another apartment, there is a most magnificent harpsichord, made by Shudi, in England; the hinges, pedals, and frame are of silver, the case is inlaid, and the front is of tortoise-shell.”¹¹² The 1784 palace inventory likewise describes this room’s instrument as a “harpsichord with a gilt silver stand.”¹¹³ In his guide to the New Palace, Nicolai (1786) further confirms the identification of the instrument in the upper *Fürstenquartier* as “the harpsichord made in England by Shudi that Burney describes.”¹¹⁴ The tortoiseshell front mentioned by Burney is a misunderstanding; the front of the instrument is veneered in “strongly-figured wood” that Burney mistook “at a quick glance . . . for tortoise-shell.”¹¹⁵

Museum records indicate that the Shudi harpsichords of 1766, numbers 511 and 512, were placed on display in the Berlin Hohenzollern Museum in Monbijou Palace beginning in 1884. In 1923 they were returned to the New Palace; in 1945, after World War II, number 512 was removed from the lower *Fürstenquartier* by the Red Army and was deposited in the Mikhail Glinka Museum for Culture in Moscow, where today it remains on display.¹¹⁶ Observers of that instrument have noted that it

and Co. Ltd., 1913), albeit incorrectly labeled as no. 512. Latham reproduces the same photograph as Dale on page 385, now correctly labeled, and offers a plausible explanation for the historical mix-up of stands (“Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties,” 385–86).

112. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany* (1773), 2:145.

113. SPSP Plansammlung, Inv. 398 (1784), 28a: “1 Flügel mit versilberten decorierter Fuß.”

114. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 3:1242: “Hier steht der in England gefertigte Flügel, von Schudi, den Burney beschreibt.”

115. Wainwright and Mobbs, “Shudi’s Harpsichords,” 84.

116. No. 512 is currently displayed with an inelegant replacement stand (depicted most recently in *CIMCIM Bulletin* 1 [June 2016] on p. 3). However, its original stand, with ball-and-claw feet, is the one currently displayed with no. 511 in the New Palace; at some point the stand’s pedal (shown in older photographs) went missing. Curiously, a Shudi harpsichord pictured in Paul Seidel, “Die von Burkart Tschudi in London erbauten Klaviere Friedrichs des Großen,” *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch* 17 (1913): 249–50, does not appear to be either no. 511 or no. 512: its case features gold or silver bands, like no. 496 and no. 511, but unlike no. 511, it lacks engraved plates over the stops; like no. 496, it also lacks no. 511’s elegant carved floral garland under the cheek. The stand is similar or identical to the one original to no. 496 and no. 512, with pedal and partially gilt ball-and-claw feet. Whether it is in fact a photograph of the Breslau Shudi no. 496 or perhaps the lost no. 497 is at this time impossible to say.

possesses a machine stop with “lute, octave, buff [*recte* harp], first unison, and second unison” but no Venetian swell.¹¹⁷

Neither Burney’s account nor palace inventories clearly indicate which suite was occupied by Princess Amalia or the Prince of Prussia; however, according to Burney, each inhabited a suite of apartments that included one of the original five rooms with a keyboard instrument: “There is a *suite* of rooms appropriated to almost every branch of the royal family. Those of the king, of his sister princess Amelia, and the prince of Prussia, *are the most splendid* [emphasis added]. In each of these apartments, there is a room dedicated to music, furnished with books, desks, a harpsichord, and with other instruments.”¹¹⁸ The Prince of Prussia was a title reserved for the Crown Prince, namely, the future Frederick William II.¹¹⁹ His suite consisted of three rooms on the second floor (directly over the king’s apartment); however, since these did not contain a music room, Burney must therefore have been describing the music room of the Crown Princess, Frederick William’s spouse, which directly abutted his apartments (hers were the *Obere rote Kammern*; see below). For Amalia, this leaves only two remaining possibilities: one of the two lavish *Fürstenquartiere*. It has routinely been supposed (without clear evidence) that Amalia’s apartments must have been located on the second floor directly above those of her brother Prince Heinrich and his wife (whose suite contained one of the five music rooms). However, two pieces of information preclude that location: (1) those apartments did not feature a music room, and (2) like Heinrich’s suite, they comprised the smallest rooms in the palace. In no way could they have been considered to be “among the most splendid,” as Burney described. While it may be questioned that a sister of the king would have enjoyed so lavish an apartment as one of the *Fürstenquartiere*, it should be noted that Amalia, Frederick’s closest and dearest relative, served him in lieu of the queen (who was unwelcome at the palace) as the hostess for grand court visits, arriving early to receive

117. Wainwright and Mobbs rely on observations and photographs made by members of the Galpin Society who studied the instrument during a visit to the Glinka Museum in 1987 (“Shudi’s Harpsichords,” 81–82). Shudi’s Venetian swell was invented too late (1769) to have been included on Frederick’s instruments. A surviving instrument, no. 899, made by Shudi and John Broadwood and dated London, 1781, possesses both the machine stop and the Venetian swell. See Rice, *Four Centuries of Musical Instruments*, 13; see also Eric Halfpenny, “Shudi and the Venetian Swell,” *Music and Letters* 27 (1946): 180–84.

118. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany* (1773), 2:144.

119. Latham misidentified the Prince of Prussia (whom Burney points out as having a Shudi harpsichord in the New Palace) as the king’s brother Prince Heinrich (“Pianos and Harpsichords for Their Majesties,” 383). Furthermore, Burney is mistaken, for it was not Prince Heinrich but rather his wife who had a music room in the New Palace; moreover, her room was furnished not with a Shudi harpsichord but with a different keyboard instrument (see below).

and greet guests and make everything ready. Moreover, she is known to have hosted grand court concerts at the New Palace and must have commanded a large space for these events, such as that afforded by the music rooms of the *Fürstenquartiere*.¹²⁰

The Obere rote Kammern and the Princess of Prussia (Crown Princess)

A third, spacious, and elegant (if less ornate) suite with a keyboard instrument, the Obere rote Kammern (Upper Red Chambers), belonged to the Crown Princess of Prussia.¹²¹ At the time of Burney's visit this person was no longer its first occupant (Frederick William's first wife, Elisabeth Christine Ulrike, a favorite of the king and for whom a fortepiano had been purchased in 1765) but rather his second wife, Frederika Louisa of Hesse-Darmstadt (1751–1805), whom the Crown Prince had married on July 14, 1769.¹²² This suite is located on the upper floor of the south wing, courtyard side, abutting Frederick William's apartments.¹²³ The 1784 palace inventory describes its music room as having walls covered in red silk damask, similar to those of the Crown Princess's music room in the Berlin Stadtschloss. In 1786 Nicolai noted that it contained "a harpsichord by Shudi."¹²⁴ It cannot be definitively determined whether her instrument was at that time number 512 or, as is more likely, the fourth (lost) instrument, number 497 (see Table 8). Either way, Friedemann Bach seems to have been in good standing with the Crown Prince during the 1770s and therefore also may have interacted with the Crown Princess and her Shudi harpsichord; he may also have known her Hildebrandt piano.¹²⁵

120. Carl Eduard Vehse, *Die Höfe zu Preussen, Friedrich II., der Grosse 1740–1786*, ed. Wolfgang Schneider (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer 1993), 2:265: "Nach dem Frieden pflegte sie [i.e., Princess Amalia], wenn der König Fremde in Potsdam bei sich hatte, die Zeremonienmeisterin zu machen" (After the peace she acted as master of ceremonies when the king had foreign guests in Potsdam). See GStA PK, Berlin, I. HA, Rep. 36, no. 851, fol. 30 ("grosses Konzert bei Amalia" on 15 July 1775).

