

Quantz the Master Composer:
Issues of Attribution, Chronology, and Stylistic Evolution in His Sonatas and Concertos
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[The author presented a version of this paper in German at the symposium mentioned in note 1. Following her death in June 2025, I have prepared this version based on the author's English-language original draft together with her revised German text completed for publication during spring 2025. Substantive additions to her original documentation appear in brackets. —David Schulenberg (DS)]

Johann Joachim Quantz was the best known and probably the most prolific of eighteenth-century flute composers, as well as an innovator in flute making and playing. Yet despite widespread recognition of the importance of his *Versuch* on flute playing, he has been consistently underrated as a composer.¹ This reflects, in part, Quantz's having composed almost exclusively for the flute. But it is also due to the fact that only a small fraction of his roughly five hundred works, including solo sonatas, trio sonatas, and concertos, has ever appeared in print. As a result, neither performers nor music historians have appreciated the diversity of his output, which was the product of half a century of stylistic evolution. Nor has he been recognized for his mastery of composition, which could encompass strict canon and fugue as well as expressive melodic embellishment and dramatic musical *Sturm und Drang*. He also designed a type of flute distinguished by its second, enharmonic key for playing D-sharp as well as E-flat.

Recent years have seen extensive performance and recording of works by Quantz and other flutist-composers in his orbit, including his long-time patron King Friedrich II “the Great” of Prussia. Yet questions remain about the extent and chronology of Quantz's output. In addition, scholars have sometimes dismissed Quantz as a composer, basing their views on a tiny fraction of his music, even works wrongly attributed to him. Until recently, Quantz's only widely known work was a flute concerto made famous by an accident of music history: on March 14, 1877, the flutist Moritz Fürstenau performed it in his own considerably altered edition, and ever since this one concerto has been repeatedly performed and reprinted.² Although an attractive work, this single concerto could hardly represent the composer's complete technical and expressive range.

¹Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752); English translation as *On Playing the Flute* by Edward R. Reilly, 2d edn. (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985). The new chronology and attributions discussed here were originally presented on December 3, 2023 as a keynote talk for the symposium *Musik im Umbruch: Wirken und Wirkungen von Johann Joachim Quantz* at the Berlin Musikinstrumentenmuseum. The author is grateful to Christian Breternitz and Conny Restle for their support.

²The annotations and additions by Fürstenau, at the time librarian of the Dresden court orchestra, are found in the original Dresden source of the concerto, D-Dl Mus. 2470-O-1. [D-Dl = Dresden, Sächsisches Landesbibliothek. A list of abbreviations appears at the end of this paper. —DS]

The modern view of Quantz continues to be influenced by what the English historian Charles Burney wrote following his visit in 1772 to Berlin and Potsdam.³ Burney's judgement of Quantz came when music at the Prussian court was at its lowest point. Quantz himself was seventy-five years old and would die just nine months later. The king, an amateur flutist and composer of considerable ability, had cultivated music throughout his long reign. He was particularly famous for the private concerts held nightly in his various palaces, and Burney described one such concert. By the 1770s, however, the king and his musicians were long past their prime, and his repertory was limited to his own and Quantz's compositions. Although Quantz had written many concertos and sonatas in a newer style, Burney complained that many pieces were by now more than forty years old and no longer fashionable, and Quantz still performed embellishments in an older manner. Burney kept to himself the fact that he was denied admission to the concert and had to listen from behind the door to the anteroom in which the musicians gathered before they were called in.⁴

Burney's judgements have been accepted by subsequent authors writing about music at Berlin. Particularly influential in the English-speaking world has been E. Eugene Helm's *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great*.⁵ Helm, however, had undertaken no independent research into Quantz's flutes or flute music. More recently, the oboist Bruce Haynes centered a discussion of Quantz's music on a misattributed trio sonata in C minor (QV 2:Anh.5).⁶ Daniel Heartz, in his 2003 book on the *galant* style, gave as an "unquestionably authentic" example of Quantz's music an extract from a similarly dubious concerto (QV 5:Anh.1). Heartz pointed to the concerto's "short-breathed phrases" and "chopped up . . . melodic writing": features that are not at all

³ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (London, 1775), 2:151–95; German translation by Christoph Daniel Ebeling and Johann Joachim Christoph Bode as *Carl Burney's der Musik Doktors Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reise*, 3 vols. (Hamburg, 1772–73), 3:109–44.

⁴ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmersamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1774–76), 1:179; see Mary Oleskiewicz, "Like Father, Like Son: Emanuel Bach and the Writing of Biography," in *Music and its Questions: Essays in Honour of Peter Williams*, ed. Thomas Donahue (Richmond, Va.: OHS Press, 2007), 253–79, here 255 and note 9.

⁵ Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

⁶ Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 327: "Quantz's Trio in C minor (K. 36; QV 2:5) for violin or flute, hautboy, and continuo . . . is a good, clear, well-crafted piece, shallow in content but better than much of his surviving music." Already in 1997, the work had been relegated to the QV appendix (see note 8 below) as QV 2:Anh.5. Furthermore, the eighteenth-century inventory known as the "Blue Catalog" (*Catalogus derjenigen Musicalien so ich an den hochfürstl. Hoff nach Schwerin geliefert habe*, D-SW1 3065/10, p. 8) identifies the composer of this work as "Hass" (Hasse?). No extant sources give violin as an alternative to the flute. Other samples of Quantz's "surviving music" that Haynes might have known are equally likely to be doubtful compositions, as he did not consult the new Quantz catalog.

characteristic of Quantz's music.⁷

Music publishers from the eighteenth century to the present have added to the confusion through editions with corrupt readings and false attributions. Before it is possible to consider Quantz as a composer, let alone produce a *Gesamtausgabe* or recordings of his complete works, a first order of business is to determine what he actually wrote, and when. The author's work on attribution is indebted to the foundation laid down by Horst Augsbach in his thematic catalog of Quantz's works, the *Quantz-Verzeichnis* or QV. Since its publication in 1997, the author has discovered extensive supplementations for QV, adding new works and sources as well as correcting information on paper types and copyists.⁸ She also established a detailed chronology of Quantz's handwriting, checking and rechecking literally every page of the principal manuscript sources of his music at Berlin and Dresden. In addition, after the return of the archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, she added an entirely new category to the list of Quantz's compositions, having been fortunate enough to rediscover his six quartets for flute, violin, viola, and continuo in that collection.⁹

Those who have criticized Quantz's music often mention that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach did not explicitly count him among those composers whom his father admired.¹⁰ This is to overlook the fact that Christoph Ebeling and Emanuel Bach himself—who accompanied the king nightly in Quantz's sonatas and concertos—considered Quantz “really to be a genius.” In a letter to Burney (written in English), Ebeling directly refuted Burney's criticism of Quantz and the older music that continued to be performed at the court:

⁷ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 376–77. If Heartz had only consulted the new Quantz catalog, he could have avoided such careless mistakes.

⁸ Horst Augsbach, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz: Quantz-Werkeverzeichnis (QV)* (Stuttgart: Carus, 1997). Initial revisions to Augsbach's findings can be found in Mary Olesikewicz, “Quantz and the Flute at Dresden: His Instruments, His Repertory, and Their Significance for the *Versuch* and the Bach Circle” (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1998), appendix 6. [See also her review of QV in *Notes* 56 (2000): 694–97. The author's personal copy of QV is heavily annotated with handwritten corrections and additions. —DS]

⁹ As reported in Mary Oleskiewicz: “Quantz's *Quatuors* and Other Works Newly Discovered,” in *Early Music* 31 (2003): 484–505; for an edition, see *Johann Joachim Quantz: Six Quartets for Flute, Violin, Viola, and Basso Continuo*, ed. Mary Oleskiewicz (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2004). See also the first recordings of the works with Mary Oleskiewicz, traverso, and four other musicians: *Johann Joachim Quantz: Six Flute Quartets* (Hungaroton Classic, HCD 32286, 2003).

¹⁰ [Responding to questions from Johann Nicolaus Forkel, C. P. E. Bach listed composers whom J. S. Bach “highly valued” (*schätzte . . . hoch*): letter of Jan. 13, 1776, in *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Bach-Dokumente*, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), 289 (item 803). —DS]

As for example I cannot imagine that there can be produced genius by cultivation, every genius must be innate, when true. — Every musical Idea which was good and really affecting every unprejudiced feeling heart, must be always so and in every time. So nothing can be bad music now, which was good music for 40 years. New improvements in instruments [etc.] can make new music preferable to old one, but old genius, is absolutely *qual talis* as good as new one, and even better the greater difficulties he had to struggle against. *Fiat applicatio ad Quanzium* whom Mr Bach thinks really to be a Genius, notwithstanding he blames his exclusive taste that admits no other good taste than his own. (So Mr Bach denies it, that he was misplaced at Berlin as You think he was).¹¹

The music of Emanuel Bach bears out his opinion of his older colleague. Emanuel Bach's compositions suggest the influence of Quantz not only in the use of instrumental recitative and the formal designs of movements in sonatas and concertos, but also in particular thematic ideas and aspects of style. Yet, to recognize Quantz as a genius, we must distinguish early from late compositions, false from true attributions. This requires us to understand the sources and how they have been preserved.

Collection and preservation of Quantz's compositions

Quantz's compositions and their manuscript sources can be divided between the two main parts of his career. After his student years at Merseburg and Dresden, Quantz worked professionally in the latter city from 1716 to the end of 1741. He then entered the service of Friedrich II, working in Berlin and Potsdam until his death in 1773. The great majority of his works are preserved in manuscript copies at Dresden and at Berlin; most of those at Berlin were prepared under Quantz's direction for the king. The provenance of the Dresden copies is not always so clear. Many belonged to the violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, Quantz's teacher and, from 1730, Concertmeister at the Saxon court. Quantz's own hand is found in some of these manuscripts, but his composing scores have vanished together with the remainder of his musical estate.¹²

Quantz served Crown Prince Friedrich as flute teacher from 1728.¹³ When Quantz finally came to Berlin in December 1741, he brought with him a large number of his Dresden compositions.

¹¹ Letter from Christoph Daniel Ebeling to Charles Burney dated June 20, 1773, quoted in Gordon M. Stewart, "Christoph Daniel Ebeling, Hamburger Pädagoge und Literaturkritiker, und seine Briefe an Charles Burney," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 61 (1975): 33–58, here 52 (bracketed "etc." is in the original).

¹² [A single composing draft may survive in the heavily revised autograph score of the trio QV 2:9 (D-Dl Mus. ms. 2470-Q-14). Quantz's routine in later years of composing in pencil on large parchment sheets ("pergamentene Schreiftafelblätter in Folio"), described by Friedrich Nicolai, *Anekdoten von König Friedrich II. von Preussen*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1788–92), 3:250–51fn., presumably resulted in the obliteration of any sketches and preliminary drafts. —DS]

¹³ [The chief document for Quantz's life prior to 1742 is his autobiography, cited below. —DS]

Until then Quantz had denied Friedrich access to most of his concertos. In a letter of 1732 to his sister Wilhelmine, margravine of Bayreuth, Friedrich wrote:

I have a Quantz concerto which I have extorted from him with great trouble. I will hold on to it until your arrival, my dear sister, knowing well that you would not be able to play it yet. I will try also to have some of Graun's and to be able to furnish you with a little supply [of concertos] when you get here.¹⁴

Apparently Quantz's compositions were desired equally by Friedrich and by his sister. Two years later, when Quantz's six sonatas op. 1 were published with a dedication to the new elector of Saxony (and king of Poland), Wilhelmine wrote to Friedrich: "I am very angry with Quantz for having six of these sonatas printed. . . . I fear that the concertos will follow also."¹⁵ One concerto, no. 57 in E minor (QV 5:120), was in fact printed at Paris by Boivin.¹⁶ Quantz no doubt used his music as leverage in the negotiations for his new position, which was agreed upon at the end of 1741 after years of delay. As part of the employment conditions, Friedrich received the majority of Quantz's sonatas and concertos.

In his autobiography, Quantz reports that he received 275 reichstalers for each flute and "a special payment" (*eine besondere Bezahlung*) for each composition.¹⁷ Court records show that he received 25 reichstalers for each concerto and 11 reichstalers for each sonata. These amounts remained constant when denominated in reichstalers, although some amounts given in ducats reflect slight fluctuations in the exchange rate. Scattered surviving receipts provide further details about the number of flutes, concertos, and sonatas that Quantz supplied at any given time.¹⁸

¹⁴ GStA PK, BPH Rep. 47 Nr. 305 Bd. 1, f. 173r/v: "J'ai un Concert de Quantz que je lui ai extorqué avec grand peine je le garde jusques à Vostre arivée ma tres chere Soeur voyent bien que Vous ne pourriez pas le jouer encore. Je tacherai d'en avoir aussi de Grauen, et de pouvoir Vous fournir une petite provision à Vostre arivée." Wilhelmine played lute and keyboard and studied basso continuo; her husband, the margrave, played flute.

¹⁵ GStA PK, Rep. 46 W Nr 17, vol. I, 2 (undated, but bound with letters from 1734): "Je suit [*sic*] fort en colere contre Quantz ayant fait imprimer 6 de ces Solos[.] je crains que les concerts suivant aussi[.]"

¹⁶ RISM A/I Q 23. This work is discussed below; Quantz's concertos are cited by their numbering in the palace inventories also discussed below.

¹⁷ "Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen," in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historische-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1754–60), 1:197–250, here 248.

