

‘Dream Job: Next Exit?’: A Comparative Examination of Selected Career Choices by J. S. Bach and J. F. Fasch

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Much has been written about J. S. Bach’s climb up the career ladder from church musician and *Kapellmeister* in Thuringia to securing the prestigious *Thomaskantorat* in Leipzig.¹ Why was the latter position so attractive to Bach and ‘with him the highest-ranking German *Kapellmeister* of his generation (Telemann and Graupner)? After all, had their application been successful ‘these directors of famous court orchestras [would have been required to] end their working relationships with professional musicians [take up employment] at a civic school for boys and [wear] “a dusty Cantor frock”’, as Michael Maul noted recently.² There was another important German-born contemporary of J. S. Bach, who had made the town’s shortlist in July 1722 – Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758). Like Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), civic music director of Hamburg, and Christoph Graupner (1683–1760), *Kapellmeister* at the court of Hessen-Darmstadt, Fasch eventually withdrew his application, in favour of continuing as the newly-appointed *Kapellmeister* of Anhalt-Zerbst. In contrast, Bach, who was based in nearby Anhalt-Köthen, had apparently shown no interest in this particular vacancy across the river Elbe.

In this article I will assess the two composers’ positions at three points in their professional careers: in 1710, when Fasch left Leipzig and went in search of a career, while Bach settled down in Weimar; in 1722, when the position of *Thomaskantor* became vacant, and both Fasch and Bach were potential candidates to replace Johann Kuhnau; and in 1730, when they were forced to re-evaluate their respective long-term career choices. My aim is to shed light on what drew Bach and Fasch to two particular posts and how their lives, in turn, were shaped

¹ Recent biographies in English include Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: Norton, 2000) and Malcom Boyd, *J. S. Bach*, Third edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), but see also Michael Maul, ‘*Dero berühmter Chor*’: *Die Leipziger Thomasschule und ihre Kantoren 1212–1804* (Leipzig: Lehmann, 2012).

² Maul, ‘*Dero berühmter Chor*’, p. 7: ‘Warum wollten jene Leiter berühmter höfischer Orchester ihre Zusammenarbeit mit professionellen Musikern aufkündigen und gegen das Wirken an einer städtischen Knabenschule sowie den “staubigen Kantorenrock” eintauschen?’

by their employment choices. In so doing, I will contextualise the key similarities and differences between these two professional musicians.

1710 – Bach in Weimar, Fasch in Leipzig

In 1710, the 25-year-old Bach was at the height of his career as an organist at the court of Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Weimar. Born into a family of musicians in 1685 and excelling on the keyboard early on, there was no doubt that Bach would one day be a professional organist. Prior to his post in Weimar, he had held an entry-level position in Arnstadt, followed by an appointment in Mühlhausen; the latter was short-lived due to external circumstances, including a major fire which had devastated the town. Together with his pregnant wife Maria Barbara, Bach had moved to Weimar in the summer of 1708. As a composer he focused his attention on virtuosic pieces for organ and harpsichord rather than vocal and instrumental works.³

Fasch's life in 1710 was nothing like Bach's. The unmarried 22-year-old student was reading theology and law at the University of Leipzig and pursuing his favourite pastime, making music. Born in 1688 in Buttstedt near Weimar, Fasch had spent one year at the court of Weissenfels, where *Kapellmeister* Johann Philipp Krieger (1649–1725) had likely fostered the young boy's musical talent. Interestingly, none other than Johann Kuhnau, Bach's predecessor as *Thomaskantor*, recruited the young Fasch for the *Thomasschule*, which he attended from 1701. According to an autobiographical essay published by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in 1757, Fasch was unable to afford music lessons and as a result taught himself how to play a number of instruments, including the violin and keyboard.⁴ He also composed, eventually writing orchestral suites fashioned after those of Telemann—so much so that his peers initially thought several of them had been written by the founder of Leipzig's First *Collegium Musicum*, rather than by Fasch.⁵ He considered Telemann, who was also in charge of music at both the *Neue Kirche* and the opera house on the Brühl, a close acquaintance.⁶ This implies that they almost certainly knew each other personally, even though Telemann had already left Leipzig by 1705. But he would surely have been aware of Fasch having founded a second *Collegium Musicum* in 1708. This group of approximately 20 university students successfully entertained audiences at local coffee houses and was involved in performances at the opera house.⁷

³ See Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Chapter 5.

⁴ See Fasch's autobiographical essay in 'Lebenslauf des Hochfürstl. Anhalt-Zerbstischen Capellmeisters, Herrn Johann Friedrich Fasch', in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin, 1757), vol. III, pp. 124–9.

⁵ See also Barbara M. Reul, "'Forgive us our debts': Viewing the life and career of Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) through the lens of finance', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 8/2 (2011), 262–4.

⁶ Fasch calls him a 'geehrtest- und geliebteste[r] Freun[d]' (most revered and beloved friend), see note 5.