121. According to Nicolai's *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 3:1245. Her music room was room 59 (now room 246); it measured 9.3 meters long by 8.82 meters wide.

122. For information on this fortepiano, see note 69.

123. Foerster, *Das Neue Palais*, 56. Her rooms were still more elaborate than those of the Lower Red Chambers (which had no music room).

124. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 3:1244–45, "Nun die Zimmer von der Prinzessin von Preussen K. H."; "[room] 59): Konzertkammer. Rother Damast und Gold . . . ein Flügel von Shudi."

125. On 2 January 1779 Crown Prince Frederick William submitted a recommendation on behalf of Friedemann Bach for the newly vacated organist position at the Marien-Kirche in Berlin. Whether this was at Bach's request or at Princess Amalia's is not known. The magistrate, however, declined, citing Bach's "weird behavior [*sonderbares Betragen*], inappropriate vicissitude [*umständlicher Wandel*],"

Music Room in the Suite of "Princess Heinrich" (Wilhelmine of Hesse-Kassel) and Hohlefeld's Bogenflügel

If the rooms of the king's favorite sister (Amalia) were among the most spacious and elaborate, then it should not be at all surprising that those of his despised brother Prince Heinrich (1726–1802) and his wife since 1752, Princess Wilhelmine, located on the ground floor of the north wing, were unusually small. Completed in about 1769, the music room of "Princess Heinrich" (as Wilhelmine was called in the inventory and in other contemporary documents) was a narrow, rectangular music room with unusual silver rococo gilding (like that used in the music room of the upper *Fürstenquartier*); the floor plans designate the room simply as a "chamber."¹²⁶ In it, the palace inventory identifies "1 musical instrument that resembles a harpsichord, with very few slightly torn gut strings and possessing a silver stand" that matched the room's gilding.¹²⁷ The inventory's odd, cursory description suggests that the instrument might have been a *Lautenwerk*, a type of instrument that J. S. Bach owned at his death and for which there are few if any surviving examples. More likely, however, it was the *Bogenflügel* by Hohlefeld, which debuted at court in 1753 but which Frederick purchased for the New Palace only in 1770, just after the completion of this music room. The king's *Schatullrechnung* records the price of the *Bogenflügel* as 200 Taler,¹²⁸ with additional transport charges of only 1 Taler, 12 Groschen.¹²⁹ This verifies J. G. Sulzer's report that in 1770 the king had Hohlefeld bring the instrument to the "New Palace at Sanssouci."¹³⁰

and "demonstrated obstinacy [*bewiesener Eigensinn*]," which prevented him from keeping his organ positions in Dresden and Halle. A discussion and transcription of the magistrate's letter are given in Christoph Henzel, "Zu Wilhelm Friedemann Bachs Berliner Jahren," *BJ* 78 (1992): 108–9.

126. The music room of "Princess Heinrich" is labeled room 24 in the inventory and measures 9.29 meters long by 6.56 meters wide. See Foerster, *Das Neue Palais*, 50. Throughout his memoirs, Count Lehndorff (*Kammerherr* to Queen Christine) also refers to her as Princess Heinrich. See *Die Tagebücher des Grafen Lehndorff: Die geheimen Aufzeichnungen des Kammerherrn der Königin Elisabeth Christine*, ed. Wieland Giebel (Berlin: Berlin Story, 2007), e.g., 271. The room had fallen into a state of decay and was closed to the public for renovation at the time of my visit in 2009. My thanks to Klaus Dorst of the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten for permitting access.

127. *SPSG Plansammlung*, Inv. 398, 10–10a: "1 Musicalisches Instrument—einen Flügel gleichend mit sehr wenigen und sanft zerrissenen Darmsaiten bezogen, und mit ungestrichenen und versilberten Gestell."

128. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 919, fol. 2r, February 1770, item no. 14: "für den Bagen [*sic*] Flügel, 200 Taler" (for the *Bogenflügel*, 200 Taler).

129. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 919, fol. 4r, March 1770, item no. 71: "Fracht für den *Bogenflügel*, 1 Taler, 12 Gr." (freight for the *Bogenflügel*, 1 Taler, 12 Gr.).

130. Bärwald, ". . . ein Clavier von besonderer Erfindung," 290. This article cites the source for the above quote as J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1792), 2:206 [*sic*];

In volume 2 of his *Versuch* (1762), Emanuel Bach acknowledged the merit of the *Bogenflügel* and expressed what a shame it was that the instrument was not more generally in use. King Frederick's purchase of Hohlefeld's instrument, two years after Bach's departure for Hamburg, could not have been the inspiration for Bach's sonata for *Bogenklavier*, Wq 65/48, since Bach didn't compose the work until 1783.

His Majesty's Music Room

The king's apartments in the New Palace were, as at Schloss Sanssouci, located on the ground floor facing Sanssouci garden. Despite his enthusiasm for the new Shudi harpsichords, the king did not purchase one for his own music room. This space was instead equipped in the usual manner with a Silbermann piano that, as will be shown, likely came from Schloss Charlottenburg. The 1784 palace inventory describes the royal "Concert Cammer" as "lacquered Green with gold-gilded decorations and without window dressings." Having furnishings similar to the music room of Sanssouci, it contained, among other items, "1 fortepiano with gold-gilt stand" and "1 music stand on a pedestal with tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, gold-gilt bronze, decorated with two candlesticks."¹³¹ The court sculptor, Schwitzer, who was responsible for the musical emblems on the walls, created an elaborately carved and gilded rococo keyboard stand to replace the original one, to match the room's décor.¹³² According to an inventory of 1780, the original stand for this fortepiano was kept in an unused room in the Potsdam Stadtschloss.¹³³

it is in fact found under the article "Fantasiren; Fantasie," 2:205–6, esp. 206n4. It is possible that Kirnberger, who drafted many of the entries on music with his pupil J. A. P. Schulz, was responsible for this information. See Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 343n22.

131. SPSG Plansammlung, Inv. 398 (1784), 4–4a: "Concert Cammer grün lackirt mit vergoldten Decorationen und ohne Fenster Gardinen . . . , 1 Fortepiano mit vergoldten Gestelle . . . , 1 Notenpult en gueridon und von Schildkröte mit Perlmutter und vergoldter Bronze decorirt nebst 2 Tillen." In the margin are notations that certain items were moved to Sanssouci, including the king's music stand, at the request of Frederick William II following Frederick's death, but the fortepiano was not one of them: "Den 25ten July 1787 ist der Notenpult auf Sr. Majst: Befehl nach Sans Souci geholet." The king's music room measures 10.59 meters long by 7.25 meters wide.

132. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 918, fol. 2v, February 1769, item no. 28: "An den Maler [Friedrich] Bock ein Piano forte-fuß, 30 Taler." For the attributions of the keyboard stand and wall and ceiling sculpture, see Foerster, *Das Neue Palais*, 39: "Die Bildhauerarbeiten von Schwizer, die vergoldeten Zieraten und Musikembleme der weiß und grün getönten Decke von Sartori" (The sculptures by Schwizer, the gilded ornamentation and the musical ensemble of the white and green tinted ceiling by Sartori).

133. SPSG Plansammlung, Ak 9, *Inventarium des königl. Schloßes zu Potsdam d. 20 Decbr. 1780 . . .*, "XV. Erstes Obergeschoss / II. Étage / Mittlere Étage . . . die sogenannte Fredersdorffsche Cammer . . . 1 Flügel Fuß, wovon das Clavier im neuen Palais befindlich" (XV. First upper floor / second story / middle floor . . . The so-called Fredersdorf room . . . 1 keyboard stand belonging to the clavier found in the New Palace).

In 1772, when Charles Burney visited Potsdam, he toured the New Palace, viewed the king's private music chamber, and noted its Silbermann fortepiano: "His majesty's concert room is ornamented with glasses of an immense size, and with sculpture, partly gilt, and partly of the most beautiful green varnish, by Martin of Paris; the whole furniture and ornaments of this room are in a most refined and exquisite taste. There is a *piano forte* made by Silbermann of Neuberger, beautifully varnished and embellished; and a tortoise-shell desk for his majesty's use, most richly and elegantly inlaid with silver."¹³⁴ Nicolai in 1786 also described the king's music room but mentioned no keyboard instrument there. By this date the king no longer played the flute and so had ceased to use the room. But the fortepiano had not vanished; according to Nicolai, it was now temporarily displayed in the music room of the *Unteres Fürstenquartier* (or Apollo-Saal).¹³⁵ A later inventory indicates that the piano was returned to its original location. The fortepiano was still reported in this music room as late as 1798.¹³⁶

WILHELM FRIEDEMANN BACH AND SHUDI'S HARPSICHORDS

As demonstrated above, Friedemann Bach would have known one or more of Shudi's harpsichords, including those played by Princess Amalia and the Crown Princess of Prussia. The Shudi harpsichords acquired by Frederick, including one delivered in 1765 for the Breslau palace, featured two manuals and an extended keyboard of five and a half octaves (see Table 7). As noted above, each possessed a machine stop, described in the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* of 1765: "Tschudi has placed all the registers in one pedal, so that they can be taken off one after the other, and the decreasing and increasing of the tone can be produced at will, which crescendo and decrescendo harpsichord-players have long wished for."¹³⁷ David Schulenberg notes (in chapter 3 of this volume) that J. C. Bach would have become familiar with Shudi's instruments in London after 1762 and points to the effectiveness of J. C.'s and Emanuel Bach's symphonic keyboard sonatas on such an instrument, due to the special machine stop. The very low compass of the king's Shudi harpsichords was also quite extraordinary: few eighteenth-century harpsichords and pianos exceeded the usual five octaves from FF to f₃ or e₃. It is, moreover, rare to find music that calls for the highest and lowest notes of this more common compass. Up to the 1740s, even very large German key-

134. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany* (1773), 2:144.

135. Room 17, ground floor, north wing, garden side. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte* (1786), 3:1239: "17) Konzertzimmer. Boisirt mit Gold. . . Hier steht ein Silbermannsches Pianoforte."

136. Horvath, *Potsdams Merkwürdigkeiten*, 183–84: room 6: "Das Konzertzimmer . . . ein Flügel von Silbermann."

137. Wainwright and Mobbs, "Shudi's Harpsichords," 80.

board instruments had a typical range of FF to d3,¹³⁸ which was still used by Gottfried Silbermann for a piano in 1746. Despite Emanuel Bach having certainly known the court's Shudi's harpsichords, all of which were purchased before his departure for Hamburg in 1768, none of his keyboard compositions descend below FF. On the other hand, it can hardly be a coincidence that a version of Friedemann Bach's Concerto in G Major for unaccompanied keyboard, Fk 40, was later revised in Berlin to include several extremely low notes in the left hand.

Fk 40 exists in two versions: an early one written in Dresden (Fk 40a / BR A 13a) of ca. 1740, and a much later revision (Fk 40b / BR A 13b) of ca. 1775, made soon after the composer's arrival in Berlin, that contains the peculiar low notes.¹³⁹ Its first movement has been rewritten to include more elaborate passagework in the right hand; passages in the original left-hand part have been embellished and transposed down an octave, with new downward octave leaps that include the notes GG (mm. 6 and 63), AA (m. 42), and DD (m. 26) (see Example 1). David Schulenberg has puzzled over the low DD as "a note found on few if any keyboard instruments of the period."¹⁴⁰ While on rare occasions very large keyboards, including some by the Dresden maker Johann Heinrich Gräbner, were made with additional low notes,¹⁴¹ every one of Shudi's harpsichords at court was built with an extended range.

Friedemann Bach's revision fits well chronologically with both his move to Berlin in 1774 and his associations at the Prussian court. Given Amalia's interest in extended compasses, as already seen on her organs, perhaps the revision of Fk 40a was made at her request to take advantage of the Shudi's extended low range. Observers who have played the instruments in the New Palace have noted the "rich and magnificently loud [volume] . . . no doubt due in part to a larger area of soundboard vibrating because of the extra compass in the bass."¹⁴²

138. John Phillips, "The 1739 Johann Heinrich Gräbner Harpsichord: An Oddity or a *Bach-Flügel?*," in *Das deutsche Cembalo: Symposium im Rahmen der 24. Tage Alter Musik in Herne 1999*, ed. Christian Ahrens and Gregor Klinke (Munich: Katzschler, 2000), 130.

139. Both versions are published in Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, *Klaviermusik I*, ed. Peter Wollny, *Gesammelte Werke*, 1 (Stuttgart: Carus, 2009). D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 365 Fascicle XIII, which contains Fk 40b, is in the hand of the Berlin scribe J. F. Hering.

140. Schulenberg, *The Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, 93.

141. See, for example, Phillips, "The 1739 Johann Heinrich Gräbner Harpsichord." Another exceptionally large instrument with a six-octave compass from CC to c4, belonging to the Weimar organist Johann Caspar Vogler, a pupil of J. S. Bach, was advertised for sale in a Leipzig newspaper of 1766. See Carl G. Anthon, "An Unusual Harpsichord," *Galpin Society Journal* 37 (1984): 115–16.

142. Wainwright and Mobbs, "Shudi's Harpsichords," 85.

Ex. 1. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, first movement of Concerto in G Major for Solo Keyboard, Fk 40, versions A (mm. 49–56) and B (mm. 25–28).