¹⁸ Payment accounts for flutes and music are found in the so-called *Schatullrechnungen* (GStA PK, BPH Rep. 47 Friedrich II; see table 7). Accounts by Quantz's contemporaries Friedrich Nicolai and Isaak Egmont von Chasot of the amounts paid for composition are not entirely accurate. The first investigations into payments for musical instruments from the *Schatulle* were published by Herbert Heyde in *Musikinstrumentenbau in Preußen* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1994). A 1996 grant from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD)

Beginning in 1742, a system was devised for organizing the growing royal music collection, and the task was assigned to a number of court scribes under Quantz's supervision. Copies of individual sonatas and concertos were made for the various royal palaces: a pair of scores for each sonata and a set of parts for each concerto. In addition, Quantz's preferred scribe, the violinist Johann Gottlieb Freudenberg, produced thematic catalogs of works, one each for concertos and solo sonatas. Copies of these catalogs were made for each of the king's music rooms, including those at Charlottenburg Palace and the Potsdam City Palace (Stadtschloss). To these were added copies for Sanssouci Palace, built in 1747, and the New Palace (Neues Palais) in Potsdam, completed in 1769.¹⁹ The catalogs contain numbered musical incipits for the compositions without naming the composers (see fig. 1). The individual manuscript copies were placed in wrappers inscribed with work number, title, and attribution, together with an incipit and the name of the palace to which the copy was assigned (fig. 2). A few works are anonymous. Freudenberg was responsible for updating the catalogs as new works became available.

In 1756, the Seven Years' War brought music at court to a standstill. Yet Quantz reportedly played "the greatest part" of his flute concertos, two or three at a time, in private concerts organized by Christian Gottfried Krause.²⁰ After the war, Friedrich ordered the construction of a large summer palace at Potsdam in Sanssouci Park. The Neues Palais received a royal music room furnished, as was customary, with a fortepiano.²¹ Manuscript copies for the Charlottenburg palace, no longer in use, were recycled and given new wrappers headed "pour le Nouveau Palais."

made possible the author's onsite research at Berlin-Dahlem into the records of payments from the *Schatulle* (the king's private treasury) for music, musicians and related items. The author is grateful to Dr. Frank Althoff for his support. Since then, an online database of the *Schatulle* records has become available (https://quellen.perspectivia.net/de/schatullrechnungen/intro_edition), but it does not include all relevant documents and individual receipts.

¹⁹ *Catalogue des Concerts pour Sans Souçi* (D-B KHM 1572); *Catalogue des Concerts pour le Nouveau Palais* (D-B KHM 1573); *Catalogue des Solos pour Sans Souçi* (D-B KHM 1574); *Catalogue des Solos pour le Nouveau Palais* (D-B KHM 1575). The other copies of the catalogs are war losses. [The KHM numbers refer to the Königliche Hausmusik (royal chamber music) collection within the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; this was catalogued in Georg Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der Königlichen Hausbibliothek im Schlosse zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895), which remains valuable especially as documentation for items no longer extant within the collection. —DS]

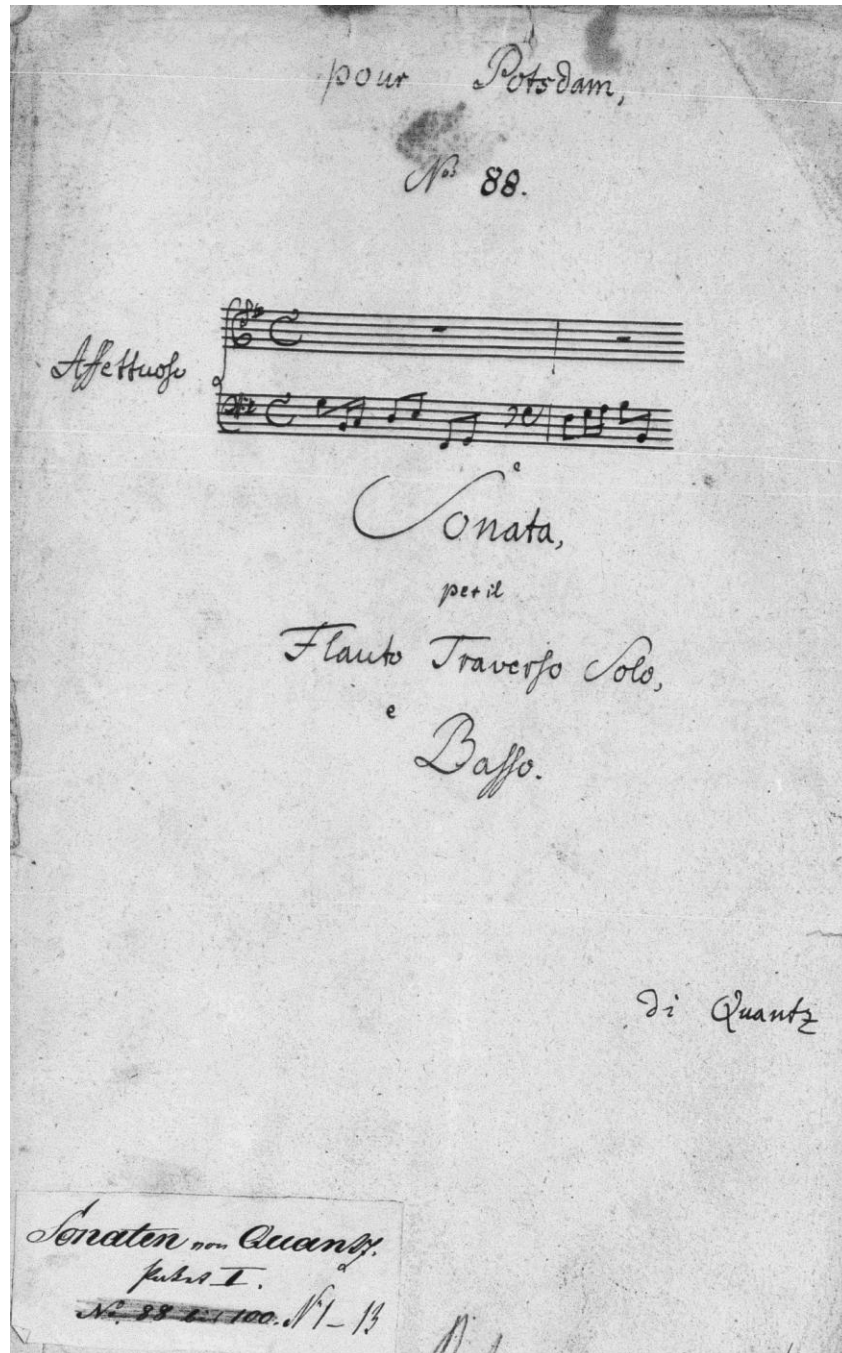
²⁰ Nicolai, *Anekdoten*, 6:162fn.: "Ich habe ihn da den größten Theil seiner Konzerte spielen gehört." Sabine Henze-Döring, *Friedrich der Große: Musiker und Monarch* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012), 108, states incorrectly that Quantz's concertos were heard only in the king's concerts.

²¹ See Mary Oleskiewicz, "Keyboards, Music Rooms, and the Bach Family at the Court of Frederick the Great," in *J. S. Bach and His Sons*, ed. Mary Oleskiewicz, *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 11 (Champaign and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 24–82.

Figure 1. *Catalogue des Solos pour le nouveau Palais* (D-B KHM 1575), in the hand of Johann Gottlieb Freudenberg, ca. 1765: nos. 88–120.



Figure 2. Title wrapper for Sonata in G QV 1:107 (D-B KHM 4193), in the hand of Johann Gottlieb Freudenberg: “pour Potsdam, No: 88 / Affettuoso [incipit] / Sonata per il Traverso Solo, e Basso. / di Quantz.”



The catalogs tell us not only what was in the music collection at the time of preparation. They also reveal that works were discarded. Scribal artifacts and mismatches between the old wrappers and the new catalogs indicate that compositions were eliminated after the war. Remaining works were renumbered accordingly.

It is impossible to know just how many works were discarded in the reorganization of the music collection. But the intention was clear: to purge all but the flute sonatas and concertos composed by Quantz and by the king, as well as works that were no longer in style. Despite Burney's complaint in 1772 about the narrow scope of the king's repertory, the latter had once encompassed a wider range. For example, the second work in the list of concertos is assigned to Quantz in one court copy and in another to "Graun." Sonata no. 221 is attributed solely to "Graun."²² The works in question are certainly not by Quantz and should have been discarded. Given the huge number of sources at hand, such anomalies presumably were overlooked. The occasional attributions to composers other than Quantz and Friedrich on the wrappers and the occasional misattributions suggest that works by Graun and other composers had once formed part of the royal flute music collection. Indeed, the letter quoted above makes clear that already at an early date Friedrich was collecting not only concertos by Quantz but also those of Graun.

A further indication that even early on Friedrich was gathering together trios and quartets can be seen in errors in the revised catalogs. For example, entry no. 3 in the concerto catalogs shows the incipit from the first movement of Quantz's Quartet no. 1 in D. When this work was deleted, it was replaced as no. 3 by Quantz's Concerto in B minor for flute, two violins, and continuo (QV 4:7), but the copyists failed to update the catalog entry with the new incipit.

Although they do not provide direct evidence for attribution, the court catalogs furnish an approximate relative chronology of the works listed therein. The catalogs can be supplemented by analysis of handwriting and paper types in the individual copies for establishing a chronology of Quantz's works. Further evidence for dating Quantz's solo sonatas and concertos is provided by the relatively precise records of payments to the composer for works written after the Seven Years' War.

Works composed before Quantz's move to Berlin present greater problems of attribution and chronology. These compositions include not only numerous trio sonatas preserved in manuscripts but also the many solo and trio sonatas that were printed at Paris, London, and Amsterdam from around 1728 through 1744. Several group concertos, that is, works with multiple soloists, also must have been composed before 1741, to judge from the scribes and paper types of their manuscript sources. Five of Quantz's nine group concertos (listed under QV 6) are included in the court catalogs with relatively low (early) numbers: 4, 15, 59, 60, and 89. One of these, no. 15, survives only as the solo flute concerto QV 5:73 (see below). Similarly

²² This probably refers to Carl Heinrich Graun, not Johann Gottlieb, although it is impossible to assign these works to one of the two Grauns with certainty. The sonata is listed in GWV as item C:XVII:67; the concerto is not in GWV. "Graun" alone here refers to C. H. Graun except in direct quotations that omit given names or initials.

problematical is no. 59 (QV 6:3), whose Dresden solo parts as well as all of the Berlin court parts are missing.²³

A further Dresden group concerto by Quantz, for two flutes and solo violin with strings, obbligato bassoon, obbligato cello, and continuo—listed by Augsbach as QV 6:Anh.2, here designated QV 6:9—is preserved in two sources; its attribution is discussed below. A Sing-Akademie manuscript unknown to Augsbach provides information about the transmission of this work, which is preserved at Berlin in parts copied at Dresden in 1740. Alterations on the Berlin title wrapper show that the concerto was originally designated no. 5 in the court catalogs before being listed as no. 9. Later the work was completely eliminated from the catalog, replaced as no. 9 by a solo concerto in B-flat (QV 5:243).²⁴

Six of Quantz's seven four-part flute concertos, without viola, likewise fall among the first twenty-five catalog entries (nos. 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 25). The seventh, somewhat later in style, bears the designation no. 69. Also early are seven four-movement concertos, with fugue in second place. Number 89 (QV 6:5) is the latest of these works in the court catalogs; the others are numbered 1, 5, 7, 8, 26, and 59. Whatever their catalog numbers, all these early concertos share their Vivaldian compositional style.

Quantz's trios

Corelli and other composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries mastered the trio sonata before trying their hand at solo sonatas and concertos. In keeping with this tradition, Quantz's trio sonatas, or simply trios as he and contemporaries called them, are among his earliest works. Most of them are in four movements; of these, at least nine are so-called church sonatas, with a fugue in second place.²⁵ Certain trios were written for the oboe, Quantz's main instrument before he turned to the flute. Some of these were later transmitted in flute versions. The early solo and trio sonatas show strong influences from Handel, whom Quantz met in London in 1727. Notationally many adhere to the tradition of cancelling sharps with flats, which Quantz later abandoned.

²³ [Reconstructions of the lost group version of concerto no. 15 (QV 6:2) and of the solo parts for the group concerto no. 59 (QV 6:3) are accessible online at schulenbergmusic.org. —DS].

²⁴ [**Error! Main Document Only.** The Berlin court copy (SA 2928), in the hand of the Dresden copyist Grundig, is one of several that found their way into the Sing-Akademie archive. A manuscript copy of QV 6:9 that remained at Dresden (D-Dl 2470-O-14) was supplemented with ripieno oboes by Pisendel and doubling string parts (*Doubletten*). —DS]

²⁵ [Two other trios, QV 2:7 in D and 2:42 in B-flat, have a fugue as the slow *third* movement, and the final movement of QV 2:3 in C minor is a sonata form in which each section begins as a genuine three-part fugue. Fifteen further four-movement trios lack a fugue; only six are in three movements. These totals include only those trios that the author regarded as certainly or probably by Quantz.—DS]

Quantz's later trio sonatas are scored for two flutes, or for flute and violin, with continuo. The violin scoring reflects his friendship and study of composition with Pisendel, whom he admired most among his teachers. Quantz must also have written trios during his European tour from 1724 to 1727, but most were certainly composed after his return to Dresden, between 1728 and 1740. Later, at Berlin, Quantz's composition student and colleague Christoph Nichelmann copied six of Quantz's trios as works for flute with obbligato keyboard instrument. Thus the trio sonatas continued to be played at Berlin, where they also were once part of the king's collection. Isaak Franz Egmont, Count Chasot, who belonged to Crown Prince Frederick's circle of close friends at Rheinsberg, remembered hearing Friedrich play works of Graun, Hasse, and Quantz and that Quantz and Friedrich later played trio sonatas during the evening concerts in the music rooms at Potsdam.²⁶ The trios, however, were eventually discarded, as were the quartets and a number of four-movement solo sonatas and group concertos.