⁷ Interestingly, Fasch did not indicate that he and his ensemble had performed at the opera house in his 1757 autobiographical essay. But there is no doubt that the Second *Collegium Musicum*—directed by J. F. Fasch and Johann David Heinichen—participated regularly. See

The ensemble's public exposure paid off in the autumn of 1710, when the apparently well-liked and respected Fasch and his *Collegium* were invited to perform during the newly-established worship services at the university church, the *Paulinerkirche*, over the Christmas season.⁸ This displeased *Thomaskantor* Kuhnau, who was in charge of music at several churches in Leipzig, including the *Paulinerkirche* where worship services were held in conjunction with official university business as well as on four particular feast days of the church year. However, unlike Fasch, Kuhnau was forbidden to recruit university students to play in that venue, and promptly complained bitterly about it to the university council on 29 December. Fasch immediately requested to continue performing at the university church in the New Year. His rationale was as follows:⁹

1. it was impossible for Kuhnau to look after the music at all of Leipzig's churches ('[es war] H. Kuhnauen alle Kirchen zu bestreiten ohnmöglich');
2. he [Kuhnau] could not perform concerted music without having university students at his disposal, whom he was also not permitted to recruit ('daß ohne Hülffe derer H[erren] Studiosorum der H. Cantor keine vollstimmende Music würde bestellen können');
3. the university council had disallowed the use of instruments belonging to civic churches in the academic church [i.e. the *Paulinerkirche*] ('der Stadt Kirchen gewidmete Instrumenta, in der Academischen Kirchen zu gebrauchen, nicht fernerweit zu verstatten gesonnen');
4. carrying instruments back and forth between churches would be cumbersome ('beschwerlich');
5. in contrast, there was no lack of instruments in Fasch's *Collegium Musicum*, nor did they have to be purchased at great expense in the first place ('kein Mangel an musicalischen Instrumenten anzutreffen, und also selbige nicht erst mit großen Unkosten ... dürffen angeschaffet werden');
6. at virtually all other academic institutions – except in Leipzig – university students or a *Collegium Musicum* were responsible for the music performed at academic houses of worship ('die Academische Kirchen Music von denjenigen, welche sich denen Studiis gewidmet, und einen so genannten Collegio Musico, bestellet und dirigiret wird');
7. members of the two Leipzig *Collegia Musica* categorically refused to play under Kuhnau's direction ('daß kein einziger Studiosus aus denen Collegiis Musicis (in welchen doch fast alle Musici angetroffen werden)

Michael Maul, 'New Evidence on Thomaskantor Kuhnau's Operatic Activities, Or: Could Bach have been allowed to compose an opera?', *Understanding Bach*, 4 (2009), 9–20.

⁸ Hans Hofmann, 'Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik in der Universitätskirche zu St. Pauli-Leipzig seit der Reformation (1543–1918)', *Beiträge zur Sächsischen Kirchengeschichte*, 32 (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1918), 119–51, available at www.paulinerkirche.org/gescha.html (accessed 5 October 2013). See also Andreas Glöckner, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und die Universität Leipzig: Neue Quellen (Teil 1)', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 94 (2008), 158–202.

⁹ Transcriptions of Fasch's letter and Kuhnau's immediate reply from 29 December 1710 are included in Bernhard Engelke, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch: Versuch einer Biographie', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 10/2 (January–March 1909), 263–83, esp. 268–71. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

sich H. Kuhnau zu gefallen unter seine direction werde zwingen lassen'); in other words, without them, there would be no concerted music at the *Paulinerkirche*;

8. finally, and most importantly, Fasch stressed that he was willing to offer his services and those of his ensemble without being paid and without any hope of receiving any kind of honorarium ('ohne Entgelt und ohne eine zu erhoffen habende Erkenntlichkeit gern tun').

The clear organisation of Fasch's carefully conceived letter reflects his legal training, while his arguments are framed to emphasise his leadership skills, loyalty, and generous nature. At the same time, Fasch's courageous proposal was bound to upset Kuhnau. The latter immediately argued that, since commencing the post in August 1710, he had done a wonderful job providing music and playing the organ at the *Paulinerkirche*. In addition, he had never charged a penny for his services, nor was he expecting to be remunerated in the future. However, the current *Thomaskantor* Kuhnau felt insulted by the fact that Fasch, a *Thomaner* who apparently knew 'little about the church music style', had been allowed to perform at the university church in the first place.¹⁰ That Kuhnau focused on his former student's inexperience with regard to directing performances of sacred music—an area in which he felt he excelled as the *Thomaskantor*—is hardly surprising. Kuhnau had long detested the 'Operisten', whose highly experimental, secular music was delighting local crowds.¹¹

How did this 'David versus Goliath' story end? Fasch quickly lodged a complaint—and so did Kuhnau—but to no avail. On 31 March 1711, the university council declared Fasch (and, by extension, his ensemble) unsuitable because of their other, exclusively secular, musical activities. Council members also worried that Fasch was trying to manipulate them into offering him the position of 'academischer Musikdirektor', given that the *Collegium Musicum* members refused to work with Kuhnau. However, since nobody could predict what would happen once Fasch had graduated from university, the council decided in favour of leaving Kuhnau in charge of all music at the *Paulinerkirche*.¹²

This incident in late 1710 introduced Fasch to the kind of internal politicking that crippled many a city and court alike in the early eighteenth century.¹³ A decade later, irreconcilable differences between his employers in Ober- und Unter-Greiz forced Fasch to quit his jobs as organist and city clerk and look for employment elsewhere. Moreover, his young wife had passed away in the autumn of 1720, and Fasch buried their baby boy the following spring. Leaving his young daughter with his parents-in-laws in Thuringia, Fasch relocated to

¹⁰ 'dass er vom Kirchen Stylo wenig wissen muss', in Engelke, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch: Versuch einer Biographie', 270.