EMANUEL BACH AND THE SILBERMANN HARPSICHORDS AT COURT

An equally unusual work by Emanuel Bach, the “Sonata per il Cembalo à 2 Tastature,” Wq 69, composed in 1747 in Berlin, was written for a special two-manual harpsichord with highly variegated and colorful registrations. The detailed instructions indicate the use of different stops in each hand during the first two movements and for the theme and each variation in the finale. The work calls for stops such as Cornet and Spinnet, whose nasal sound was produced by jacks placed close to the nut, as well as Flute and “buff” (Example 2).¹⁴³ John Koster, who has deduced that the special instrument required for Wq 69 would have had a minimum of four registers acting on three 8-foot

143. Sebastian Bach’s lute-harpsichord was also equipped with a cornet stop, which, when drawn together with the lute stop, could “almost . . . deceive even professional lute players” (NBR, 366).

The Court of Frederick the Great

Allegretto
Das forte unten mit Flöte u. Spinet u. Octav, das piano oben mit Spinet.

Ex. 2. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Sonata per il Cembalo à 2 Tastature, Wq 69, Allegretto, measures 1–5.

or standard-pitch and one 4-foot or octave sets of strings, has linked such instruments to Sebastian Bach's *Goldberg Variations*, another work that appeared in the 1740s.¹⁴⁴

In June 1746 the court paid Silbermann 200 Taler “for a Clavier” whose high price suggests it might have possessed the stops needed to execute Wq 69. Additional keyboard instruments purchased from Silbermann include a “Clavecien” for 322 Taler, obtained in 1748 through Quantz (discussed further below).¹⁴⁵ Other payments for instruments, possibly harpsichords, were made to Johann Friedrich Rost (1706–59), who received 600 Taler in January 1744; the payment must have been for at least two instruments.¹⁴⁶ Rost had been appointed court keyboard maker by 1740 alongside Hildebrandt, who later was entrusted with upkeep of the Silbermann fortepianos. The account books also record payment for the repair of a “Cedar harpsichord.”¹⁴⁷

SILBERMANN PIANOS AT FREDERICK'S COURT

Late eighteenth-century reports provide exaggerated and conflicting information as to how many Silbermann pianos were at court, and discussion about the actual number is sprinkled throughout the Bach literature. The highest number suggested

144. John Koster, “The Harpsichord Culture in Bach's Environs,” in Schulenberg, *Bach Perspectives* 4, 69.

145. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 901, fol. 4r, March 1748, item no. 4: “an den Virtuosen Quantz für ein Clavecien, 322 Taler, 20 Gr.” (to the virtuoso Quantz for a keyboard, 322 Taler, 20 Gr.).

146. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 897, fol. 1r, January 1744, item no. 34: “an den Instrumentenmacher Rost L[aut].Q[uittung]., 600 Taler” (to the instrument builder Rost, per Receipt, 600 Taler).

147. *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 899, fol. 5r, May 1746, item no. 7: “an den Tischler Böhmer in Berlin vor dass Cedern Claveicin in Potsdam und andere Kleinigkeiten. L.Q., 118 Taler” (to the cabinetmaker Böhmer in Berlin for the cedar keyboard in Potsdam and other miscellanea, per Receipt, 118 Taler).

was by Forkel: “The pianofortes manufactured by Silbermann, of Freyberg, pleased the King so much that he resolved to buy them all up. He collected 15. I hear that they all now stand, unfit for use, in various corners of the Royal Palace.”¹⁴⁸ As there is usually a kernel of truth to every story, perhaps there were indeed fifteen *keyboard* instruments at court by Silbermann, but if so, they included harpsichords and probably other types of claviers.

Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–74), member of the royal *Hofkapelle* and Sebastian Bach’s pupil, reported that after Silbermann improved his pianos, one was sold to the court at Rudolstadt, and “shortly thereafter His Majesty the King of Prussia commissioned one and, as the instrument found royal favor, [the king] commissioned *several more* [emphasis added],” implying at least three.¹⁴⁹ This is corroborated by court records, which indicate that Frederick owned at least three—but more likely four—fortepianos by Gottfried Silbermann (see Table 9). Palace inventories show that near the end of his life, a fortepiano still stood in each of the royal private music rooms in Potsdam: in the Stadtschloss, Sanssouci, and the New Palace. There is also compelling evidence that a fourth stood during his lifetime in the Berlin Stadtschloss.

The well-known newspaper report of Sebastian Bach’s visit to the Prussian court on Sunday, May 7, 1747, and published shortly thereafter in the *Spencersche Zeitung*, provides the most objective account of the events:

His Majesty was informed that Capellmeister Bach had arrived at Potsdam and was waiting in His Majesty’s antechamber for His Majesty’s most gracious permission to listen to the music. His August Self immediately gave orders that Bach be admitted, and went, at his entrance, to the so-called *Forte* and *Piano*, condescending also to play, in His Most August Person and without any preparation, a theme—for the Capellmeister Bach, which he should execute in a fugue. . . . On Monday, the famous man let himself be heard on the organ in the Church of the Holy Spirit at Potsdam. . . . In the evening, His Majesty charged him again with the execution of a fugue, in six parts.¹⁵⁰

148. NBR, 429n.

149. Published in Jakob Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1768), 2:116. The passage reads: “Da Hr. Silbermann wirklich viele Verbesserungen, sonderlich in Ansehung des Tractaments gefunden hatte, verkaufte er wieder eins an den Fürstlichen Hof zu Rudolstadt. . . . Kurz darauf liessen des Königs von Preussen Maj. eines dieser Instrumente, und als dies Dero allerhöchsten Beyfall fand, noch verschiedene mehr, vom Hrn Silbermann verschreiben” (Since Herr Silbermann had really discovered many improvements, especially with regard to the action, he sold one again to the Princely Court at Rudolstadt. . . . Shortly thereafter, His Majesty the King of Prussia had one of these instruments ordered from Silbermann, then several more after it received his highest approval). The Rudolstadt instrument was purchased in January 1745 for 352 Taler, 22 Groschen (see Koster, “The Quest for Bach’s Clavier,” 77).

150. NBR, 224.

Bach's obituary of 1754 compresses the two-day chronology of the 1747 newspaper account into one, stating that Bach developed the king's fugue subject "on the piano-forte" and "hereupon" was commanded to execute "a fugue with six obbligato voices . . . using a theme of his own."¹⁵¹

Forkel's particularly fantastic account, published in 1802, was presumably related to him by Wilhelm Friedemann, who was no doubt responsible for certain elements of exaggeration.¹⁵² Written over fifty years after the fact, it is, moreover, the earliest account to mention Wilhelm Friedemann's presence. Whether or not Friedemann actually witnessed the scenarios described, Forkel's account dramatizes the events in other unlikely ways, stating that, rather than waiting in the antechamber of the palace to be announced (as reported by the newspapers), "old Bach, who had alighted at his son's lodgings, was immediately summoned to the Palace" with not even enough "time to change his traveling dress for a black cantor's gown."¹⁵³ Further, Forkel claims that Bach was invited "to try [the king's fortepianos, made by Silbermann, which stood in *several rooms of the Palace* [emphasis added]]" and was then led "from room to room . . . to try them and to play unpremeditated compositions" upon them.¹⁵⁴

As palace inventories unambiguously show, none of the royal palaces ever housed more than a single Silbermann piano, and at this time Frederick had no more than two pianos in the city of Potsdam, one in each palace (the New Palace had not yet been built). Moreover, of the two Potsdam palaces, the Stadtschloss had only two music rooms (excluding the theater), and Sanssouci had only one. For Bach to have been led "from room to room" to play so much as a second Silbermann fortepiano, he would have had to visit both Sanssouci and the Potsdam Stadtschloss. Like the obituary, Forkel likely produced a conflation with the next day's events, when Bach performed an organ recital, improvised a work in six parts, and might have been taken to additional instruments, including the Silbermann fortepiano in the Potsdam Stadtschloss. The remaining fortepiano(s) were twenty-eight to thirty-four kilometers away, in Berlin. Forkel also claims that at the king's request, "Bach was taken to all the organs in Potsdam as he had before been to Silbermann's fortepianos."¹⁵⁵ Yet Forkel makes no mention of Bach's organ recital the next day.