Quantz's trios nevertheless were widely disseminated, leading to uncertainties about their attribution. During the years around 1730, shortly after the composer's European tour, three volumes of trio sonatas attributed to Quantz appeared in print without his knowledge or authorization (see Table 1). Augsbach, questioning their attribution to Quantz, assigned all but three of the printed trios to the appendix (*Anhang*) of QV. In fact at least three more of these are authentic works by Quantz, as are no fewer than eight works preserved only in manuscripts (see Table 2).²⁷ Augsbach himself had originally classified most of these as authentic works.²⁸ References below to "original" QV numbers are to Augsbach's preliminary designations for these and other compositions. Those numbers are reinstated in the present paper.

In what follows it is possible to discuss only representative cases. The trio in G QV 2:33 (2:Anh.28) is preserved at London in a copy by Johann Gottlieb Grundig, known as Dresden scribe A, with an autograph title page and attribution to Quantz. This source is independent of the eighteenth-century print; it is, moreover, the only source that lacks a bizarre variant at the end of the third movement in the printed version.²⁹ Another trio, in E minor, QV 2:22 (2:Anh.16),

²⁶ Kurd von Schlözer, *Chasot zur Geschichte Friedrichs des Großen und seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1856), 44 and 213. Chasot's account makes clear that he heard the performance in the music room of the Potsdam Palace. See Oleskiewicz, "Keyboards, Music Rooms, and the Bach Family," 40.

²⁷ Three of these works, QV 2:17 (2:Anh.10), 2:22 (2:Anh.14), and QV 2:23 (2:Anh.16), appear in the critical edition *Johann Joachim Quantz: Seven Trio Sonatas*, ed. Mary Oleskiewicz, *Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era*, vol. 111 (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2001); the author's recording of QV 2:17 is included on *Johann Joachim Quantz: Flute Sonatas* (Naxos 8.44064, 2003). A previously unknown concordance for QV 2:17 appears in D-Bsa SA 3345 with a false attribution to Benda.

²⁸ In *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalische Werke: Werkgruppen QV2 und QV3* (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1984).

²⁹ The London source is GB-Lbl R.M.21.b7. The print, designated "Boivin op. 3 (Paris, ca. 1728)" in Table 1, extends the final cadence of movement 3 by two measures, with the second treble part doubling the bass in octaves, as in the modern edition by Hugo Ruf (Kassel:

Table 1. Trio sonatas published in eighteenth-century editions with attributions to Quantz**bold type = works by or probably by Quantz** ms(s) = manuscript(s)

<u>QV 2:</u>		<u>Key</u>	<u>Number in printed editions*</u>			<u>Comment</u>
<u>orig. no.</u>	<u>Anh.</u>		<i>Boivin</i> <i>op. 3</i> <i>(ca.1728)</i>	<i>Walsh</i> <i>op. 3</i> <i>(1733)</i>	<i>Le Cène</i> <i>op. 2</i> <i>(1734)</i>	
1	2a	C		3	3	Mss in SA (anon.), D-Dl, D-GS; alternate versions QV 2:Anh.2b, 2c in three mss (two with conflicting attributions)
10		D		6	6	Ms in D-Dl
13		D	4			Mss in D-Dl, three others
	6	D		2	2	
23	16	e	5	5	5	Nine independent mss (three with conflicting attributions)
31	26	G	3	1	1	Mss in D-Dl, D-SWl (QV erroneously lists ms in F-Pn)
32	27	G		4	4	Ms in D-Dl, one other; possible early work of Quantz
33	28	G	1			Ms in GB-Lbl is only one to transmit correct version of movement 3; two others in D-Dl, D-MÜu (QV erroneously lists ms in F-Pn)
38	33	A	2			Mss in D-Dl, D-SWl, F-Pn

*Eighteenth-century printed editions:

ca.1728 *Sonates en trio* (Paris: Boivin, op. 3), RISM Q 30 (the sixth work in this print is the trio for three flutes without continuo QV 3:3.2)1733 *Six sonatas for two German flutes* (London: Wash, op. 3), RISM Q 291734 *Sonate a tre stromenti* (Amsterdam: Le Cène, op. 2), RISM Q 26a

Bärenreiter, 1957). The same reading is found in the three other manuscript sources: D-Bsa SA3888/19 and D-MÜu Rheda Ms. 621, which were copied from the print, and D-Dl Mus. 2470-Q-8, which is independent of it (the print has a wrong note in m. 4 of the first part and adds many ornament signs found in neither the Dresden nor the London manuscript). QV (p. 116) lists an additional source in F-Pn Rës 443; this is incorrect. Some atypical details in this work, such as hidden fifths in m. 1 of the first movement, suggest that it is fairly early. [The presence of the variant ending in the Dresden manuscript, copied by Dresden scribe D (probably Johann Gottlieb Morgenstern), suggests that the latter, although not working from the print, also did not work directly under Quantz, at least in this instance. —DS]

Table 2. Authentic and possibly authentic trio sonatas listed in the QV *Anhang*

<u>QV 2:</u>	<u>orig. QV 2 no.</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Movements</u>	<u>By Quantz?</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Anh.2a	1	C	4	probably	transposed from version in Bb?
Anh.2b	1	C	4	probably	version for flute and violin, transposed from version in Bb?
Anh.2c	1	Bb	4	probably	original (?) version for oboes
Anh.3	2	C	4	certainly	
Anh.4	4	c	4	certainly	
Anh.10	17	Eb	4	certainly	
Anh.12a	19	e	4	certainly	transposed from version in d?
Anh.12b	19	d	4	probably	lost version for oboes
Anh.14	22	e	4	certainly	
Anh.15a	(none)	e	3	possibly	transposed from version in c
Anh.15b	(none)	c	3	possibly	for oboes, attributed to Heinichen
Anh.16	23	e	3	certainly	
Anh.19	26	G	3	certainly	
Anh.20	27	G	4	certainly	
Anh.27	32	G	4	probably	
Anh.28	33	G	4	certainly	
Anh.34	39	a	4	certainly	
deest	(none)	a	4	probably	in SA 3884/4
deest	(none)	D	4	possibly	in SA 3884/5

was widely distributed as a work for two flutes and continuo, although it originated as a work for two oboes and bassoon. It must stem from Quantz despite conflicting attributions in manuscript copies.³⁰

One trio relegated to the *Anhang* merits special attention, and not only for its charm and its popularity with recorder players. Augsbach initially considered the trio in C for flute, recorder,

³⁰ QV 2:22 (2:Anh.16) was previously regarded as a work of Johann Friedrich Fasch; on its attribution and instrumentation, see Mary Oleskiewicz, “More on Fasch and the Canonic Trio Sonata,” in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 8. und 9. April 2005 im Rahmen der 9. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst*, ed. Kostanze Musketa (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 109–29. [Another trio with a conflicting attribution, QV 2:Anh.18 (2:25), is an attractive composition in the rare key of F minor. The author chose not to include it in Table 2 as a “possible” work despite the attribution to Quantz in its one extant source (D-Dl Mus. ms. 2470-Q-360. This reflects its attribution to “Goldberg” in the Breitkopf catalogs; in addition, the manuscript, although containing Pisendel’s continuo figures, is in the hand of the not always reliable copyist D. —DS]

and basso continuo QV 2:2 (2:Anh.3) to be a genuine work by Quantz.³¹ In QV, however, he removed it to the *Anhang*, explaining that “The composer is certainly Telemann, of whom many other works with recorder are preserved in Dresden.”³² Telemann scholars, however, have not joined in this conclusion, and there is no reason to doubt that Quantz is the composer.

On the contrary, the work reveals numerous compositional features of Quantz. It is one of two trio sonatas that bear a conflicting attribution to “Sigr. Neruda” in a manuscript collection of six *sonate da chiesa*.³³ Sold by the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf, the set may have accurately attributed the first four trios to the Czech composer Johann Baptist Georg Neruda. But the last two works in the set, including a version of QV 2:2, have little in common with the four others. The latter, including their fugues, look like student work and show little imagination. The two works elsewhere attributed to Quantz contain mature fugues with episodes in Italian concerto style. Their comparatively sophisticated counterpoint includes climactic three-part strettos. One finds similar things in other trios whose attribution to Quantz has not been questioned. Recorder players can happily continue to play this work as Quantz’s only contribution to their repertory.

Not every source and version of the trios listed in Table 2 conveys authentic readings by the composer. QV 2:2 is not the only work to have been transposed for alternate instruments. It is not possible in every case to know which versions stem from Quantz or at least were prepared with his authorization. For example, QV 2:1 (2:Anh.2a) was published in C major for two flutes and continuo (see Table 1). Other sources transmit the same trio for flute and violin, among them a London source copied by Quantz’s chief Dresden scribe Grundig.³⁴ The original version is probably the one in B-flat for two oboes and basso continuo, QV2:Anh.2c, which is preserved in only two sources, one of which has an attribution to Johann David Heinichen. Two other trios listed in Table 2, QV 2:19 (2:Anh.12a) in E minor and 2:Anh.15b (no previous QV number) in C minor, also circulated in versions for oboes.³⁵

³¹ *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 2–3.

³² “Der Komponist ist sicherlich G. Ph. Telemann, vom dem noch weitere Werke mit Flauto dolce in Dresden vorliegen.” QV, p. 106 (QV 2:Anh.3).

³³ D-B Mus. ms. 16050 preserves each sonata as a separate set of parts for two violins and continuo. Sonata V is QV 2:2 transposed to A; Sonata VI is QV 2:39 (2:Anh.34) in A minor.

³⁴ The London source (GB-Lbl R.M.21.d.7) contains three further authentic trios (QV 2:18, 2:28, 2:21), none of which, however, is attributed there to Quantz. The paper, which was commonly used in Dresden, carries the watermark Crowned Shield with Posthorn, found in copies of other authentic Dresden works by Quantz. [This watermark is probably no. 1 or no. 2 of those listed in QV, p. xix. The attribution to Heinichen occurs in a late source (S-L Engelhart 127) of uncertain provenance. But the London source transmits the same version of the trio (QV 2:Anh.2c in B-flat), despite giving the instrumentation as flute and violin. Its copyist must have been in direct contact with Quantz. —DS]

³⁵ [QV 2:Anh.15b in C minor, for oboe and violin, is attributed to Heinichen in D-DS Mus. ms. 3424 (234). An oboe version of QV 2:19 (2:Anh.12a) is known only from an eighteenth-century manuscript inventory. The attributions of these works as well as QV 2:Anh.2c to Heinichen, which stylistically are not implausible, could reflect his position as Capellmeister

Solo sonatas

The problem of doubtful attributions recurs with Quantz's early solo sonatas.³⁶ His own opus 1, six sonatas for solo flute and cembalo, appeared at Dresden in 1734. By then, however, no fewer than five unauthorized publications of solo sonatas attributed to Quantz had appeared at Paris and London; two of them were reprinted at Amsterdam. Each contained six sonatas.

Table 3 lists eighteenth-century editions of Quantz's solo sonatas, including reprints. Sorting out the duplicated sonatas in these prints and separating authentic from false attributions is no simple matter. Some of these sonatas are clearly spurious. They bear no explicit attributions to Quantz in any manuscript copies that can be associated with him. Several are incompetently composed and stylistically remote from the numerous authenticated pieces. Yet Quantz himself gave us a clue toward solving the problem.

In a note (*Avertissement*) printed within his own opus 1, Quantz publicly disowned two of these prints. Four of the sonatas contained therein were not his. The others were early works whose texts as published were full of mistakes.³⁷ Assuming that no issues of sonatas attributed to

at Dresden during Quantz's early years there, when Quantz was comparatively unknown. Several concordances for QV 2:23 (2:Anh.16) make it clear that it originated as an oboe piece (see Oleskiewicz, ed., *Quantz: Seven Trio Sonatas*, 106ff.), as did QV 2:40.

[The author did not discuss three sonatas for two flutes and continuo whose authorship by Quantz merits, or has been thought to merit, consideration. A trio in G has been put forward as Quantz's in the belief that its sole source, B-Bc S.24.102, is an autograph. In fact the latter is an incompetent copy, as explained in Oleskiewicz, ed., *Seven Trio Sonatas*, 107, and the composition, small-scale and bereft of ideas, cannot be by Quantz. On the other hand, a manuscript anthology of 41 trios, all anonymous, includes at least five works definitely by Quantz. D-Bsa SA 3888 opens with QV 2:41a and 2:12, followed by the "possible" work QV 2:Anh.15a, then by trios in A minor and D major listed in Table 2 as possible early compositions of Quantz, the first of these more likely so. Both appear to be *unica*.—DS]

³⁶ [By "solo sonatas" is meant sonatas for one instrument and basso continuo, which Quantz and his German contemporaries usually called simply "solos." Although Quantz left a number of pieces for solo (unaccompanied) flute, none of these are sonatas; they are listed under QV 3. —DS]

³⁷ "On a imprimé a Londres et a Amsterdam sous le nom de l'Auteur mais a son insceu, douze Sonnettes pour la Flute Traversiere et Basse partagées en deux Livres. Il se voit obligé d'avertir le public qu'il n'y a que la 1.^{re} la 2.^{me} la 4.^{me} la 5.^{me} et la 6.^{me} du premier Livre, et les 3 premières du second Livre, qui soient de sa Composition; et que néanmoins les avant faites il y a plusieurs années, et s'y rencontrant outre cela par la negligence du Copiste ou de l'Imprimeur, des fautes grossieres jusqu'a y avoir omis des mesures entieres, il desapprouve l'impression d'un ouvrage qui n'a nul rapport avec celui qu'il donne aujourd'huy au Public." Further discussion in Oleskiewicz, "Quantz and the Flute at Dresden," 223–27. [It seems that not all exemplars include the *Avertissement*. In one seen here (downloaded from F-Pn), French and Italian texts for the *Avertissement* appear side by side. —DS]

Table 3. Sonatas for flute and continuo attributed to Quantz in eighteenth-century printed editions

bold type = works by Quantz *italic = work disavowed by Quantz*

[illegible]

QV 1:	Key	Number within printed volume (see legend at end of table)												See note
		<i>Sons. itals.</i> (1729)	Walsh [op. 1] (1730)	LeClerc [op. 1] (1731a)	Boivin op. 2 (1731b)	Walsh op. 2 (1732)	<i>Sei sonate</i> (1734)	Amst., anon. (1740)	Mr. B <i>6 sonates</i> (1742)	Fritz <i>6 sonate</i> (c.1742)	Walsh op. 4 (1744)	Besozzi <i>6 sonates</i> (1758–)	<i>Mus. Al- lerley</i> (1761)	
Anh.15b	D			4										14
<i>Anh.15c</i>	<i>D</i>		5											15
Anh.16a	d				4									16
Anh.16b	e		3											12
Anh.19	e				3									17
Anh.24										4				5, 18
Anh.26	G				5									19
Anh.29	G	5						3						8
Anh.30	G										3			20
Anh.31	G										4			20
Anh.32	G										2			8
Anh.33	G			5										8
Anh.34a	G		2											12
Anh.34b	G			2										12, 21
<i>Anh.35</i>	<i>G</i>		<i>4</i>											22
<i>Anh.36</i>	<i>A</i>		<i>6</i>											23
Anh.43	b								6					24
Anh.44	b			6										8

Notes (Table 3)

1. Several manuscript concordances.
2. Two manuscript concordances.
3. Four-movement version; three-movement version is preserved in KHM manuscripts.
4. Two manuscript copies in KHM (the only printed sonata retained in the royal collection in its original form, as no. 102).
5. Unicum.
6. = QV 1:108a with different last movement (= that of QV 1:Anh. 29); QV, p. 90, misidentifies Walsh op. 2, no. 4 as 1:182.