¹¹ Maul, 'Dero berühmter Chor', pp. 151–2, and Maul, 'New Evidence', 9–10.

¹² Glöckner, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und die Universität Leipzig', 172–4.

¹³ See Samantha Owens and Barbara M. Reul, "'Das gantze Corpus derer musicirenden Personen": An Introduction to German *Hofkapellen*', in Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice B. Stockigt (eds.), *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 1–14.

Prague later that year, serving as resident composer ('Hauscomponist') for Count Wenzel Morzin until the summer of 1722.¹⁴

In comparison, Johann Sebastian Bach's career had reached new heights during the 1710s. He was promoted to the position of concertmaster at the court of Weimar in 1714, performing secular and sacred concerted music for the duke. As a composer of keyboard music he explored Italian models, especially instrumental music by Vivaldi, Corelli, and Torelli. In 1717, the 32-year-old Bach secured the *Kapellmeister* post at the court of Anhalt-Köthen. This was a major achievement with regard to overall prestige, professional reputation—and income: his salary doubled. A further bonus was Bach's personal friendship with his new employer, a gifted musician. In contrast to Lutheran-Orthodox rulers, the Calvinist Prince Leopold did not require his *Kapellmeister* to write sacred vocal works for the court chapel. As a result, Bach shifted his attention to secular music, in particular instrumental ensemble music (the so-called Brandenburg Concertos, overture suites) and solo instrumental works. In 1720 Bach—like Fasch—also suffered the sudden death of his spouse. He raised their four young children by himself until he met Anna Magdalena Wilcke, a court singer 17 years his junior; they married in December 1721.

1722 – Bach in Köthen, Fasch in Prague

On 5 June 1722 Johann Kuhnau died in Leipzig, leaving the prestigious *Thomaskantor* post vacant. One would think that finding someone to replace him would not have been difficult. However, the town council's first choice, Telemann, used the job offer to renegotiate his own employment contract in Hamburg, and the runner-up, Graupner, was ordered by his noble employer to stay put in Darmstadt.¹⁵ In 1757 Fasch described his involvement in the recruitment process as follows:

I had been [serving as *Kapellmeister*] in Zerbst for just over 8 weeks, when [in late November 1722] I received two consecutive letters from the late Herr *Hofrath* Lange in Leipzig in his capacity as the then incumbent mayor concerning the vacant Cantor position, since *Herr* Telemann had declined to audition for it. However, it was impossible for me to leave my most gracious employer.¹⁶

¹⁴ Vivaldi dedicated his famous op. 8 concertos (which include *The Four Seasons*) to Morzin's orchestra in 1725. See Václav Kapsa's investigation of 'Account books, names and music: Count Wenzel von Morzin's "Virtuosissima Orchestra"', *Early Music*, 40/4 (November 2012), 605–20.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of the hiring process for a new *Thomaskantor* see Ulrich Siegele, 'Bachs Stellung in der Leipzig Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 69 (1983), 7–50 and *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 70 (1984), 7–43.

¹⁶ 'Kaum war ich 8 Wochen in Zerbst, als vom seel. Herrn Hofrath Langen zu Leipzig, als damaligen regierenden Bürgermeister zwey Schreiben hintereinander erhielt, um wegen vacanter Cantoratsstelle, da der Hr. Telemann solche abgeschrieben hatte, daselbst die Probe zu thun; es war mir aber ohnmöglich meine gnädige Herrschaft zu verlassen.' How strongly the name Fasch was associated with Leipzig is evident from an entry in the Gotha court account books from 1714 where he was identified as a 'Componist ... aus Leipzig' (composer

What Fasch seems to have forgotten is that he had applied for the Leipzig position prior to arriving in Zerbst. In July 1722 he was ranked second after Telemann on the *Kapellmeister* faction's list of suitable applicants.¹⁷ These particular members of the selection committee did not seem to mind that it had been over a decade since both these musicians had last worked in Leipzig: Telemann's and Fasch's chief legacies—the First and Second *Collegia Musica*, respectively—continued to be an integral part of Leipzig's musical life in 1722.¹⁸

When exactly Fasch found out that Telemann had been selected for the *Thomaskantor* post is not known. Could the announcement in mid-August have driven him to accept the *Kapellmeister* position in Zerbst in the first place?¹⁹ The post had been vacant since May when *Capell-Director* Johann Baptist Kuch suddenly departed.²⁰ Fasch provided the following rationale for leaving an apparently ideal employment situation in Prague for a post in Anhalt-Zerbst, located approximately 90 km north-west of Leipzig:²¹