151. *Ibid.*, 302–3.

152. On the unreliability of testimonies by Wilhelm Friedemann, see Robert L. Marshall's chapter in this volume.

153. *NBR*, 429.

154. *Ibid.*

155. *Ibid.*, 430.

In an earlier attempt to settle the question about the number of Silbermann pianos, Conny Restle argued that (1) there were never more than two fortepianos by Silbermann at court (namely, those that remain today in Potsdam), and (2) no Silbermann piano ever stood in Sanssouci until after World War II. However, these hypotheses can no longer be maintained.¹⁵⁶ As shown above, both points are contradicted by contemporary palace inventories, which Restle did not take into account.

Although it is true that payments for only two Silbermann fortepianos are documented unambiguously in the *Schatullrechnung*, the king's private account books cannot be considered complete with regard to instrument purchases. Accounts are missing for 1740, 1741, and the period of the Seven Years' War, as well as for certain months of other years. Payments could also have come from accounts other than the king's purse. There is, in addition, one further payment listed in the *Schatullrechnung*, made to Quantz, which has not yet been considered in this context: in March 1748 Quantz was reimbursed 322 Taler, 20 Groschen for a "Clavecien." This instrument cost only 51 Taler less than the 1747 Silbermann fortepiano he had obtained on behalf of the court, but it was a whopping 122 Taler more than was paid for the previous Silbermann harpsichord recorded.¹⁵⁷ If this "Clavecien" was not a harpsichord but in fact a fortepiano, the fifty-Taler difference in price from the previous fortepianos by Silbermann might be explained by details of construction. The two extant Silbermann pianos in Potsdam both possess mutation stops, which are not only difficult but expensive to build.¹⁵⁸ Given variations in terminology used by the king's various bookkeepers, it is conceivable that the instrument paid for in 1748 was not an extravagant Silbermann harpsichord (as suggested above) but a fortepiano, possibly one with neither a mutation stop nor a transposer.¹⁵⁹ Of the two Silbermann pianos extant in Potsdam today, the one dated 1746 possesses a keyboard compass of FF to d₃, whereas the other (paid for in 1747?) spans FF to e₃; both feature a special ivory mutation stop that Stewart Pollens describes as producing a hammered-dulcimer sound (resembling a pantalon) when

156. Conny Restle, "Gottfried Silbermann und die Hammerflügel für den Preussischen Hof in Potsdam," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (2001): 189–203.

157. See note 145.

158. Friendly communication of Barbara and Thomas Wolf of The Plains, Virginia, who have studied and copied the Silbermann pianos.

159. Furthermore, eighteenth-century documents as late as Emanuel Bach's *Nachlassverzeichnis* (estate catalog) of 1788 still refer to hammered instruments as a type of "clavecine," such as the "Fortepiano oder Clavecine Roial [*sic*]" owned by Emanuel at his death in 1788. A facsimile of the *Nachlassverzeichnis* is published online at <https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200212334>. The quoted text is from a list of his instruments on page 92.

used with the dampers raised (Table 9).¹⁶⁰ The more expensive piano displayed today in Sanssouci but purchased for the Potsdam Stadtschloss possesses a transposer and a slightly narrower compass.¹⁶¹ As shown in the palace inventories, these pianos were placed exclusively in Frederick's private suites and did not replace the harpsichords used elsewhere in court performances.

But in addition to the inventories, there is another basis for arguing for the existence of more than two or three fortepianos at court: the king's lifelong practice of creating a copy of his personal surroundings and possessions in each of his residences, not only duplicating the colors, materials, decorative motifs, chandeliers, tables, and other furniture in his private rooms, particularly in his music rooms, but also placing identical copies of books in each palace library and duplicating his collection of flute music, his flutes, and his music stands. Available evidence suggests this duplication also extended to the keyboards in his private suites. The one exception to this was the palace at Breslau, which received a Shudi harpsichord because no Gottfried Silbermann pianos were available.

The New Palace, which was not completed until after Silbermann's death, did not receive a brand new fortepiano; instead, one of the king's existing fortepianos had to be relocated there between 1765 and 1769, when the instrument was fitted with a new, elaborately carved, gold-gilt rococo stand created by one of the court's craftsmen (mentioned above). Where did the instrument come from? Nicolai firmly establishes in 1786 that Silbermann instruments still stood in both the New Palace and in the Potsdam Stadtschloss, and Carl Christian Horvath, whose stated purpose was to update Nicolai's work, continued to report them as being in these locations in 1798. The earliest surviving inventory of the Berlin Stadtschloss, made in 1793 during the reign of Frederick William II, indicates that at this date the music room of the late King Frederick still contained a fortepiano by Silbermann.¹⁶² An inventory

160. Stewart Pollens, *The Early Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 179, 183. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was sometimes called a "cembalo stop" (friendly communication from John Koster).

161. The instrument, dated 1746 (see Table 9), is presently the one displayed in Schloss Sanssouci. Following World War II, many museum artifacts in Berlin and Potsdam were returned to different locations, a situation that continues to the present day. On the latter topic, see Mary Oleskiewicz, "A Museum, a World War, and a Rediscovery: Flutes by Quantz and Others from the Hohenzollern Museum," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 24 (1998): 107–45. For further discussion of Silbermann's pianos and the use of low chamber pitch at court, see Oleskiewicz, "The Trio Sonata in Bach's Offering," 98–99.

162. SPSG Plansammlung, Inv. 44, *Inventarius des Königl. Schlosses zu Berlin aufgenommen im Jahr 1793*, 72: "Im Zimmer überhaupt / . . . Ein Piano Forte von Silbermann" (In the room / . . . a pianoforte

for Schloss Sanssouci indicates that in 1782 a fortepiano was still in its music room as well.¹⁶³ If we assume for the moment that during the 1740s or 1750s a fortepiano also had been housed in one of the king's two music rooms at Schloss Charlottenburg, and if we take into account that the Charlottenburg palace inventory of 1770 mentions the presence of a harpsichord (*Flügel*) in "His Royal Majesty's Concert Room" (in his second suite only),¹⁶⁴ we can surmise that as the palace was rarely used at that time by the king, the Charlottenburg fortepiano was moved to the New Palace and replaced by the harpsichord. This is precisely what happened with the king's manuscript copies of flute music labeled "pour Charlottenbourg." Instead of creating new copies of flute music for the New Palace in 1765, the works by Quantz and himself composed up to this date (and until then kept in the music room at Charlottenburg) were relocated to the music room of the New Palace; henceforth, only copies of newly composed works were made with the label "pour le nouveau Palais" (for the New Palace).¹⁶⁵ If the latter hypothesis is correct, then there were precisely four Silbermann fortepianos at court, and all of the king's music rooms are accounted for in terms of what instruments they possessed. But in any case, the preponderance of all evidence strongly supports the presence of four such instruments.