7. Two manuscripts give the sonata for oboe with an added attribution to Heinichen.
8. One manuscript concordance.
9. QV, p. 90, misidentifies Walsh op. 2, no. 6 as QV 1:98.
10. QV, p. 90, misidentifies LeClerc op. 1, no. 3 as QV 1:Anh.3.
11. Only movement 2 of this sonata was authenticated by Quantz; QV 1:Anh.9a has a different second movement.
12. Acknowledged by Quantz.
13. Has a different first movement from QV 1:Anh.14a.
14. The three versions of QV 1:Anh.15 differ in their tempo marks for movements 1 and 3. QV 1:Anh.15a is not attributed to Quantz.
15. QV, p. 90, misidentifies Walsh op. 1, no. 5 as QV1:Anh.15b.
16. Transposition of QV 1:Anh.16b? Many errors; if QV 1:Anh.16a was the original, it would be Quantz's only solo sonata in d.
17. QV, p. 91, misidentifies LeClerc op. 1, no. 3 as QV 1:Anh.23.
18. By Heinichen?
19. QV, p. 91, also lists LeClerc op. 1, no. 5 incorrectly as QV 1:Anh.23.
20. Style suggests that QV 1:Anh.30 and 31 were by the same unnamed composer.
21. Tempo marks of first and last movements differ from those of QV 1:Anh.34a.
22. QV, p. 90, misidentifies Walsh op. 1, no. 4 as QV 1:Anh.28,
23. QV, p. 90, misidentifies Walsh op. 1, no. 6 as QV 1:Anh.29.
24. One manuscript concordance: three-movement version attributed to Quantz.

Legend (Table3)

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1729 | <i>Sonates italiennes</i> (Paris: Boivin, without opus number), RISM Q 16
reprint: <i>VI SONATA</i> (Amsterdam: Witvogel, 1731, op. 1), RISM Q 24
reprint: <i>Sei sonate</i> (Amsterdam: LeCène, 1731 [not 1734*], op. 1), RISM Q 17 |
| 1730 | <i>Solos</i> (London: Walsh, without opus number), RISM Q 26
reprint: <i>VI SONATE</i> (Amsterdam: Witvogel, 1731, op. 2), RISM Q 27 |
| 1731a | <i>Sonates</i> (Paris: LeClerc, 1731, Livre 3 [op. 1]), RISM Q 33 |
| 1731b | <i>Six Sonates</i> (Paris: Boivin and LeClerc, op. 2, ca. 1731–32), RISM Q 28 |
| 1732 | <i>Solos</i> (London: Walsh, op. 2), RISM Q 18
reprint: (London: Walsh, 1739) |
| 1734 | <i>Sei sonate</i> (Dresden, op. 1), RISM Q 19 |

- reprint: *VI sonate* (Paris: LeClerc and Boivin, 1736-7), RISM Q 34
 reprint: *VI sonate* (Paris: LeClerc and Boivin, ca. 1740, op. 4), RISM Q 20
- 1740 *Sei sonate* (Amsterdam: anonymous, after 1740), RISM Q 25
- 1742 *VI Sonates . . . Par Mr. B**** (Paris: Mad.lle Michelon, 1742, op.1)
- c.1742 *VI / Sonate / a Violino o Flauto Traversiere Solo col Basso / Dedicate / All Altezza Serenissima / Del Principe Ereditario / di Saxe Gotha et Altenbourg / di Gasparo Fritz*
- 1744 *Solos* (London: Walsh, op. 4), RISM Q 31
- 1758– *Six sonates à violon seule et basse que peuvent se jouer sur la flûte par Mr. Bezzozzi* (Paris: La Chevardière, 1758 or later)
- 1761 *Musikalisches Allerley, 2te Sammlung* (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1761)

*This reprint, hitherto dated 1734, was advertised in the *Leydse Courant* on Oct. 29, 1731.

Quantz have been lost, one can deduce that the falsely attributed pieces must have appeared in two collections issued by Walsh of London (see Table 4). One of those collections might have been known to Quantz only in a pirated reprint issued at Amsterdam. The works listed in Tables 3 and 4 as “disavowed by Quantz” are the last three of Walsh’s *Solos* of 1730 (reprinted the following year by Witvogel in Amsterdam) and the third of Walsh’s *Solos* of 1732, published as Quantz’s opus 2.³⁸ From this it follows that at least three of the solo sonatas relegated to the *Anhang* by Augsbach are early works acknowledged by Quantz. This raises the possibility that other solo sonatas with “Anh.” numbers also really belong to Quantz.

Table 4. Two sonata collections printed by Walsh and attributed to Quantz

1. *Solos* (London, 1730, without opus number), RISM Q 26

= *VI Sonate* (Amsterdam: Witvogel, 1731, op. 2), RISM Q 27

No.	QV 1:	Key	Movements	Status*
1	Anh.14a	D	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
2	Anh.34a	G	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
3'	Anh.16b	e	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
4	Anh.35	G	4	disavowed
5	Anh.15c	D	4	disavowed
6	Anh.36	A	4	disavowed

2. *Solos* (London, 1732, op. 2), RISM Q18

= *Solos* (London: Walsh, 1739)

No.	QV 1:	Key	Movements	Status*
1	49	D	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
2	179	c	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
3	Anh.9b	D	4**	disavowed
4	180	G	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
5	181	G	4	authentic but printed inaccurately
6	182	e	4	authentic but printed inaccurately

*According to the *Avertissement* in Quantz’s op. 1 (1734).

**QV gives incipits for five movements, but the third and fourth are a minuet-and-trio pair [DS].

³⁸ **Error! Main Document Only.** Walsh op. 3 was a set of trio sonatas published in 1733 (see Table 1). The *Sonates italiennes* of 1729, also pirated at Amsterdam, cannot be one of the collections disavowed by Quantz (as Augsbach supposed), for the fourth work also appears as Walsh op. 2, no. 6, which Quantz acknowledged. See Horst Augsbach, “Fragen zur Überlieferung und Datierung der Kompositionen von Johann Joachim Quantz, Teil I: Die Drucke,” in *Tibia: Magazin für Holzbläser* 11 (1997): 561–67 (here 564–65). [Witvogel’s editions, although described as reprints, contain small emendations of bass figures and other details and conceivably were derived not from earlier publications but some common manuscript copy.—DS]

Whether Quantz knew of all the publications listed in Table 3 is impossible to say. One would think, however, that he would have been aware of at least one or two of the collections issued at Paris. If so, some of the contents of the Parisian sets might have been his even if he never authorized or acknowledged their publication. What is clear is that at least six sonatas listed in the QV *Anhang* are authentic works, as shown in Table 5.³⁹ The large number of works in the *Anhang* makes it impractical to present arguments here for why each of those remaining probably was not composed by Quantz. A few case studies must suffice.

Table 5. Authentic solo sonatas listed in the QV *Anhang*

	<u>QV 1: Key</u>	<u>Movements</u>	<u>Comment</u>
1	Anh.14a	D 4	Acknowledged by Quantz.
2	Anh.14b	D 4	Alternate first movement is probably authentic.
3	Anh.16a	d 4	Transposed version of Anh.16b? Has erroneous readings.
4	Anh.16b	e 4	Acknowledged by Quantz.
5	Anh.34a	G 4	Acknowledged by Quantz.
	Anh.34b	G 4	Different tempo marks for movements 1, 4.
6	Anh.43	b 4 (3)	Movement 3 later removed (see discussion).

QV 1:Anh.15a in D has been published as a work by Quantz both in modern edition and in facsimile, despite conflicting attributions to “Sigr. Hendel” and “Mr. Aug. Stricker” in their respective sources.⁴⁰ Three eighteenth-century editions also presented versions of the same sonata, attributing them to Quantz.⁴¹ Yet Quantz himself rejected the fourth, fifth, and sixth sonatas from one of those editions, among them QV 1:Anh.15c. A manuscript source attributes QV 1:Anh.15b to “Sigr Fleischer,” and indeed Ekkehard Krüger finds an attribution to Fleischer

³⁹ In most cases, QV uses the indications “a” and “b” to designate a work that is transmitted with differing movement titles or in different keys. For present purposes, “a” and “b” versions of a work are both counted if each contains at least one unique movement. Thus QV 1:Anh.14a and 1:Anh.14b are counted as distinct works, as they have different first movements (the first movement of QV 1:14b is very likely authentic).

⁴⁰ That is, George Frideric Handel and Augustin Reinhard Stricker. Facsimile of B-Bc Litt. XY no. 15.115 published by Alamire (Thesaurus musicus, vol. A/7, Brussels, 1979); modern edition by Johann Philipp Hinnenthal from D-HRD FÜ 3618a, in Hortus musicus, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949).

⁴¹ The three versions of QV 1:Anh.15 (a, b, and c) differ from one another chiefly in the tempo mark of the first movement. QV 1:Anh.15a is the version of the manuscript copies mentioned in the previous note. QV 1:Anh.15b appeared as Sonata III in LeClerc’s *Sonates* (Paris, 1731, op. 1). QV 1:Anh.15c is Sonata V in Walsh’s *Solo* (London, 1730, without opus number), reprinted by Witvogel (Amsterdam, ca. 1740, op. 2).

“not implausible.”⁴² The work has also been catalogued as a spurious attribution to Handel (as HWV Anh. B 421), accompanied by an argument for Quantz’s authorship on the basis of “stylistic features” and a finding that any attribution to Stricker or Fleischer “must be unlikely.” Yet there are no sources close to the composer, and the work bears little stylistic resemblance to his authentic sonatas.

To the best of our knowledge, twenty-seven authentic sonatas of Quantz were published during his lifetime (by 1773). Most of them first appeared around 1729, the date of Boivin’s *Sonates italiennes*, which contained five authentic solos. Seven more followed during 1730–32. Le Cene’s reprint of the *Sonates italiennes* has been dated to 1734, but it was already announced in the Dutch newspaper *Leydse Courant* on October 29, 1731. The two authorized publications came later—the *Sei sonate* op. 1 (Dresden, 1734) and the single sonata QV 1:25, published in the anthology *Musikalisches Allerley* (Berlin, 1761).⁴³

Also published relatively late were two early sonatas that originally consisted of four movements in the slow–fast–slow–fast sequence of the Italian “church” sonata. Copies of four-movement sonatas for the Prussian court eliminated the second slow movement, as in QV 1:37b in D and 1:58a in E-flat. These are preserved as four-movement works (QV 1:37a and 58b) from Quantz’s Dresden period in the manuscript D-B ms. 18020.⁴⁴ The result was the sequence slow–fast–moderately fast, which remained fashionable at Berlin to the end of the century—when Beethoven dedicated two cello sonatas in this form to King Friedrich Wilhelm II, successor of Friedrich II.⁴⁵

⁴² “nicht unplausibel,” *Die Musikaliensammlungen des Erbprinzen Friedrich Ludwig von Württemberg-Stuttgart und der Herzogin Luise-Friederike von Mecklenburg-Schwerin in der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock*, 2 parts in 3 vols. (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2006), 2/1: 277–78, referring to D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII-16.5.

⁴³ [The author’s total of twenty-seven printed sonatas evidently includes trios as well as solos, but not the six *Duetti* for two flutes published as Quantz’s op. 2 (Berlin, 1759). In addition to the six authentic trios listed in Table 1, authentic solo sonatas appeared in print as follows: five in 1729 (QV 1:49, 108a, 182, 183, and 184), three in 1730 (QV 1:Anh.14a, 34a, and 16b), four in 1731 (QV 1:181 and Anh.14b, 16a, and 34b), and two in 1732 (QV1: 179 and 180). The six sonatas of Quantz’s op. 1 (1734) were followed only by QV 1:25 (1761) and the two four-movement sonatas discussed below. Note, however, that according to the criteria given in note 39, QV 1:Anh.34a and 34b count as only one sonata, and QV 1:Anh.16a is a dubious arrangement not included in the total.—DS]

⁴⁴ The three-movement versions appear in the royal collection as nos. 227 and 98, respectively.

⁴⁵ *Deux Grandes Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano-Forte avec un Violoncelle obligé Composées et Dediées A sa Majesté Frederic Guillaume II Roi de Prusse par Louis von Beethoven, Oeuvre 5^{eme}* (Vienna, 1797).