I had spent about one and a half years here [in Prague] when I received a letter from the *Kapellmeister* of Gotha, Herr Stoeltzel, [indicating that] upon the recommendation of his Most Gracious, Serene Highness, the Duke [of Saxony-Gotha-Altenburg], his Serene Highness, the Prince of Zerbst had requested my services. But because was I was very much favoured by Count Morzin, [and received] good food, lodgings, wood, free lighting as well as a cash salary of three hundred *Gulden* and was applauded by the local nobility, I wrote twice to Gotha and declined, until a third letter from Gotha reached me, accompanied by a missive from my late father-in-law, Archdeacon Laurenti from Zeitz, who was looking after my only [child, a] daughter and

... from Leipzig); see Christian Ahrens, 'Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle': *Aus dem Innenleben einer thüringischen Hofkapelle im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009), p. 48.

¹⁷ The Cantor faction favoured Christian Friedrich Rolle (1681–1751), Georg Lenck (1685–1744), and Johann Martin Steindorff (1663–1744), in that order.

¹⁸ See Maul, 'New Evidence', 19. He wonders whether the Leipzig town council and the elector in Dresden were hoping to hire a 'multifaceted municipal *Kapellmeister*' in favour of a new *Thomaskantor*; this would explain why high-profile *Kapellmeisters* such as Telemann, Graupner, and Fasch (who all had strong Leipzig ties) applied in the first place.

¹⁹ See Siegele, 'Bachs Stellung', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 69 (1983), 9–26, specifically p. 11, where he considers the time line and content of the 'consecutive letters' sent to Fasch.

²⁰ Barbara M. Reul, 'The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst', *Music at German Courts*, pp. 259–86.

²¹ 'Hieselbst [in Prag] befande ich mich etwa 1 und ein halb Jahr, als ich von dem Gothaischen Capellmeister H[er]rn Stöltzel ein Schreiben erhielt, wie auf seines gnädigsten Herzogs Durch[auchtigkeits] hohe Recommendation des Fürsten von Zerbst Durch[auchtigkeit] mich als Capellmeister, in Dero Dienste verlangten. Weil ich aber bey dem Herrn Grafen Morzini in recht grosser Gnade stunde, eine gute Tafel, Quartier, Holtz, Lichtfrey und noch dreyhundert Gulden richtige Besoldung, auch von dortiger Noblesse allen Beyfall hatte, so schrieb ich diesen Ruff 2 mahl nach Gotha ab, bis endlich der 3te Brief aus Gotha erschiene, und zwar in Begleitung eines Schreibens von meinem seel[igen] Schwiegervater, H[er]rn Archidiacono Laurentii zu Zeitz, welcher mein einziges Töchtergen bey sich hatte, und sehr drauf drunge, die Zerbster Vocation anzunehmen, worauf ich zu größtem Mißfallen des H[er]rn Grafen, im Sommer 1722. dahin abgienge, und diese Stellung, mit einem gnädigst[an]geordneten Gehalt von 400 R[eichs]th[a]l[e]r wozu noch einen Winspel Rocken in Natura kam, unterthänigst annahme.'

pressured me greatly to accept the post in Zerbst. I made my way there in summer 1722, to the Count's greatest displeasure, subserviently taking up the position, which included a graciously prescribed salary of 400 *Reichsthaler* as well as a measure [*Winspel*] of rye.²²

Primary sources do not indicate when Fasch accepted the Zerbst offer. Judging from Fasch's account, it was probably facilitated by Gottfried Heinrich Stöltzel, his 'Herzensfreund' (literally 'friend of the heart') from Leipzig who spent several years in the Bohemian capital before becoming Gotha's new *Kapellmeister*. Fasch's appointment in Zerbst officially began on 29 September 1722, the feast day of St Michael and All Angels. Consequently, he must (at the very latest) have left Prague in early September.²³

How and when Bach would have heard the news that a new *Kapellmeister* of Anhalt-Zerbst had been hired has yet to be determined. His brother-in-law, Johann Caspar Wilcke, a trumpeter at the Zerbst court since 1717, could have passed on news about Kuch's departure in spring 1722.²⁴ Archival records indicate that Johann Friedrich Wagner, resident music copyist and a junior member of the *Kapelle*, took over as its interim director.²⁵ Kuch's responsibilities had included composing music for princely birthdays, a long-standing tradition at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst. But it is unclear whether Wagner—who was identified as a *Cammer Musicus* and court organist when he died in Zerbst fifteen years later—had ever offered to (or was capable of) writing large-scale works for important occasions in 1722.²⁶

What we do know is that none other than J. S. Bach received 10 *Reichsthaler* for setting a secular cantata text, *O Vergnügte Stunden* (BWV deest), to music in honour of Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst's birthday on 9 August 1722. Curiously, the honorarium was only paid in spring 1723. Michael Maul has speculated that the low amount and its lateness could mean that it was a supplementary payment by the court, with the text's author—Georg Rudolf von Kayn, a high-ranking Zerbst court official—having asked Bach to set the libretto to music and possibly paying him out of his own pocket.²⁷ Ten *Thaler* was, however, also the going rate for special music at the court of Anhalt-Köthen. Between 1740 and 1753, Fasch was paid that sum for composing annual birthday

²² Fasch actually only made 350 *Reichsthaler* a year between 1722 and 1737, see Reul, 'The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst', p. 265. A *Winspel* (*Wispel*) was a legal unit for dry commodities, including grain.