Conclusion

The venues, instruments, and contexts for musical instruction, performance, and concert attendance by the Bachs and their students in the Prussian king's palace residences were numerous and highly varied. The dimensions, acoustics, and purposes that characterized each unique musical space must have been as influential on prevailing style and practice as were the varying types of keyboard instruments available. Frederick

by Silbermann). A copy of the inventory is found under Inv. 45 with the same date. However, in this copy a few items have been struck through and noted as no longer on hand. (The fortepiano is not one of them.) An earlier extant inventory of 1777 (Inv. 39) concerns only mundane household items and does not list furniture or musical instruments.

163. See note 63.

164. SPSG Plansammlung, Ak 31, *Inventarium Von Mobilibres, im Königl. Schlosse Charlottenburg*, [p. 2]. The inventory indicates that the harpsichord was located in the king's music room (in his newer, second suite), room 4 (this room is today numbered as 364). See also note 32.

165. The catalogs of "solos" (flute sonatas) "pour Sans Souci" (D-B KH M 1574) and "pour le nouveau Palais" (D-B KH M 1575) and of concertos "pour Sans Souci" (D-B KH M 1572) and "pour le nouveau Palais" (D-B KH M 1573) are still extant. All were made ca. 1765, when Frederick took up residence in the New Palace. The copies made for palaces destroyed in the war (Potsdam Stadtschloss, Breslau Schloss, and Berlin Stadtschloss), along with all traces of the copies of flute music labeled for those palaces, are missing.

collected a large number of diverse keyboard instruments, and those that we can document show not only that he was concerned with having instruments equipped with the latest technology but also that his taste in soundscapes was diverse and far-reaching. The *petits salons* in Frederick's apartments, with their ornamental parquet floors and large, acoustically reflective mirrors, were designed for neither a large ensemble nor an audience but rather for the enjoyment of the participants. Chasôt, an eyewitness, noted the fine acoustic properties of the king's music room in the Potsdam Stadtschloss. As he documents, these spaces required an approach to performance—using a small ensemble of soloists—different from that of large concert halls and festival rooms where the entire *Hofkapelle*, an ensemble of thirty-five to forty instrumentalists, performed.¹⁶⁶ Halls of the latter type, designed with highly reflective surfaces, including large mirrors and windows and sometimes marble floors, would have depended on the presence of numerous spectators to absorb some of the resonant sound. Likewise, the intimate palace theaters also required forces quite distinct from those used in the royal opera house, whose orchestra pit was generous enough to contain an orchestra with two harpsichords.¹⁶⁷

That Frederick chose to equip only his small, personal music rooms—and not the larger ones—with Silbermann fortepianos must reflect the instruments' tonal qualities and suitability for chamber music. His decision to do so is consistent with contemporary descriptions of the instruments. As Jakob Adlung reported, “[The Silbermann piano] is not as strong as other keyboards: it is a chamber instrument and should not be used for loud music.” On the other hand, he notes that on at least one occasion, a Silbermann piano was used to good effect in the *Hofoper* in Berlin: “Once [a Silbermann piano] was used with success in Berlin at the opera.”¹⁶⁸ Perhaps it was reserved for the recitatives, in place of one of the harpsichords.

The instruments furnished by King Frederick in each of these historical spaces must have helped shape both the approaches to keyboard playing and the writings, compositions, and performance style of Emanuel Bach and his colleagues. We know from various reports that Johann Sebastian Bach tested and ultimately gave his approval of

166. On the exact size and constitution of the Hofkapelle during Frederick's lifetime, see Oleskiewicz, “The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia,” 111–26.

167. The *Schatullrechnung*, GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47, no. 908, fol. 4r, March 1755, item no. 36: “An den Baron von Svœerts [Ernst Maximilian von Sweerts (1710–57), *Intendant*] vor reparation derer Clavicembali im Opern-Hause, 49 Taler” (To Baron von Sweerts for repair of the harpsichords in the opera house, 49 Taler) records repairs to these two harpsichords (see Table 2).

168. “So stark wie andere Claveßins geht es nicht, und ist ein Kammerinstrument, und daher zu keiner starken Musik zu gebrauchen”; “Man hat es gleichwohl einsmals in Berlin in der Oper mit gutem Erfolge gebraucht” (Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi*, 2:117).

Silbermann's pianos, that he played one or more of them during his visit to the Prussian court in 1747, and that in 1749, at the end of his life, he was involved in the sale of at least one Silbermann piano.¹⁶⁹ But Sebastian Bach's estate did not contain a piano at his death, and there is "no reason to think that Bach owned or played a particular harpsichord by Silbermann."¹⁷⁰ Emanuel Bach, however, would have been required to perform accompaniments nightly on Silbermann fortepianos in multiple locations beginning in 1746, if not before, and on harpsichords by various makers, including Silbermann, on other occasions. From the introduction to volume 2 of his *Versuch*, we know that by 1762 the piano and clavichord had become his preferred instruments for realizing accompaniments that "require the most elegant taste," an assessment that must have come from the experience of accompanying flutes and voices daily on Silbermann's pianos at the king's private chamber concerts.

While it is not possible to connect pieces composed by Emanuel Bach at Berlin to a fortepiano, many of his Berlin pieces from the late 1740s onward were probably written with the clavichord in mind. Schulenberg notes the use of *Bebung* (an indication for clavichord) in the *Probestücke* Wq 63/4 and 63/6 and in the Sonata Wq 55/2,¹⁷¹ composed at Berlin in 1758 on Bach's famous Silbermann clavichord, which he had acquired in about 1746, just when the court was also procuring instruments from Silbermann. Only one continuo part in a work by Quantz specifically calls for "Cimbalo, Piano e Forte," yet even this part contains no feature, apart from dynamics, that would exclude performance on a harpsichord.¹⁷² The generic idiom described by Schulenberg and found in most Bach family works for keyboard before 1750 is characterized by a style of composing or notating music that was fundamentally independent of the medium,

169. For a chronology of Bach and the Silbermann pianos, see Koster, "The Quest for Bach's Clavier," 77–78.

170. Germann, "The Mietkes, the Margrave, and Bach," 120. Germann suggests that the only possible exception would have been the large veneered harpsichord mentioned in the inventory of Bach's estate in 1750, but the Silbermanns were not known for making veneered instruments, and this was more likely an instrument of central or southern German origin. A better candidate for the maker of that instrument, according to Germann (120n4), is Johann Nicolaus Bach, Sebastian's cousin, who was praised by Adlung for his *Lautenklavier* (two of which are mentioned in Bach's estate inventory, together with five harpsichords and a spinet).

171. See David Schulenberg's chapter in the present volume and Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 126 and 227.