It is therefore striking that two further sonatas, known in three-movement versions from manuscript copies, appeared as four-movement works in a printed collection of six sonatas attributed only to “Mr. B***.”⁴⁶ Discovery of the latter led to a recent flurry of online speculation that “Mr. B” was Quantz’s first flute teacher, Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, but this is impossible. Buffardin apparently did compose a set of six flute sonatas, but these were listed under his full name in the same publisher’s catalog that listed the volume by “Mr. B.”⁴⁷ The sonatas compiled by “Mr. B,” moreover, reveal distinct styles indicating that they are the work of three different composers.

The first and last of these sonatas are both listed in QV, but one of them appears only in the *Anhang*. Augsbach knew only the three-movement versions of these sonatas, which are preserved in German manuscripts. As printed at Paris, each sonata includes an additional slow movement, in third place. One of these sonatas, QV 1:128 in G minor, is preserved as no. 142 in the royal collection. Quantz would not have given the King of Prussia a sonata by Buffardin (or anyone else) as his own work. The king knew Buffardin personally from a visit to the Rheinsberg court in 1737 and from his own state visit to the Dresden court in 1728, when he was still crown prince. Buffardin made at least one trip to the royal court while Quantz was in Berlin. Any doubts about Quantz’s authorship of this work are eliminated by his quotation of a passage from it as a musical example in his *Versuch* (see fig. 3 and ex. 1).⁴⁸

The other sonata, QV 1:Anh. 43, survives also in two manuscript copies in Schwerin.⁴⁹ Both sonatas are consistent in style with other early works of Quantz and most likely originated during his stay in Paris. The four remaining sonatas in the Paris volume appear to be by two distinct composers whose style is not at all Quantzian, one of them less expert than the other.

Of the two additional slow movements found here for the works of Quantz, neither is very long or very distinctive, but this is consistent with the somewhat tentative slow movements in other

⁴⁶ *VI Sonata a Flute Traversiere seule et Basse par M^R. B***. Premier Œuvre Gravees par M^{lle} Michelon* (Paris, ca. 1738), seen in an exemplar at B-Bc. The author is grateful to David Lasocki for providing a copy of this source. In another exemplar (D-MÜu) the attribution to “M^R. B” has been changed by hand to “M^R. Braun”.

⁴⁷ The two collections are listed on the same opening within the *Catalogue de musique tant françoise qu’italienne imprimée ou gravée en France* (Paris: LeClerc, 1742), 54–55. Hence these were distinct publications, at different prices.

⁴⁸ As pointed out in Oleskiewicz, “Quantz and the Flute at Dresden,” 558, citing Quantz, *Versuch*, xviii.14 (fig. 13).

⁴⁹ [D-SW1 Mus. mss. 4368a and 4368b, both attributed to Quantz, by two different copyists. The second copy is by the scribe of the so-called Blue Catalog (SW1 3065/10), which also attributes the work to Quantz. The survival of QV 1:Anh.43 under Quantz’s name in two Schwerin manuscripts is consistent with the transmission of other compositions whose authorship is not in question, e.g., the sonatas QV 1:75 in E minor and QV 2:7 in D major, which are preserved in SW1 4365a and 4366, respectively. —DS]

Figure 3. Quantz, *Versuch*, tabula 21, fig. 13: extract from Sonata in G minor QV 1:128 (no. 142), movement 2.



Example 1. Quantz, Sonata in G minor QV 1:128 (no. 142), movement 2, mm. 25–27

early works of the composer. These sonatas were written at a time when he was still discovering how to adapt the popular Italian style of violin writing to the new type of transverse flute. They reveal the somewhat derivative lyricism that was evidently thought appropriate to the typically transitional third movement of this sort of sonata. Such movements must have seemed obsolete when Quantz incorporated his early sonatas into the repertoire of his new royal employer.⁵⁰

The royal catalogs of flute music group Quantz's later sonatas and concertos into sequences of seven pieces in different major and minor keys, arranged in ascending order: A or a; Bb or b; C or c; D or d; Eb, E, or e; F; and G or g. The same catalogs also reveal efforts to organize earlier works into similar sequences. The first such attempt for the solo sonatas begins with no. 239 but contains only six works, skipping a sonata in F. The first complete group of seven sonatas starts with no. 248 in A minor. Regular groups of seven sonatas begin with no. 272—the first sonata composed at Berlin, as argued below—continuing to no. 361 at the end of the catalog. Sonata no. 272 is in F, commencing a sequence that ends with no. 278 in E minor. The following group begins with no. 279 in Eb, repeating “E” in the sequence, but thereafter the seven-fold pattern is broken only with the six sonatas nos. 314–19. These were apparently the first submitted to and paid for by the king following a break during the Seven Years' War (see below). There follow

⁵⁰ Three such cases were previously known (QV 1:5, 37, and 58), but the removal of a second slow movement from additional sonatas was postulated in Oleskiewicz, “Quantz and the Flute at Dresden,” 171.

six groups of seven sonatas, each group beginning with a sonata in E-flat, E, or E minor and concluding with one in D, the key of Quantz's last sonata (no. 361).⁵¹

Table 6 summarizes the works listed in the royal catalogs. It is important to note that the list of sonatas begins with no. 88. It remains unclear, however, why the list begins with this number.⁵² Although Sonata no. 88 was certainly composed in Dresden, it cannot, on the basis of style, be the earliest sonata in the catalog. As noted above, many works were removed from the king's collection. This leaves open the possibility that other early solo and trio sonatas by Quantz and other court composers might have been among nos. 1–87. These could have included further sonatas preserved in the manuscript D-B ms. 18020. Seven of these remain in the royal list; as mentioned above, two of these were composed as four-movement works, the third movement having been omitted from the king's copies. The relatively low numbers of all seven sonatas in the royal catalogs are indications of their early composition.⁵³ It is therefore quite possible that some or all of the thirteen other sonatas in the same manuscript originally were included in the royal collection, with numbers below 88.

Table 6. Quantz's sonatas and concertos in the royal catalogs: Chronological overview

	<u>Dresden</u>	<u>Berlin</u>	<u>Berlin</u>	
	<i>ca. 1725–ca. 1741</i>	<i>1742–ca. 1755</i>	<i>1763–1772</i>	
Sonatas nos.	88–105, 142, 203, 219, 220, 222–54, [265–71]	272–313	314–361	
	<u>Dresden*</u>	<u>Berlin</u>	<u>Berlin</u>	<u>Berlin</u>
	<i>ca. 1725–Dec., 1741</i>	<i>1742–ca. 1746</i>	<i>ca. 1746–ca. 1755</i>	<i>ca. 1763–1772; 1773</i>
Concertos nos.	1, 3–78, 80–85, 89, 92–107	108–84	185–262	263–99, 300
	*Concerto no. 57 printed by Boivin (Paris, by 1742?)			

⁵¹ [These six times seven (42) sonatas were submitted and paid for in seven groups of six, as mentioned below. —DS]

⁵² Augsbach (QV, p. 270) supposed that Freudenberg, copyist of the catalog (Augsbach's scribe B2), started with 88 because he happened to have in front of him copies of concertos nos. 1–87 made by copyist B1. In this view, Freudenberg mistakenly started the list of sonatas with the next number, and no sonatas are actually missing from the royal collection. It is more likely, however, that 87 earlier solos (not necessarily all by Quantz) were indeed discarded, and that, to avoid extra work, the existing title wrappers, with their numbering of the compositions, were retained, the new catalog beginning with no. 88.

⁵³ These are nos. 91, 99–101, 105, and 227 (QV 1:5, 58a, 147, 173, 71, 151, and 37b). [The last of these has a much higher catalog number than the others, but nos. 106–41, 143–202, and 204–18 are by Friedrich (see below). If one counts only Quantz's sonatas within the list, these works are nos. 4, 12–15, 18, and 28. —DS]

In addition to works by Quantz, the catalogs include sonatas and concertos by the king, as well as at least one work by Graun and possibly several by other composers. These presumably had been retained by mistake after the reorganization of the collection after the war. Thus Sonata no. 239—with which the ordering of these works by key seems to begin—is only the fortieth composition by Quantz in the list of sonatas. There is no evident reason why the tonal organization of older sonatas from Dresden apparently began with this work. Nor do the sonatas that precede it show patterns in style or form that might point to any systematic ordering, chronologically or otherwise. Even seven sonatas further down on the list, nos. 265–271, seem unusually miscellaneous in style and manuscript format, implying that these may include some very early works; for this reason they are listed in brackets in Table 6.⁵⁴

There are compelling reasons for believing that the next sonatas in the list were the first new ones that Quantz composed for the king in Berlin. Number 272 is the first in a set of six attractive works in ascending keys whose lively passagework, reminiscent of concertos, is a delight to play. These six sonatas convey in a wonderful way the sonority and the coloristic qualities of the flutes that Quantz made for the king. These are, moreover, the only solo sonatas by Quantz whose three movements fall in the sequence fast-slow-fast. Only the third movement of each is in binary form, whereas in most of Quantz's other sonatas both the second and third movements have a central double bar. In addition, Sonatas nos. 272–77 were, with the exception of no. 275 (a later replacement copy), the first to be copied on Berlin paper; the watermark incorporates the king's monogram, "FR." Furthermore, copies from no. 272 onwards no longer show the hands of Dresden copyists (notably the one here designated QA22) but rather that of Quantz's Berlin scribe Freudenberg (B2), who made all subsequent sonata manuscripts "pour Potsdam."⁵⁵

These facts suggest that the six sonatas formed an inaugural set for Quantz's new employer, composed around 1742. Sixty-one earlier sonatas, presumably composed at Dresden, became the king's property. Many other Dresden sonatas were not included, either because they were no longer fashionable or because they were known to have been published. Only one sonata published by Quantz himself was included in the royal collection, perhaps by mistake: Sonata no. 102 (QV 1:153), the second sonata from Quantz's op. 1 of 1734.

⁵⁴ [For example, the copies of no. 271 (QV 1:122) consist of only four pages of music, in place of the usual five or six, and the number on the title wrapper has been altered. The second movement is reminiscent of Sonata no. 142 (QV 1:128), movement 3, but its second section includes eight measures repeated verbatim from the first, a rarity in Quantz's mature compositions. —DS]

⁵⁵ [The author's dating of Quantz's sonatas diverges significantly from that of Augsbach (QV, p. xxiv, followed by, e.g., Schrage, *Komposition und Vortrag*, 77ff.), who identifies Sonata no. 252 (QV 1:73) as the final Dresden work, no. 254 (QV 1:104) as the first Berlin sonata (Sonata no. 253, QV 1:83, is unaccounted for). —DS]

If the preceding is correct, then the next thirty-six sonatas, numbered 278–313, were composed at Berlin between 1742 and 1755. The relatively small number of sonatas composed during this period no doubt reflects reduced need for new works of this type. The king now possessed a large archive of music with which he was not yet familiar. Besides, the Second Silesian War kept him away from Berlin during most of 1744 and 1745, and the Seven Years' War (1756–63) brought court music to a complete standstill. Quantz would, however, deliver another forty-eight sonatas in sets of six from 1763 to 1772.

All told, in their final state the Berlin catalogs listed 151 solo sonatas by Quantz, not counting any that had been purged. This count excludes all sonatas that must be attributed to Friedrich, including no. 203, which was attributed to the king in a lost manuscript copy.⁵⁶ It also excludes no. 221, which bears an attribution to “Graun.” For the forty-eight sonatas composed after the war, payment records are preserved in the *Schatullrechnungen*, the accounts for the king's private purse; see Table 7. The table also shows payments for concertos during the same period. Combining the number of sonatas in the king's catalogs with all the other authentic compositions described above, we arrive at approximately 185 sonatas. Although it is possible that further works or prints will appear, it is unlikely that this number will change significantly.

Concertos

Quantz's concertos present a picture similar in broad terms to that of the sonatas, divided between works composed before and after his arrival at Berlin. But whereas any trio and quartet sonatas were eventually removed from the royal collection, four Dresden group concertos remained after the reorganization of the collection in the 1760s. An additional such work, originally for flute and violin with strings (QV 6:3), survives in the royal collection as a solo flute concerto (QV 5:73, no. 15); the Dresden version is no longer extant.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ [D B KHM 1515. The two extant copies of this sonata “pour Potsdam” in KHM 4231, in the hand of B3, both attribute it to Quantz, as does the wrapper prepared by F. W. Rust, but stylistically the attribution to the king is plausible. The copyist B3 was probably the “Bursche” Krauel, not the cellist Markus Heinrich Grauel, as Augsbach supposed (QV, p. xx); see Phillip Schmidt, “Drei sächsische Musiker in der preußischen Residenzstadt Berlin: Neues über Johann Gottlob Freudenberg, Markus Heinrich Grauel und Johann August Patzig,” *Bach Jahrbuch* 108 (2022): 123–43, here 127–36. The present author confirmed Schmidt's identification but also presented preliminary findings that certain manuscripts attributed to Freudenberg are in fact the work of other copyists, in her presentation “Bach Copyists at the Berlin Court: Perspectives on their Identities, Copies, and Dating (part I),” given May 17, 2025, at the Bach Colloquium at Harvard University. —DS]

⁵⁷ The Dresden version is documented by the surviving title wrapper “pour Charlottenbourg” (D-B KHM 3561), which lists the original instrumentation.