²³ Fasch could also have included Greiz in his travel plans to pick up his daughter Sophia. Who would have looked after her while he was busy working—perhaps one of his unmarried sisters or a housekeeper-nanny?—has yet to be determined.

²⁴ See Barbara M. Reul, 'Trompeter am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof und ein neu aufgefundenes Trompeter-Mandat von 1728', in [Bert Siegmund and Konstanze Musketa (eds.)], *Fasch und Dresden*, *Fasch-Studien*, 12 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2013), pp. 184–204.

²⁵ Michael Maul, 'Neues zu Georg Balthasar Schott, seinem Collegium musicum und Bachs Zerbster Geburstagskantate', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 93 (2007), 61–103, specifically pp. 93–103.

²⁶ See the respective entry on 13 July 1737 in the court chapel's death register, St Bartholomäi Parish Archive, Zerbst. Wagner died at the age of 40.

²⁷ Maul, 'Neues zu Georg Balthasar Schott', 102–3.

serenatas in honour of the princely couple as well as music for New Year's Day.²⁸ Why the court of Anhalt-Zerbst was so late in remunerating Bach is indeed a mystery. Perhaps officials were unsure about how much to pay another *Kapellmeister*, or hoping for an actual invoice to be submitted. In any case, the court was hopelessly slow in processing payment requests, and Prince Johann August had not even been in town on his birthday: he spent the summer in Jever (Lower Saxony), an enclave of Anhalt-Zerbst. Wagner, rather than Bach may, therefore, have actually directed the premiere of *O Vergnügte Stunden*.²⁹

This brings us to the question of whether *Kapellmeister* Bach ever considered the position in Zerbst as a viable employment alternative. Granted, he had at one time hoped to work in Köthen until retirement. But he also applied for the position of organist at the *Jacobikirche* in Hamburg in November 1720,³⁰ and dedicated his Concertos '*avec plusieurs instruments*' to Margrave Christian Ludwig of Brandenburg in spring 1721. In early December, Prince Leopold married the musically less inclined Princess Henrietta of Anhalt-Bernburg. Soon after, not only was Bach's *Kapelle* budget cut, but the princely family began to quarrel, his beloved employer experienced health problems, Lutherans and Calvinists in Köthen entered into a religious feud, and Bach's children were forced to attend a local school that lacked classroom space and teachers.³¹ No archival sources appear to exist that confirm (or even imply) an interest in the vacant Zerbst post in 1722. Nor do we know whether the vacancy had been advertised (and if so, how), whether other applications had been received, or if candidates had been invited to audition.³² No employment contract detailing the *Kapellmeister's* responsibilities in Anhalt-Zerbst has been preserved either.³³ Most importantly, entries in extant court account books indicate that Bach would have:

²⁸ Maik Richter, 'Die Köthener Hofmusik zur Zeit des Fürsten August Ludwig', in [Konstanze Musketa and Barbara M. Reul (eds.)], *Musik an der Zerbster Residenz*, Fasch-Studien, 10 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2008), pp. 167–82, especially pp. 178–9, Table 4.

²⁹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Zerbst 1722: Randnotizen zu einer verlorenen Gastmusik', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 90 (2004), 209–13.

³⁰ See Bach's letter to Georg Erdmann from 1730: 'There I had a gracious Prince, who both loved and knew music, and in his service I intended to spend the rest of my life.' See Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp. 202 and 214.

³¹ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp. 218–19.

³² According to Fasch's autobiographical essay from 1757, Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst had heard about him from his relative, the Duke of Gotha, who, in turn, must have been made aware of Fasch by his resident *Kapellmeister* G. H. Stölzel. Word of mouth was probably also used to get six individuals to apply for the organist's position at St *Bartholomäi-Kirche* in Zerbst in the summer of 1758. See Barbara M. Reul, 'Das vakante Organistenamt an der St. Bartholomäi-Kirche zu Zerbst und die "liederliche Lebensart" von Johann Heinrich Heil (1706–1764)', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für anhaltische Landeskunde*, 19 (2010), 129–43.

³³ An investigation of other, relevant extant primary sources has been undertaken by Barbara M. Reul, 'Court Musicians at Anhalt-Zerbst: New Sources for Eighteenth-Century Employment Practices', in Sterling Murray (ed.), *Haydn and His Contemporaries* (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2011), pp. 117–52.