172. The work is the Concerto in F Major for Flute and Strings, qv 5:162. The autograph piano part contains the first movement of the concerto and is meant to replace the first movement of the more generically labeled "basso continuo" part. It differs from other Quantz continuo parts in that the keyboard doubles certain passages of the first and second violins. Both keyboard parts contain numerous dynamic markings that would be impossible to realize on a harpsichord.

leaving it to the player to take advantage of the specific capabilities of the instrument used for a given performance.¹⁷³ Certain works, such as Wq 69, Wq 70/2–7, Wq 112/1, BWV 1079/1,¹⁷⁴ and Fk 40b, suggest that on specific occasions members of the Bach family took advantage of the remarkable diversity of instruments and performing spaces in the various royal palaces to compose special pieces and execute them in an appropriate manner.

173. Schulenberg points out that Emanuel Bach resembled his contemporaries in being “slow to adapt his keyboard writing for specific types of instrument” and that “even the presence of multiple levels of dynamics in the Württemberg Sonatas [Wq 40] does not make them uniquely suited for the [clavichord or fortepiano]” (*The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 84).

174. Peter Williams, in the preface to his edition of *J. S. Bach: Musikalisches Opfer* (London: Eulenberg, 1986), xii–xiii, points out a number of features that would make the three-part *ricercar* from *The Musical Offering* especially suited to the early piano (discussed in Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 392).

Appendix

Table 1. Frederick II's residences and dates of occupancy

<i>Palace</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Occupancy</i>
Schloss Rheinsberg	1736–ca. 1752	Residence as crown prince until 1740; thereafter as king occasionally during the 1740s
Schloss Charlottenburg	1740–86	Primary residence until 1745; contained apartments for Princess Amalia
Stadtschloss Berlin	1745–86	Used mainly by the king for state visits and during Carnival, but rarely after ca. 1763; winter residence of queen and close relatives in Berlin, including Princess Amalia
Stadtschloss Potsdam	1745–86	Primary residence 1745–47; after 1747 the king occupied it only during the winter months (November through April)
Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam	1747–86	Intimate private Lustschloss used in summer months (May through October) beginning in 1747
Schloss Breslau	1752–86	Inhabited by Frederick on visits to Silesia beginning in 1752
Neues Palais at Sanssouci, Potsdam	1765–86	Large representational palace used occasionally by the king in summer months (May through October); housed dignitaries, close family, extended family members, and other guests

Table 2. Keyboard instrument payments recorded in Frederick II's *Schatullrechnung*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Remark</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Maker</i>
January 1744	600 Taler	“An den Instrumentenmacher Rost”	Not specified; for two harpsichords?	Rost
May 1746	118 Taler	“An den Tischler Böhmer in Berlin vor dass Cedern Clavicein in Potsdam”	One cedar harpsichord	—
June 1746	200 Taler	“Dem Silbermann vor ein Clavier”	One harpsichord	Silbermann
“Extra Expenses” June 1746	420 Taler	“An dem Silbermann. vor Piano und Forte”	One fortepiano	Silbermann
May 1747	373 Taler, 12 Groschen	“Dem Virtuosen Quantz vor ein Piano et Forte”	One fortepiano	Silbermann
March 1748	322 Taler, 20 Groschen	“an den Virtuosen Quantz Für ein Clavicein”	One harpsichord	[Silbermann?]
March 1755	49 Taler	“An den Baron von Svëerts vor reparation derer Clavicembali im Opern-Hause”	Repair of (two) harpsichords in the opera house	[Silbermann?]
August 1765	300 Taler	“Für das Forte piano der Printzessin von Preussen”	One fortepiano	[Hildebrandt?]
October 1765	800 Taler	“An den Kaufmann Bachmann für den Flügel aus Engelleand [<i>sic</i>]”	One harpsichord from England	Shudi
December 1766	1600 Taler	“An den Kaufmann Bachmann in Magdeburg für zwey englische Claviere”	Two harpsichords from England	Shudi
February 1770	200 Taler	“Für den Bagen Flügel [Bogenflügel]”	One <i>Bogenflügel</i>	Hohlefeld

Table 3. Organs and other keyboards in use at court

A. Extant keyboards (excluding those by Shudi and Silbermann)				
<i>Date</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Maker</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ca. 1703	Harpsichord	Mietke	Two manuals, FF–GG–AA–c3; 8', 4', 8' + coupler; black lacquer with chinoiserie by Dagly; 107 cm high, 238 cm long, 89.5 cm wide	Schloss Charlottenburg
Ca. 1702–4	Harpsichord	Mietke	One manual, GG, AA–c3; 2 x 8'; white lacquer with chinoiserie by Dagly; 97 cm high, 225 cm long, 90 cm wide	Schloss Charlottenburg, Princess Amalia's suite
Ca. 1700	<i>Clavecin brisé</i>	Jean Marius	One manual: folding harpsichord in three sections, short G–octave, BB/D#–c3; painted, with gold leaf; 8.5 cm high, 148.5 cm long (with keyboard pulled out), 69.3 cm wide; underside of midsection bears coat of arms of Frederick II	Berlin Stadtschloss, Kunstammer; 1875–88 in Kunstgewerbemuseum; from 1888 Musikinstrumenten- Museum, Berlin
1706	Organ	Schnitger	Two manuals: originally C, D, E–c3; pedals C, D, E–d1; disposition, see Table 4; original pitch almost one whole step below modern pitch	Schloss Charlottenburg, Eosander Schlosskapelle
1755	House organ	Ernst Marx	Two manuals: C–f3, including C#; pedal range C–d1; disposition, see Table 5; in chamber pitch	Stadtschloss, Balcony Room, second floor (Amalia's suite); from 1767, Amalia's palace at Unter den Linden 7
1776	House organ	Ernst Marx	Manuals and pedals as in organ of 1755; disposition, see Table 6; in chamber pitch	Amalia's palace at Wilhelmstrasse 102, Orgelsaal
B. Unidentified keyboards				
<i>Date</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Maker</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ca. 1737	Harpsichord	?	"A large, lacquered harpsichord, having a music desk fitted with two candlestick holders"	Schloss Rheinsberg, Frederick II's private music room
After 1740	Harpsichord	Silbermann	"A beautiful harpsichord by Silbermann" (according to Nicolai, 1779–86)	Potsdam Stadtschloss, large music room

Table 4. Disposition of the Arp Schnitger organ at
Schloss Charlottenburg (1706)  3

<i>Hauptwerk (manual 2)</i>	<i>Rückpositiv (manual 1)</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
Principal 8'	Principal 8'	Subbaß 16'
Gedact 8'	Gedact lieblich	Octav 8'
Floite dues 8'	8'	
Octav 4'	Octav 4'	Octav 4'
Violdegamb 4'	Floite dues 4'	Nachthorn 2'
Nassat 3'	Octav 2'	Mixtur 6fach
SuperOctav 2'	Waltflöit 2'	Posaunen 16'
Mixtur 4fach	Sesquialt 2fach	Trommet 8'
Hoboy 8'	Scharf 3fach	Cornet 2'
Vox humana 8'		

Note: Disposition as given by Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, “Charlottenburg, Schloß Charlottenburg, Eosander-Kapelle, Orgel von Arp Schnitger, 1706, Rekonstruktion von Karl Schuke, 1969–70,” in *500 Jahre Orgeln in Berliner Evangelischen Kirchen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Pape, 1991), 1:74.