Table 7: Dates of payments to Quantz for new sonatas and concertos after 1763

<u>Year</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Sonatas nos.</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Concertos</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Account entry</u>	<u>Price*</u>			<u>Source**</u>
							<i>Rtl.</i>	<i>Duk.</i>	<i>exch.</i>	
1764	Mar.	314–25	12	—	—	an p. Quantz für 12 Soli 48 Dukaten à 4 Rtl 20 gr	132 ¹	48	2.75	913
1764	Nov.	—	—	257–62	6	an p. Quantz für sechs neue Soli <i>[recte: Concerten]</i> 54 Dukaten. ²	148.5	54	2.75	913
1765	Aug.	326–31	6	—	—	an Quantz für sechs neue Soli (66 Rhtlr)	66	24	2.75	914
1766	Jun.	332–37	6	269–75	7	hierzu kommt nach an Quantz für [6] Soli u. [7] Konzerte ("Concerten") 87 Dukaten betragen ³	239.25	87	2.75	915
1767	Aug.	338–43	6	376–81	6	an Quantz für [6] Konzerte ("Concerten") u. [6] Soli ("Solos") [214 Rtl. 12 gr.] ⁴	214.5	78	2.75	916
1769	Apr.	344–49	6	282–87	6	an Quantz für [6] Konzerte ("Concerten") [und 6 Sonaten] ⁵	234	78	3	918
1770	Dec.	350–55	6	288–93	6	an Quantz für Konzerte u. Soli	234	78	3	919

1772 Oct.	356–61	6	294–99 ⁶	6	an Quantz für Konzerte ("Concerten") u. Soli 78 Duc à 3 RTlr	234	78	3	221
Total		48		37					

Table legend:

*Rtl. = Reichstaler, Duk. = Dukaten, exch. = exchange rate (Reichstaler per Dukat)

**GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47 Friedrich II. Nr.

Table notes:

1. A scribal error in the *Schatullrechnung* gives 232 in place of 132.
2. A scribal error in the *Schatullrechnung* shows a payment of 54 ducats in Nov. 1764 for six sonatas: "an p. Quantz für sechs neue Soli 54 Dukaten" (GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47 Friedrich II. Nr. 913). This amount is much higher than it should be for sonatas; in fact it corresponds precisely to the amount for six concertos. In addition, Quantz was paid eight months previously for twelve sonatas; it is unlikely that he would have provided six additional sonatas (for a double fee!) already in November of the same year. In the discussion, this payment is considered to be for concertos.
3. Seven concertos at 9 ducats each = 63; 6 sonatas at 4 ducats each = 24; total = 87 ducats.
4. Six concertos at about 25 Reichstaler each = 150; 6 sonatas at 11 Reichstaler each = 66.
5. A scribal error in the *Schatullrechnung* show a payment of 234 Reichstaler in April 1769 for "Konzerten" (GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 47 Friedrich II., Nr. 918). The sum makes sense only if it was a payment for 6 concertos and 6 sonatas. The next two payments of Dec. 1770 and Oct. 1772 are for the same amount, but with a higher exchange rate of 3 instead of 2.75 and including sonatas as well as concertos.
6. Concerto no. 300 was not paid for, as it remained unfinished at Quantz's death.

Whereas a significant number of Quantz's solo and trio sonatas were published, of the concertos only QV 5:120 in E minor (no. 57) is known to have appeared in print during his lifetime. The publication by Boivin as well as the musical style suggests that the concerto was composed during Quantz's stay in Paris (August 1726 to March 1727). An *Avertissement* within the publication explains that Quantz's concertos were heard in Paris and implies that Boivin intended to issue further concertos, but there is no evidence that a second concerto by Quantz was ever published.⁵⁸ Although the royal copies of this work are war losses, several sources unrelated to the Boivin print also attribute the work to Quantz.⁵⁹ Stylistic features and motivic material connect it with his quartets for flute, violin, viola, and basso continuo from the same period, especially the quartet in the same key.⁶⁰

Any more precise dating of the Dresden concertos must, as with the solo sonatas, depend upon analysis of paper, handwriting, and style of works preserved in manuscripts. These manuscripts typically consist of sets of parts; score copies do exist, but few of these were made by copyists working directly for Quantz, and none were incorporated into the royal collection at Berlin. The king's copies almost invariably consist of six parts, one each for flute, first violin, second violin, viola, and figured bass, plus an unfigured basso ripieno part. Copies of Quantz's concertos made at Dresden, or sent to Dresden from Berlin, may be accompanied by duplicates (*Doubletten*) of the string parts prepared by a second (Dresden) scribe as well as ripieno parts for oboes, bassoon, even horns. These expanded sets of parts were for performances in the Dresden court chapel beginning around 1741, or for the newly constructed court church from about 1750 and later. The bass parts were sometimes altered or newly arranged for these performances. Thus a "Basso" part for the group concerto QV 6:3 was changed to "Basson", and in a set of parts for QV 6:8a sent from Berlin, a Dresden scribe changed a figured "Basso" part to "Organo."⁶¹

⁵⁸ ["Plusiers personnes de bon goût ayant souhaité d'avoir les concerto de M^r Quantz qui ont été entendus dans Paris . . . on les donnera les uns après les autres . . ." Boivin's *Catalogue générale et alphabétique de musique, imprimée ou gravée en France* (Paris, 1742), 49, contains an entry under Quantz's name for "Deux Concerto, à 2 liv. 8 s. pièce [*sic*]," but only the one concerto is known to have been published, and it appeared under the imprint of "M^{me} Boivin," that is, Elisabeth Boivin. She had continued the publishing firm of her husband François for twenty years after his early death in 1733, describing herself as "la veuve Boivin" on title pages from the earlier part of the period.—DS]

⁵⁹ [The three known manuscript sources all attribute the work to Quantz; they are independent of one another. A critical edition of the concerto with full textual commentary is to appear online at schulenbergmusic.org. —DS]

⁶⁰ QV 4:9 (no. 2) in E minor. There are also similarities in the quartets in G minor and B minor (QV 4:11 and 13, nos. 4 and 6) and in the trio sonata in G minor QV 2:35, whose first movement is "in concerto style" (*auf Concertenart*), that is, in ritornello form. QV numbers for the quartets were assigned by the present author following their discovery in 2003 (see "Quantz's *Quatuors* and Other Works").

⁶¹ Sources: QV 6:3, D-Dl Mus. ms. 2470-O-6; QV 6:8a, D-Dl Mus. ms. 2470-O-11.

The Dresden scribe Grundig was responsible for copying the majority of Quantz's concertos composed before 1742 (see Table 8). Grundig began copying music in about 1725; his copies can be placed in several groups based on the chronology of his hand. Copies of twelve concertos showing stage 1 of his handwriting date from the period 1725–31. Sixteen copies show features of a transition between stages 1 and 2 of his handwriting, and another eleven copies representing stage 2 were written during 1731–34. A third and a fourth stage of his handwriting can be seen in copies of seven further concertos that Grundig probably made between 1734 and 1740. After 1734, nine anonymous copyists produced sets of parts for further concertos of Quantz, who himself also copied parts for certain concertos during the period 1734–41.⁶²

Table 8. The copyist Johann Gottfried Grundig

Authentic Dresden trios copied by Grundig

	<u>Script stage 1</u>	<u>Script stage 2</u>
<u>Period</u>	ca. 1725–1731	ca. 1731–ca. 1733/34
<u>Trio sonatas</u>	2 (= Anh.3), 9, 14–15, 16 (= Anh.9), 18, 21, 22	33 (= Anh. 28),
<u>QV 2:</u>	(= Anh. 14), 27 (= Anh. 20), 28–29, 34–35, 43	39 (= Anh. 34), 42
	[total: 14]	[3]

Dresden concertos copied by J. G. Grundig

	<u>Stage 1</u>	<u>Stages 1 / 2</u>	<u>Stage 2</u>	<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>
<u>Period</u>	ca. 1725–1731	ca. 1728–ca. 1732	ca. 1731–1734	ca. 1733/34–	same
				1740	
<u>Concertos</u>	6–8, 17, 30, 31,	1, 4–5, 18, 23–24,	20, 40–41, 65–66,	74, 85	27, 47, 84
<u>nos.</u>	37, 43–46	26, 28–29, 32–36,	68, 71–72, 76–78		
	[total: 11]	67,* 70* [16]	[11]	[2]	[3]

[*Fechner: state 2]

⁶² The author presented her findings on the chronology of the Dresden concerto manuscripts in a presentation, “Quantz’ Rolle als Kopist, Komponist und Vermittler von Dresdener Repertoire: Rheinsberg, Bayreuth, Berlin und seine europäische Reise,” given at the international colloquium Das Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdener Hofkapelle in den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts: Überlieferung und Kopisten, Dresden, June 25, 2010. The author based her findings in part on handwriting specimens (*Schriftproben*) for Grundig (Dresden copyist A) in Manfred Fechner, *Studien zur Dresdner Überlieferung von Instrumentalkonzerten deutscher Komponisten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999), 150–58. [Fechner and Oleskiewicz are largely in agreement, except as noted in Table 8. —DS]

When these concertos were added to the king's repertory at Berlin, the catalog numbers assigned to them did not always reflect their precise chronological order. Grundig's concerto copies bear Berlin catalog numbers as low as 1 and as high as 85. Unidentified Dresden copyists, as well as Quantz himself, were responsible for further copies of concerto parts, up to no. 107 (QV 5:171).⁶³

Beginning with Concerto no. 108 (QV 5:32), the Berlin copyist Freudenberg regularly produced part-sets of concertos for Charlottenburg Palace. No further parts for concertos by Dresden copyists can be found in the king's collection. This suggests that concertos numbered 108 and above were composed at Berlin. For the Charlottenburg copies through Concerto no. 136 (QV 5:176), however, Freudenberg used a supply of paper that Quantz or Freudenberg himself must have brought from Dresden. These copies show the same watermarks and paper types that can be found in the Dresden concerto copies.⁶⁴

As with the sonatas, it is impossible to give precise dates for Quantz's concertos composed at Berlin. This is especially true for works written before 1756, when the Seven Years' War presumably put an end to his regular composition of such works. Before 1764, the records of payments to Quantz from the *Schatulle* are sporadic and undetailed. They started in 1742, but the first explicit mention of concertos is in an account from 1746. It is not always possible to determine whether such accounts concerned flutes, sonatas, concertos, or a combination of these, nor how many or what types of works were involved. These records show also that Quantz was sometimes paid in installments and that payments were often delayed.

One concerto, however, has a unique autograph part labeled "Cimbalo, piano e forte" (fig. 4). Quantz's handwriting in this part, for Concerto no. 184 (QV 5:162), matches that of his copy of a substitute aria composed by the king for an aria in the opera *Demofonte* (fig. 5). Graun's opera was performed at Berlin in 1746, and Concerto no. 184 was most likely prepared and submitted together with five further concertos "pour Charlottenbourg," nos. 179–83.⁶⁵ Not coincidentally,

⁶³ In the copy of Concerto no. 107 "pour Charlottenburg" (RUS-SPsc fond 956 opis' 2 no. 186 = KHM 3759), Quantz was responsible for the second violin and viola parts. The anonymous Dresden scribes here designated QA2 and QA37 copied Violino 1, Basso, and Basso Ripieno. These parts are on a Bohemian paper type otherwise found only in Dresden copies of concertos with numbers lower than 107.

⁶⁴ [As with sonatas, the author differs with Augsbach (QV, p. xxiv) with regard to the first Berlin concerto, which he identifies as no. 129 (QV 5:117). Augsbach did link Concerto no. 184 (QV 5:162) with the court's acquisition of a Silbermann fortepiano, which he places in 1747; in fact the king's first such instrument is dated 1746 and was acquired during that year (see Mary Oleskiewicz, "The Trio in Bach's *Musical Offering*: A Salute to Frederick's Tastes and Quantz's Flutes?," in *Bach Perspectives, Volume 4: The Music of J.S. Bach: Analysis and Interpretation*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999, 79–110, here 98). —DS]

⁶⁵ These six concertos "pour Charlottenbourg" were copied on a type of paper frequently

Figure 4. Quantz, Concerto in F QV 5:162 (no. 184), autograph part for “Cimbalo, piano e forte,” from D-B KHM 3952



Figure 5. Friedrich II, “Non odi consigli,” substitute aria for C. H. Graun, *Demofonte* (GWV B:I:13), from D-Bsa SA 1054 (Quantz autograph)



used at the Berlin court, with the watermark here designated Quantz 1 (Zittau double eagle with large electoral crown, letter Z over breast). Freudenberg prepared all parts for Concerto no. 184, with the exception of that for “Cimbalo” in Quantz’s hand; the latter shows watermark Quantz 2 (Zittau double eagle with medium-size electoral crown, clover stem, letter Z over breast). [These watermarks appear to correspond with those listed as nos. 3 and 2, respectively, in QV, p. xxi. — DS]

1746 was also the year in which the king first purchased a fortepiano from Gottfried Silbermann through Quantz. Assuming that Concerto no. 184 was also composed in 1746, we can conclude that Quantz composed about seventy-seven concertos from 1742 to 1746, or about fifteen each year. On the basis of later payment records, we can calculate that he wrote seventy-seven further concertos, that is, nos. 185–261, between 1746 and 1756.

Payment records show that Quantz submitted an additional thirty-seven concertos after the end of the war in 1763 (see Table 7).⁶⁶ These fell into six groups: the first group of six was paid for in November 1764; a group of seven concertos was paid for in June 1766; further groups of six concertos each were paid for in August 1767, April 1769, December 1770, and October 1772. The final concerto, in the somber key of C minor and bearing the round number 300, was unfinished at Quantz's death in 1773. The king completed it with the assistance of the royal court composer (and Quantz's former pupil) Johann Friedrich Agricola.⁶⁷

As with the sonatas, at a certain point the catalogs of concertos begin to list works in a rotation of regular key sequences, from A (or a) to G (or g). The first complete sequence begins with Concerto no. 162 in A minor (QV 5:234). The first two sequences include works in both E-flat major and E minor, but from Concerto no. 179 in A minor (QV 5:240) onward, sequences of seven concertos continue regularly up to and including no. 300 in C minor (QV 5:38).⁶⁸

How many concertos by Quantz did the king possess? How many concertos did Quantz compose overall? These are not simple questions. Excluding concertos by other composers in the royal collection, as well as works removed by Quantz, in their final state the catalogs listed 293 concertos by Quantz.⁶⁹ Two group concertos, QV 6:7 and 6:8, are now preserved only in sources

⁶⁶ [The author wrote “composed,” but, strictly speaking, the records document only payments for works that were newly submitted but might have been composed at an earlier date. —DS]

⁶⁷ The second movement is in F minor. On Agricola's assistance in the completion of the royal draft of the last movement, see Nicolai, *Anekdoten*, 3:258–59. The author plays the solo part in the first recording of Concerto no. 300 on the CD *Johann Joachim Quantz Concertos* with Miklós Spáanyi and Concerto Amonico (Naxos 8.573120, 2013). Henze-Döring, *Friedrich der Große*, 106, supposes without foundation that it was the flutist Augustin Neuf who “probably” (*vermutlich*) assisted the king in completing the last concerto.