1. been paid 50 *Thaler* less (350, rather than 400 *Thaler* a year) in 'Zippel-Zerbst' compared to 'Cow-Köthen';³⁴
2. directed a smaller *Kapelle*: there were only eleven permanent members on the payroll of the Zerbst court in 1722/23, compared to the sixteen individuals he had at his disposal in Köthen as of 1717;³⁵
3. been required to work much more, especially during his first year of tenure—a minimum of three cantatas for the court chapel were required per week, as well as several large-scale princely birthday cantatas and serenatas, and a 'starcke' (as in substantial) passion oratorio.³⁶

In contrast, a *Kapellmeister* position would have meant a major increase in Johann Friedrich Fasch's social status and allowed him to continue focusing exclusively on his musical interests. Other compelling reasons for the 34-year-old widower and single father to leave his beloved Bohemia for good might have included: a steady income; the continued support of a prince; the chance to work with trained musicians; and a return to Central Germany, where he would be closer to his relatives in Thuringia. Anhalt-Zerbst's political insignificance, small size, and comparatively remote location did not seem to bother Fasch—or the Russian Imperial family who selected Sophie Auguste Friedericke, daughter of Prince Christian August of Anhalt-Zerbst, to marry the future emperor in 1745; throughout her reign as Catherine the Great, she would keep a watchful eye over her German childhood home.³⁷

Accepting a *Kapellmeister* position also meant that Fasch would never be required to teach anything but music in Zerbst, and music only if he wished to.³⁸ How serious Fasch was about not instructing others in a non-musical subject is evident from his application for the vacant cantorship of Freiberg in Saxony. Penned in 1755, that is thirty-three years after his application for the *Thomaskantorat* post, Fasch's letter includes the following passage:

owing to so much brainwork having been required in [my] present job up to now and to a lack of practice, [I have] once again forgotten most of what is necessary [to teach] the Latin language. I would rather inform your Esteemed and Noble [Sirs] about this [aspect] now, rather than later...³⁹

³⁴ 'Cow-Köthen' and 'Zippel (as in nanny goat)-Zerbst' are historic nicknames of these two small princely residential towns. Their respective *Kammerrechnungen* (court account books) are extant at the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau.

³⁵ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, pp. 193–4, 'Table 7.1. The Cöthen Court Capelle, 1717–23'.

³⁶ As communicated in Fasch's 'Lebenslauf' in Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, p. 128. Interestingly, Fasch wrote not only the music, but also the text for *Die Gerechten müssen sich freuen*, the cantata which was premiered on 18 October 1722 to honour Princess Hedwig Friedericke's birthday. See Barbara M. Reul, 'Performances of Sacred Birthday Cantatas by J. F. Fasch (1688–1758) at the Court of Anhalt-Zerbst', *Lumen*, 22 (2003), 27–45.

³⁷ See Barbara M. Reul, 'Catherine the Great and the role of celebratory music at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 3/2 (2006), 269–309.

³⁸ Fasch taught at least three students: Johann Gabriel Seyffarth (1711–1797) in c.1735; a male discantist named Borthmüller in 1748; and Johann August Lüdicke (b.1737) in 1752.

³⁹ 'meinem Gedächtniße aber, bey so vieler in denen bißherigen Diensten gehabter Kopfarbeit und ermangelnder Übung, das meiste zur lateinischen Sprache gehörige wiederum entfallen

Perhaps the 67-year-old *Kapellmeister* wished to hide a general ineptitude for, or personal lack of interest in, foreign languages. However, Greek and especially Latin would have been an asset for Fasch when he studied theology at university after graduating from the *Thomasschule*.⁴⁰ Or had he been traumatised by Latin much earlier? Fasch never commented on the living conditions and learning environment at Leipzig's most famous 'boarding school of the poor'.⁴¹ But when he entered the institution in 1701, it had apparently been 'in such disarray that it could no longer be endured, and the entire school had sunk into decadence'.⁴²

Alternatively, Fasch's professional pride as a *Kapellmeister* could have prevented him from agreeing to teach at a school. That this detail was negotiable in Leipzig in 1722 must not have been communicated in Mayor Lange's letters to Fasch.⁴³ In his report to the town council in December of that year, Lange stressed only that the *Kapellmeister* of Anhalt-Zerbst was 'not willing to teach' in addition to carrying out all of his other duties.⁴⁴

In the end, it made no difference. The position was offered to Johann Sebastian Bach, who signed his contract as the new *Thomaskantor* on 5 May 1723, hopeful that his life and that of his family would now dramatically improve.

1730 – Bach in Leipzig, Fasch in Zerbst

Seven years after commencing his post, Bach was more than ready to leave Leipzig for another position. According to his famous letter written in October

ist; alß habe an Ew. Hoch[-] und WohlEdl[e]: solches lieber voritzo freiwillig entdecken, als nachher...', see Michael Maul, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch und das Freiburger Kantorat', in [Konstanze Musketa (ed.)], *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist*, Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte, 14 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), pp. 237–50, specifically p. 249.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, nearly three decades later, in 1737, Fasch noted in his last extant letter to Count Zinzendorf that he was ready to 'let music go [put music aside and] resume theological studies ('die Music liegen zulaßen [und] das Studium Theologicum wieder zu ergreifen'). See Martin Petzoldt, 'J. F. Fasch als Briefkorrespondent des Grafen Zinzendorfs: Ein Beitrag zur theologischen Lokalisierung Faschs', in Eitelfriedrich Thom (ed.), *Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758): Wissenschaftliche Konferenz in Zerbst am 5. Dezember 1983 aus Anlaß des 225. Todestages* (Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1984), pp. 32–43.