Table 5. Disposition of Princess Amalia’s organ for the
Berlin Stadtschloss (1755)  6

<i>Hauptwerk (manual I)</i>	<i>Oberwerk (manual II)</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
Principal 8'	Principal 4'	Subbaß 16'
Viola di Gamba 8'	Quintatön 8'	Octave 8'
Bordun 16'	Gedackt 8'	Octave 4'
Rohrflöte 8'	Gedackt 4'	Posaune 16'
Octave 4'	Nasat 3'	Baßflöte 8'
Quinte 3'	Waldflöte 2'	
Octave 2'	Siffflöte 1'	
Mixtur 4fach 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ '	Salicional 8'	
Flaute dolce 8'		

Note: Disposition (as built) given by Stefan Behrens and Uwe Pape, “Karlshorst, Kirche zur frohen Botschaft, Orgel von Ernst Marx und Peter Migendt, 1755,” in *500 Jahre Orgeln in Berliner Evangelischen Kirchen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Pape, 1991), 1:126.

Table 6. Disposition of Princess Amalia's second house organ (1776)

<i>Hauptwerk (manual 1)</i>	<i>Oberwerk (manual 2)</i>	<i>Pedal</i>
Prinzipal 8'	Prinzipal 4'	Violon 16'
Quintadena 16'	Gedackt 8'	Subbaß 16'
Bordun 16'	Quintatön 8'	Posaune 16'
Violon 8'	Rohrflöte 4'	Quinte 6'
Viola da Gamba 8'	Nassat 3'	Oktave 8'
Salizional 8'	Oktave 2'	Baßflöte 8'
Rohrflöte, 8'	Waldflöte 2'	Sperrventile
Gedackt 8'	Siffelöte 1'	Kalkantenglocke
Flöte douce 8'		Manualkoppel II/I
Oktave 4'		
Quinte 3'		
Oktave 2'		
Mixtur 4fach 2'		
Piffora 2fach 8'		

Note: Organ disposition as given by Martin Rost, "Die Orgeln der Anna Amalia von Preußen von Migendt und Marx," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Musik für Europa. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 8. bis 12. März 1994 in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder: Konzerthalle Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 1998), 411. This organ no longer survives. Rost notes that the manual and pedal compasses were identical to Amalia's first organ (412).

Table 7. Shudi harpsichords acquired by Frederick II  7, 8

<i>Serial no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Price</i>
496	1765	ex Breslau Schloss → Poznań Museum of Musical Instruments	Two manuals, CC-f ₃ , Standard English disposition: three sets of strings 8', 8', 4'; four sets of jacks, controlled by stop knobs on the nameboard: 8' and 4' on the lower manual; dogleg 8' on both manuals; lute (nasal) 8' on the upper manual (playing the same strings as the dogleg 8'); harp (buff) to the lower-manual 8', controlled by a stop now on the left side of the keywell. No Venetian swell. Signed "Burkat Tschudi No. 496 fecit Londini 1765"; mahogany case; 96 cm high, 103 cm wide, 270 cm long. Played by Mozart on May 13, 1765, in London	800 Taler
497	1765?	?	[Soundboard now in no. 496]	?
511	1766	New Palace at Sanssouci	Two manuals, CC-f ₃ . Standard English disposition, as above. No Venetian swell. Signed "Burkat Tschudi No. 511 fecit Londini 1766"; 95 cm high, 105 cm wide, 270 cm long. Inlaid mahogany case with bronze hardware: oxidized silver hinges, pedals, frame, and ornate pedal (for working the machine stop) positioned between two silvered ball-and-claw feet; HM inventory no. 3698. Bears three small labels engraved with instructions for working the machine stop. Described by Charles Burney, <i>The Present State of Music in Germany</i> (London: Becket, 1773): 2:145; see text note 112	800 Taler
512	1766	ex New Palace at Sanssouci → Glinka Museum, Moscow	Two manuals, CC-f ₃ . Standard English disposition, as above. No Venetian swell. Signed "Burkat Tschudi No. 512 Fecit Londini 1766"	800 Taler

Table 8. Music rooms furnished with a keyboard in the New Palace at Sanssouci, from the period of construction  8

	<i>tSuite</i>	<i>Inventory designation</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Dimensions (meters)</i>	<i>Instrument</i>
1	King Frederick	“Concert Cammer”	Ground floor, garden side of main building	10.59 by 7.25	Fortepiano by Silbermann
2	Unteres Fürstenquartier / Apollo Saal (Lower Princely Quarters / Apollo Room)	“Concert Cammer”	Ground floor, garden side of main building	11.20 by 10.38	Harpsichord no. 512 by Burkat Shudi
3	Oberes Fürstenquartier (Upper Princely Quarters)	“Cammer / eigentliche Concert Cammer”	Second floor, garden side of main building	11.20 by 10.38	Harpsichord no. 511 by Burkat Shudi
4	Princess “Heinrich” (Wilhelmine of Hesse-Kassel [1726–1808], wife of Prince Heinrich of Prussia; see text note 126)	“Cammer”	Ground floor, court side	9.29 by 6.56	? (after 1770, <i>Bogenflügel</i> by Hohlefeld)
5	Crown Princess of Prussia; Obere Rote Cammern (Upper Red Chambers)	“Cammer”	Second floor, court side of main building	9.30 by 8.82	Harpsichord (no. 497[?] by Burkat Shudi)
6	Schlosstheater	N/A	Second floor, court side	14.20 by 12.25; stage: 9.7 by 9.7; pit: 9.75 by 2.45	Unknown (one harpsichord)

Note: I determined the dimensions given here using a laser and original architectural plans. For the location of each room, see  8.

Table 9. Silbermann fortepianos documented in Frederick II's private music rooms during his lifetime

<i>Date invoiced</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Price</i>
—	Berlin Stadtschloss, ca. 1745 to at least 1793	?	?
June 21, 1746*	Potsdam Stadtschloss, 1746 to at least 1822	One manual, FF-d3; double strung; damper-raising mechanism; ivory and brass mutation stop; transposer; dated 1746	420 Taler
April 1747	Schloss Sanssouci, 1747 to at least 1782	One manual, FF-e3; double strung; damper-raising mechanism; ivory mutation stop; undated	373 Taler, 12 Groschen
—	New Palace at Sanssouci, ca. 1765 (1772) to at least 1798**	?	?

* The instrument purchased for the Potsdam Stadtschloss, dated 1746, bears an inscription on its belly rail: "Dieß instrument: Piano et Forte genandt, ist von den Königl. Pohlnischen, und Churfl. Sächs. Hof und Landt Orgel, und Instrumentmacher, in Freyberg von Herrn, Gottfried / Silbermann, verfertigt worden, Datum, Freyberg in Meißen den 11. Junij / Anno Christi 1746" (Restle, "Gottfried Silbermann," 194).

** This would have been an older instrument probably moved here from the king's second music room in the New Wing of Schloss Charlottenburg. Of course, the actual instrument moved to the New Palace might have been the surviving undated piano (listed above under Sanssouci).