⁶⁸ [Concertos nos. 163–76 are lost, and the only extant eighteenth-century copy of no. 162 (QV 5:234) is D-Bsa SA 2944, but the tonalities of the missing works can be determined from the palace catalogs and from Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der Königlichen Hausbibliothek*. —DS]

⁶⁹ Concertos nos. 2 (QV 5:Anh.17), 79 (Anh.24), 86 (Anh. 2), 87, 88, 90, and 91 in the court inventory are in no case by Quantz. [Freudenbergs's title wrappers for the two extant copies of Concerto no. 2 show conflicting attributions to Quantz (KHM 3535) and “Graun” (KHM 1892); nos. 87, 88, 90, and 91 bear attributions to Friedrich; nos. 79 and 86 are anonymous in their KHM sources and might have been composed by Friedrich, perhaps with some degree of

at Dresden; a third, as mentioned above, was apparently arranged for Friedrich's collection as Concerto no. 15 for flute alone (QV 5:73).⁷⁰ If one counts both versions of the latter work, this yields 296 authentic concertos before we consider a series of compositions listed in the QV *Anhang*. The latter include three more concertos surely by Quantz and another three that can probably be attributed to him.

Table 9 provides an overview of authentic and potentially authentic works listed in the *Anhänge* of QV 5 and QV 6. The catalog entry for QV 5:Anh.5 shows the incipit for Quantz's Quartet no. 1, which, as already mentioned, was removed from the royal collection. The first movement of the quartet is in concerto style (*auf Concertenart*), which is probably why it was once included among Quantz's actual concertos. QV 5:Anh.9, an imaginative and interesting flute concerto oriented closely toward Vivaldi, reveals unusual features found in other Quantz concertos. One of its two sets of manuscript parts belonged to the Berlin writer Friedrich Nicolai, who was familiar with the music of the Berlin court. If Quantz was the composer (as he could be), it must be a very early student work.

QV 5:Anh.13, a Dresden concerto for horn and strings, shows significant features of Quantz's style and is undoubtedly authentic. It must have been inspired by a horn concerto by "Mons. Hoffman," which survives at Dresden in a copy that shows Quantz's very early handwriting.⁷¹ Another Dresden horn concerto with definitely Quantzian features (QV 5:Anh.14) may also be a work of the composer, although stylistically it is less certain.

Two additional Dresden compositions by Quantz are the sinfonia or concerto QV 6:Anh.1 and the above-mentioned concerto QV 6:9 (6:Anh.2), which was removed from the royal collection. A source unknown to Augsbach confirms the attribution of QV 6:9: D-Bsa SA 2928 is one of

assistance from Quantz. With the exception of no. 2, entries for these works fall within a section of the catalog (nos. 75–92) that seems to list unusual or problematical works. —DS]

⁷⁰ The instrumentation of the lost QV 6:2, for flute, violin, and strings, is documented on the title wrapper "pour Charlottenbourg" of KHM 3561. [It is likely that certain obbligato passages for first violin in the solo episodes of QV 5:73 were originally for a solo violin, as in other early concertos in which obbligato passages within the first violin part are marked "solo." This raises the possibility that QV 5:73 is only one of several Dresden concertos that once existed with separate solo and ripieno first violin parts, and that it never was a true group concerto like others listed under QV 6. A reconstruction of QV 6:2 will be made available online together with editions of QV 5:73 and other works at schulenbergmusic.org. —DS]

⁷¹ D1 2207-O-1. [Augsbach listed the "Hoffman" concerto as QV 5:Anh.12, identifying the composer as "Georg Melchior Hoffman," that is, the Leipzig musician Melchior Hoffmann (ca. 1679–1715). The later was acquainted with Quantz's teacher Pisendel according to the *New Grove* article by Andreas Glöckner. Quantz's copy of QV 5:Anh.12 includes a ripieno second oboe part in addition to the solo oboe part included in the only other source (S-L Wenster I:2). This suggests that Quantz might have added the ripieno part himself, as Pisendel did for numerous other concertos at Dresden. For this reason QV 5:Anh.12 is included in Table 9.—DS]

Table 9. Authentic and possibly authentic works listed in the QV 5 and QV 6 *Anhänge*

<u>QV</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>	<u>Instrumentation*</u>	<u>By Quantz?</u>	<u>Comment</u>
5:Anh.5	D	D-Bsa SA2930	fl, vn, va, bc	certainly	quartet (QV 4:8), removed from KHM
5:Anh.9	D	S-Skma FbO-R D-ROu Mus. saec. XVIII:13 ⁶	fl, str same	possibly	a very early work?
5:Anh.12	Eb	D-DI Mus. 2207-O-1	hn, 2 ob, str		by “Hoffman,” arranged by Quantz?
		S-L Wenster I:2	hn, ob, str		
5:Anh.13	Eb	S-L Wenster I:3	hn, str	certainly	
5:Anh.14	Eb	S-L Wenster I:9	hn, ob, str	probably	also attributed to Quantz in Breitkopf catalog
5:Anh.18	Bb	D-SWl 4359	fl, str	probably	a very early work?
6:Anh.1	D	D-DI Mus. 2470-O-15	2 fl, 2 ob, bn, str	certainly	
6:Anh.2	D	D-DI Mus. 2470-O-14 D-Bsa SA 2928	2 fl, 2 ob, bn, str 2 fl, bn, vp, str	certainly	oboes added by Pisendel ms by Dresden copyists, removed from KHM

*fl = flute, ob = oboe, bn = bassoon, hn = horn, vp = principal (solo) violin, str = strings and basso (continuo)

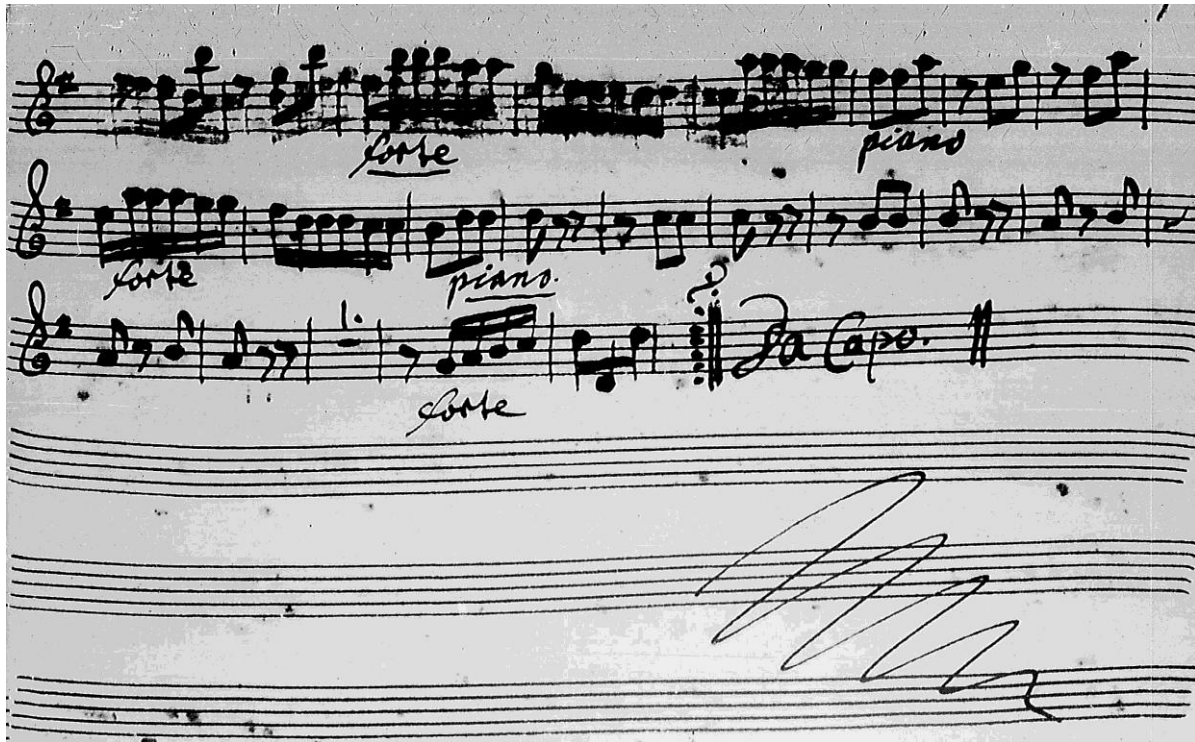
many court copies of Quantz’s flute music, including most of those made for Sanssouci Palace, that were stolen or given away and now belong to other collections. The handwriting and paper are the same as in numerous Dresden copies of Quantz’s concertos that entered the king’s collection.⁷² One of the two hands is the one here designated QA1 (Quantz-Anonymous 1), which Augsbach identified as Quantz’s youthful hand.⁷³ This is impossible, as the handwriting of QA1 can be found within a single copy together with genuine autograph entries made before 1741 (fig. 6).⁷⁴

⁷² All parts are copied on Saxon paper from the paper mill at Hermsdorf an der Röder bearing the coat of arms of the Count von Flemming. [The author identified the hands as QA1, who copied the solo flute and violin parts, and SA1, who copied the ripieno string parts. Freudenberg’s title wrapper, which is in the same format seen in court copies still in the KHM, was originally headed “Nro. 5”; this was altered to read “Nro. 9” and then crossed out. —DS]

⁷³ In QV, *Abbildung 5* on p. 292. [This is in fact a late form of the handwriting of QA1. —DS]

⁷⁴ QA1 copied Quantz’s trio sonatas as well as string parts that Quantz took to Berlin for concertos numbered from 17 to 77. Using the same paper, QA1 together with QA41 copied

Figure 6. Quantz, *Concerto a 8* in D, QV 6:9 (6:Anh.2), from D-Bsa SA 2928, end of second flute part copied by QA1, with dynamic markings and final flourish added by Quantz



Quantz's Style and Its Development

Having established with reasonable certainty a list of Quantz's authentic flute compositions, as well as a reliable, if partial, chronology, we are in a position to consider Quantz's style and its development. To investigate this, during two years of Covid lockdown the author systematically studied the copies of nearly every source of Quantz's music that she had previously gathered. Together with several musician friends, she played through the entire repertoire in approximate chronological order on replicas of Quantz's flutes. This experience led to invaluable insights into the music that Quantz composed from the early 1720s to 1773. These works provide a rare opportunity to study a composer's stylistic transition from the high Baroque through the *galant*

string parts for Concerto no. 45 (QV 5:49) "pour Charlottenbourg" (KHM 3637); QA41 (= Schreiber Berlin74 in GWV) also copied two trio sonatas that are doubtfully attributed to Graun (GWV D:XV:140 and 142). [Figure 6 has been added to this paper from a draft of the author's "Quantz als Kopist, Komponist und Vermittler von Dresdener Repertoire: Rheinsberg, Bayreuth, Berlin und seine europäische Reise," unpublished talk given June 23, 2010, at Dresden. —DS]

to the early Classical.

The word *galant*, now used to describe various types of pre-Classical style, was for Quantz and his contemporaries the opposite of *gebunden* or contrapuntal style.⁷⁵ Yet despite his modern reputation as a *galant* composer, Quantz was also a master of counterpoint. The contrapuntal element in his music is not limited to the fugues found in some of his early sonatas and concertos. It is also present in the refined writing of bass lines and inner voices from throughout his career, and in the intricate string parts that frequently accompany the soloist in his flute concertos.

Certain works attributed to Quantz in unique, peripheral sources, such as the Variations on “Ich schlief, da träumte mir” (QV 1:98), show impoverished, even incompetent, part-writing. This is one reason for doubting his authorship of them.⁷⁶ Once the dubious compositions are eliminated from consideration, it is possible to see the larger picture: that Quantz was fundamentally a contrapuntal composer. His music is never truly homophonic. It always includes an independent bass line as well as frequent fugal or canonic imitation and, in the concertos, inventive writing for the inner parts.

Quantz avoided the most extreme types of harmonic and rhythmic shocks today associated with Emanuel Bach. But by the time he reached Berlin, Quantz was fully immersed in what we call the *empfindsamer Stil*. Moreover, many of the minor-key sonatas and concertos reveal the effects that we identify with the *Sturm und Drang* of the later eighteenth century. These might have been inspired by the most dramatic arias and accompanied recitatives in the Italian operas of Hasse and other contemporaries. Works like the D-minor concerto QV 5:81 must in turn have inspired comparable efforts by Emanuel Bach (ex. 2).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See David Schulenberg, *The Instrumental Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 9–10, citing Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1760–63), 2:9.