⁴¹ 'Armenschule mit Internat', see www.bach.de/leben/leipzig.html (accessed 10 October 2013).

⁴² 'in solcher Unordnung, daß es nicht länger auszustehen [war], und die gantze Schule [war] in Decadenz geraten', see Maul, 'Dero berühmter Chor', p. 167. The boys also complained about not being fed properly.

⁴³ Interestingly, in 1755 Fasch also pointed out to the Freiberg selection committee that there were 'several examples of large and respectable towns ... in the same kind of situation [which had] graciously allowed their directors of music to leave the required hours of instruction to another person and pay his small share from their [Cantor] salaries. In other words, *Directorium Musices* [duties were] being separated from teaching [duties]...' ('verschiedene Exempel großer und ansehnlicher Städte vorhanden, daß in dergleichen Falle... gütigst bewilliget worden, den Directori Musices zu verstaten, die Ihme sonst zu besorgenden Schulstunden, gegen ein von seiner Besoldung zu zahlendes billiges Quantum, einem andern zu überlaßen, und solchermaßen das Directorium Musices von der Schule ad Interim zu trennen...'). This policy was adopted in Danzig, Frankfurt, and Hamburg.

⁴⁴ 'erkläre sich, daß er nicht mit informiren könnte', see *BDok* II/119: 'Bach als Mitbewerber um das Thomaskantorat, Leipzig, 21.12.1722'.

1730 to an old schoolmate, Georg Erdmann, the 45-year-old *Thomaskantor* enjoyed being a husband and father. But one of the most prestigious and influential musical offices of Protestant Germany had failed to meet his expectations. As a result, Bach lived 'in a continual state of annoyance, suffering envy and persecution constantly'.⁴⁵ He was also frustrated that his salary of 700 *Thaler* was not enough to make ends meet in an expensive town such as Leipzig. Thankfully, his initial worries about giving up a *Kapellmeister* position for a lowly school-teaching *Kantor* post had turned out to be unfounded, as his focus in Leipzig continued to remain on composing. The fact that his children would be able to study at university pleased Bach as well. However, his professional enthusiasm had waned over the years, with Leipzig town officials considering a pay cut for this incorrigible and recalcitrant *Thomaskantor* who had little interest in his work and was the target of multiple complaints.⁴⁶

Kapellmeister Fasch, in contrast, avoided confrontations with his employers. In a follow-up letter to his application for the Freiberg cantorship, dated 30 October 1755, he noted:

By nature my character is such that I make the utmost endeavours to maintain order and harmony at all times when carrying out official tasks and also [wish to emphasise that] not a single complaint has been lodged against me or my subordinates with the Princely *Marschallamt* over the course of more than three decades of service here [at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst].⁴⁷

There is no reason to doubt Fasch's statement. Indeed, judging from the tone of his surviving letters, he cared very much about his professional reputation and that of his *Kapelle*.⁴⁸ Arguably, his seemingly compulsive and unrelenting need to work helped him achieve his main goal during the first seven years of his 36-year tenure – to please Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst.⁴⁹ In return, Fasch was

⁴⁵ 'mithin fast in stetem Verdruß, Neid und Verfolgung', see *NBR/152*, pp. 151–2. An effective translation of Bach's letter into accessible modern German is available online: www.martinschlu.de/kulturgeschichte/barock/spaetbarock/bach/1730.htm.

⁴⁶ Maul, '*Dero berühmter Chor*', p. 159.

⁴⁷ 'meine GemüthsGestalt [ist] so beschaffen..., daß äußerst [ich] mich dahin bestrebe, Ruhe und Frieden, bey meinen Ambts=Verrichtungen, zum beständigen Augenmerck zu haben, wie denn, bei meinen allhiesigen etl. 30jährigen Diensten, keine eintzige Klag=Sache von mir oder denen mir untergebenen, bey dem Hoch=Fürstl. Marschallambte zum Vorschein gekommen ist...'; see Maul, '*Johann Friedrich Fasch und das Freiburger Kantorat*', p. 248.

⁴⁸ Reul, '*Forgive us our debts*', 280. In the autumn of 1753, for example, Fasch had asked for money to buy new uniforms for his *Kapelle* so its members would not to embarrass him – and, by extension, the court – on the occasion of Prince Friedrich August of Anhalt-Zerbst's wedding celebrations.