⁷⁶ Some appoggiaturas and other liberties in QV 1:98, as in variation 4—implied parallel fifths (m. 1) and accented passing tones (mm. 4, 8)—would be allowed in later styles. But voice leading as in variation 14—implied parallel octaves in mm. 3–4; fifths in mm. 6–7; and displaced harmonies in mm. 17–18, including an unprepared I^{6/4} chord that again implies parallel fifths—would be considered crude in any style and could not be by Quantz. In variation 17, mm. 9–13 depart clumsily and without imagination from the melodic and harmonic outline of the theme, ineptly using only three chords (I, V, IV)—especially in m. 11, where the seventh (c3) of a V⁷ harmony resolves upward to d3—leading to a weak half cadence in m. 14 that must be harmonized as iii⁶–V. [The sole source of QV 1:98, D-B Mus. ms. 18024, is an eighteenth-century copy of unknown provenance. The theme was also the basis of keyboard variations by C. P. E. Bach and others. —DS]

⁷⁷ Compare Emanuel Bach’s concertos W. 6 (G minor) and W. 23 (D minor), from 1740 and 1748 respectively. For the author’s recording of QV 5:81 with Quantz flute, see *Johann Joachim Quantz: Flute Concertos*. [Another *sturm-und-drangisch* work recorded by the author is

(Example 2. Quantz, Concerto in D minor QV 5:81 (no. 113), movement 1, mm. 273–311, continued)

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 288 to 311. It begins with a **Solo.** marking and a **Tutti.** marking. The dynamics are *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The second system covers measures 297 to 311, with a **Solo.** marking. The Bass staff includes figured bass notation: 6/4, 5, 6/4, 5, and #.

System 1 (Measures 288–311):

- Fl.:** Solo. *p* *f* Tutti. *f*
- Vn. 1:** *p* *f*
- Vn. 2:** *p* *f*
- Va.:** *p* *f*
- Bs.:** *f*

System 2 (Measures 297–311):

- Fl.:** Solo. *f*
- Vn. 1:** *f*
- Vn. 2:** *f*
- Va.:** *f*
- Bs.:** 6/4, 5, 6/4, 5, #

(Example 2. Quantz, Concerto in D minor QV 5:81 (no. 113), movement 1, mm. 273–311, continued)

The musical score shows five staves. The Flute (Fl.) staff starts at measure 305 with a trill. The Violin 1 (Vn. 1) and Violin 2 (Vn. 2) staves are mostly silent, with Vn. 2 having a 'con sordini' marking. The Viola (Va.) staff is also silent. The Bass (Bs.) staff has a 'p' (piano) marking and includes fingerings such as 7, 6, 5, 4, 5, 6, 6, and 4+.

Quantz's earliest surviving works already show mastery not only of harmony and counterpoint but of orchestration as understood at the time, including idiomatic writing for bowed string instruments. This is not to say that every work is a profound masterpiece. Yet even his early works proceed in coherent forms while revealing variety and imagination. It is true that the solo passagework in some sonatas and concertos depends on formulas and harmonic sequences. In this matter, however, Quantz followed his early model Vivaldi. His genuine works never incorporate the excessive or dull repetitions that mar many of the inauthentic pieces once assigned to him. Nor, however, does Quantz arbitrarily invent thematic material. Many works insistently develop well-defined motives, such as the hornsignal that opens the relatively late concerto QV 5:281 in B minor (no. 236). The same motive returns to punctuate the solo episodes (ex. 3).

Before leaving Dresden, Quantz had established certain routines in the formal designs of his sonata and concerto movements. He would employ these forms for the remainder of his career. In this, however, Quantz resembled other members of his generation. In this, too, he was again followed by Emanuel Bach and other younger contemporaries. Many of Quantz's sonatas and concertos nevertheless depart from what had become customary. Several introduce instrumental recitative in slow movements. In others the strings interrupt solo passages to dramatic effect.

Quantz's earliest works clearly owe much of their melodic style and relatively free formal designs not only to Vivaldi but also to Corelli and Handel. Yet Quantz reveals his distinct musical personality in, for example, the soloistic episodes that he inserts into a strict fugue (ex. 4).

Example 3. Concerto in B minor QV 5:281 (no. 236), movement 1, mm. 1–4, 40–46 (without violins and viola).

Allegro assai e fiero

Flauto traverso

Basso rip.

40

44

p *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

In later works, nearly every movement features a type of pre-Classical sonata form: that is, a design that includes sections corresponding with the exposition, development, and recapitulation of later sonata allegros. To be sure, the first section only occasionally introduces a distinct second theme, initially stated in the dominant and later recapitulated in the tonic, as in many Classical sonata forms. The second section is often not distinctly developmental; rather this section is a varied restatement of the exposition that modulates to new keys. Sonata and concerto movements may also incorporate a distinct retransition passage that leads to a dramatic return of the opening theme in the original key. Others, however, emulate the da capo aria by concluding the middle section with a full cadence in the relative minor, then immediately restating the opening theme in the tonic. In one set of six sonatas (nos. 344–49, paid for in April 1769), each ends with a movement in rondo form.

The scoring of the concertos is roughly comparable to that of contemporary opera arias. Ritornellos are usually in just three real parts, either with the two violins in unison or the viola doubling the bass (as in exx. 2 and 3). But Quantz does sometimes write ritornellos in four real parts. A few early concertos entirely lack a viola part; relatively easy to play, these concertos might have been composed for Crown Prince Friedrich at a time when only a few covertly

Presto

Flauto traverso

Basso

This musical score is for a Flauto traverso and Basso. It consists of five systems of staves. The first system shows measures 1-8, the second measures 9-16, the third measures 17-24, the fourth measures 25-31, and the fifth measures 32-39. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The Flauto traverso part is written on a treble clef staff, and the Basso part is written on a bass clef staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and fingerings. The tempo is marked 'Presto'. The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

assembled musicians were on hand to accompany him. These works superficially resemble Quantz's quartets for flute and strings with continuo. But the four-part concertos do not meet Quantz's criteria for a quartet, which required a strong contrapuntal element.⁷⁸ Two of the quartets include strict fugues in four parts, as do the seven early concertos of the so-called church type, with a fugue as second movement. These concertos remained in the king's repertory, as did three solo sonatas with fugal movements (see ex. 4), although the quartets were apparently eliminated after the Seven Years' War.⁷⁹

Over time, Quantz's scoring in the concertos becomes more imaginative and innovative: there is creative use of mutes (*sordini*) and pizzicato as well as virtuoso writing for the strings, even a few instances of upbow staccato.⁸⁰ Unlike many composers of his time, Quantz included meaningful viola parts in the quartets and concertos. Some of the later concertos even give the violist a role as secondary soloist in the slow movement, although these parts were eventually transferred to a bassoonist. (Mozart also used the sonority of flute and bassoon to great effect, as in the slow movements of the piano concertos K. 456 and 459 of 1784.)

With time Quantz's sonatas and concertos also became longer, the solo passagework increasingly challenging. This makes it clear, incidentally, that the king truly did practice and could play at a professional level. Many of the most difficult passages from these works were copied into the so-called *sofeggi* of the king.⁸¹ When the present author finds a passage that requires substantial practice, it is invariably one that the king had copied out separately for his own practicing.

These sonatas and concertos also reveal the practicality of Quantz's flutes. Quantz produced at least eighteen flutes for the king, usually of ebony but also one of amber and gold. He also made

⁷⁸ Quantz explained his expectations for a quartet (or quartet sonata) in *Versuch*, 18.44; see Oleskiewicz, "Quantz's *Quatuors* and Other Works," 20.

⁷⁹ [Two further early sonatas not incorporated into the royal collection, QV 1:17 and 1:116, also include fugues. The very first Quantz sonata included in the KHM, QV 1:107 (no. 88), contains no fugues as such, but its second movement, a Presto in cut-time, is a sonata form in which each section begins like a stretto passage in an *alla breve* fugue.—DS]

⁸⁰ [Quantz's first professional experience was as a violinist; his understanding of and concern for technical details of string playing is clear not only from the extensive discussion of the latter in *Versuch*, 17.2–5, but from the idiomatic writing for strings in his concertos, including bariolage, multiple stops in all parts, and even occasional fingerings. —DS]

⁸¹ Preserved in a partial edition by Erwin Schwarz-Reiflingen, *Das Flötenbuch Friedrich des Großen* (Leipzig, 1934). [The king's now-lost *sofeggi*, manuscript collections of extracts chiefly from Quantz's concertos, were described by Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 2:146 and 150. A similar collection, apparently assembled by Quantz himself for his pupils, is preserved in a manuscript copy entitled *Solfeggi Pour la Flute Traversiere avec l'enseignement. par Monsieur Quantz*, in DK Kk, mu 6210.2528 (Gieddes samling I, 16), modern edition by Winfried Michel and Hermien Teske (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1978).—DS]

boxwood flutes for members of the nobility. Several flutes are missing or became war losses, but those that survive are sufficiently consistent in design to yield clues about Quantz's playing. They also reveal subtle distinctions between the head joints of individual instruments.⁸²

These flutes have not only a second key but a steeply conical bore. Their preferred pitch is low, about $a_1 = 385$ Hz, when played according to Quantz's instructions. These instruments also have thick walls, a low-tuned F and F-sharp, a tuning slide, and a moveable cork. These features make it possible for the player to compete in volume with a violin throughout its range, and to play in tune in both sharp and flat tonalities. Quantz described the sound of his flutes as "bright, penetrating, thick, round, [and] masculine," that is, worthy of a king and military commander.⁸³

These flutes had an enormous impact on Quantz's compositional style. In particular, he could write for the flute in a wide range of tonalities, with passagework comparable to that written for violin. Unlike many younger contemporaries, Quantz wrote frequently in minor as well as in major keys.⁸⁴ In addition to the popular flute keys of D and G major, Quantz's works employ the more challenging tonalities of C minor, E-flat major, F major, F minor, G minor, B-flat major, E major, and A major. C minor seems to have been a particular favorite of the king, whereas E major was perhaps the least common favorite due to the numerous finger-busting forked fingerings required.

Quantz's modulations nevertheless venture into all keys. Even the *Anfangsstücke*, a set of student etudes, include a work in B-flat minor (QV 1:178.9). Curiously, although there are eight concertos in D minor, Quantz evidently wrote no solo flute sonatas in that key.⁸⁵ Why this is so

⁸² For an inventory of the extant flutes by Quantz, 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, here 109–12. [A list can also be consulted in the author's "Trio in Bach's *Musical Offering*," 92–93. —DS]

⁸³ "hellen, schneidenden, dicken, runden, männlichen," *Versuch*, 4.3. For more on Quantz's flutes, see Mary Oleskiewicz: "The Flutes of Quantz: Their Construction and Performing Practice," *Galpin Society Journal* 52 (2000), 201–20.

⁸⁴ [Of the 445 sonatas and concertos by Quantz listed in the palace catalogs, 156 or 35.06% are in minor keys, a far higher percentage than for Classical composers such as Haydn, J. C. Bach, and Mozart. The percentage of minor-key trios is greater; of the 33 trios reasonably attributable to Quantz, 14 or 42.42% are in minor keys, reflecting the fact that the trios are relatively early works. This suggests that even Quantz was influenced by the increasing unfashionability of minor keys during the later eighteenth century. —DS]

⁸⁵ The only possible exception is QV 1:Anh.16a in D minor, published by Boivin, which may be an arrangement of QV 1:Anh.16b in E minor, printed by Walsh. Yet the D-minor version could be the original, and Walsh is known to have transposed works to make them easier to play. Otherwise there exist in D minor a single trio sonata (QV 2:Anh.9 = 2:16), the *Anfangsstück* QV 1:177.4, and the unaccompanied Capriccio QV 3:1.8. [The capriccio is one of twenty-two solo flute pieces usually attributed to Quantz, but their authorship, not taken up in the present

remains a mystery. We are fortunate however, that other mysteries concerning Quantz's music are at least partially solved. We may never know the precise chronology of his compositions or the authorship of several disputed works. But we now have what we need to produce truly critical editions of his compositions. We also can perform and analyze them with understanding of their place within his output and within the larger context of eighteenth-century European music.⁸⁶

Abbreviations

Anh.	<i>Anhang</i> (appendix, plural <i>Anhänge</i>)
B-Bc	Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek
D-Bsa	Berlin, Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, Archiv
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-GS	Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
D-HRD	Arnsberg-Herdringen, Schloss Herdringen, Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana
D-MÜu	Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-ROu	Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek
D-SWI	Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker
DK Kk	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GStA PK	Berlin, Geheimestaatsarchiv, Preußische Kulturbesitz
GWV	Graun-Werke-Verzeichnis (Christoph Henzel, <i>Verzeichnis der Werke der Brüder Johann Gottlieb und Carl Heinrich Graun</i> , 2 vols., Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2006)
HWV	Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis (<i>Händel-Handbuch</i> , 4 vols., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–)
HWV	<i>Die G.F. Händel zugeschriebenen Kompositionen, 1700-1800</i> , ed. Hans Joachim
Anh. B	Marx and Steffen Voss (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2017)
KHM	<i>Königliche Hausmusik</i> (within D-B)
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
QV	Quantz-Verzeichnis (Horst Augsbach, <i>Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz: Quantz-Werkeverzeichnis (QV)</i> , Stuttgart: Carus,

contribution, is open to question; see the online [edition](#) and [textual commentary](#). Of the eight concertos in D minor, only one, QV 5:82 (no. 189), dates from after Quantz's first few years at Berlin. —DS]

⁸⁶ [Editions of Quantz's sonatas and concertos based on the work of Mary Oleskiewicz have begun to appear online at schulenbergmusic.org. Although not all these editions are critical in the strict sense—that is, based on comprehensive examination and evaluation of every known source—all extant sources have been consulted and editorial commentaries provided for works whose text or provenance is problematical, including a number of those discussed in this essay.—DS]

- 1997).
- RISM *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (<https://rism.info/index.html>)
- RUS-SPsc St. Petersburg, Russian National Library
- SA Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, Archive (on deposit at D-B)
- S-L Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket
- S-Skma Stockholm, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket
- W. Alfred Wotquenne, *Catalogue thématique des œuvres de Charles Philippe Emanuel Bach (1714-1788)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1905)