⁴⁹ See Reul, '*Forgive us our debts*', 273–4. Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800) recalled his father's daily routine as follows: 'In the morning, [my] father set to work immediately after his devotions and breakfast ..., composed all day long ... and with the last note returned to his bed.' ('Der Vater [ging] des Morgens gleich nach seiner Andacht und seinem Frühstück an seine Arbeit..., [schrieb] den ganzen Tag ... und [stieg] mit der letzten Note wieder in sein Bette.')

not only allowed to travel regularly,⁵⁰ but his noble employer also financed his industrious *Kapellmeister* to spend at least seven and possibly up to nine months in Dresden in 1726/27. During that time Fasch worked closely with two old friends from Leipzig, *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen and violinist Johann Georg Pisendel. The 38-year-old also wrote sacred music for Catholic court chapel, purchased a cantata cycle to be performed at home,⁵¹ and recruited musicians for his own court orchestra.

In 1728 Fasch remarried (and subsequently had three more children, two of whom reached adulthood). That same year, he also contacted Johann Mattheson, editor of the music periodical *Der musicalische Patriot*, requesting to be put in touch with 'fellow *Kapellmeisters*, Cantors and other capable composers' whom he wished to engage in an 'exchange of music and letters', specifically cantata cycles, undoubtedly to reduce his own intense workload.⁵² But it was more than that. As the *Kapellmeister* of Anhalt-Zerbst, Fasch wanted to build a new musical community that shared, rather than bought or sold, its works. This 'not-for-profit' approach was both novel and unusual in the early eighteenth century, when noble employers typically considered music written for their exclusive enjoyment as their property, and composers were successfully marketing their own music.⁵³ Fasch organised an exchange of instrumental and vocal music between Zerbst and other cities across Germany for over 25 years. Money apparently never exchanged hands, and the court of Anhalt-Zerbst even paid for shipping and handling sheet music. Fasch could choose from a multitude of vocal works to offer to his colleagues: at least two double, six single and two Apostle Day's cantata cycles,⁵⁴ as well as nearly 100 pieces of occasional music for princely birthdays, funerals, weddings and other events that were held at the court.⁵⁵ In

⁵⁰ Kapsa, 'Account books, names and music', 616. Accordingly, Fasch did not travel to Prague in 1725, as postulated Milan Poštolka in 1984.

⁵¹ See Marc-Roderich Pfau, 'Der sogenannte "Dresdner Jahrgang"', in *Fasch und Dresden*, pp. 144–52.

⁵² See Fasch's letter to Johann Mattheson from 16 June 1728 in *Der musicalische Patriot*, pp. 340–42: 'ietzt-lebenden Capellmeistern, Cantoribus und anderen guten Componisten'; 'Brief- und Music-Wechsel'. In a footnote Mattheson also praised Fasch's idea of 'look[ing] for other good [i.e. high-quality musical] works to avoid focus[ing] only on one's own [output] like Narcissus.' ('Denn es ist zu loben, daß man sich auch nach anderer guten Arbeit umsiehet und nicht stets in die seinige wie ein Narcissus verliebet ist.')

⁵³ See Samantha Owens, "'zum Fürstl: Hoff Staat gehörige Musicalien": The Ownership and Dissemination of German court Music, 1665–c.1750', in *Musik an der Zerbster Residenz*, pp. 103–15. See also Steven Zohn, 'Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58/2 (2005), 275–356.

⁵⁴ Marc-Roderich Pfau, 'Kirchenmusiken für die Aposteltage von Johann Friedrich Fasch und seinen Zeitgenossen', in [Barbara M. Reul (ed.)], *Fasch – Vater und Sohn*, *Fasch-Studien*, 11 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2011), pp. 61–84.

⁵⁵ Fasch's cantatas were definitely performed in Delitzsch, Kaufbeuren, and Freiberg, and possibly also by the director of civic music in Hamburg, Telemann, to whom Fasch had sent an entire cycle. In addition to Dresden and Darmstadt, autograph copies of music by Fasch are also preserved in Berlin, Dessau, Halle/Saale, and Paris; manuscript copies remain extant in Brandenburg/Havel, Brussels, Chicago, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Gdańsk, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Herdringen, Leipzig, Lund, Mügeln, New York, Oxford, Prague, Rostock, Schwerin, Sondershausen, Uppsala, Warsaw, and Washington. Fasch's music was also known in Vienna, a fact he mentions in a letter from 1731 to Count Zinzendorf, see Eitelfriedrich

comparison, Fasch's output of overture suites, concertos, and chamber music (c.125 pieces) was much smaller, but emphasises how vibrant musical life at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst must have been throughout his tenure. Curiously, no keyboard music by Fasch is known, despite the fact that he played the organ and his son Carl excelled on the keyboard.⁵⁶

The majority of Fasch's approximately 300 extant works are at archives in Dresden as well as in Darmstadt, where court *Kapellmeister* Christoph Graupner, whose mentorship Fasch enjoyed for several months in 1714, was based.⁵⁷ Stephan Blaut recently compared the names of composers and genres listed in the huge inventories of the Dresden 'Schrank Zwei'-collection—which details instrumental music that was no longer in use at the Saxon court after 1763—with the holdings of the Zerbst *Concert-Stube*.⁵⁸ The latter is an invaluable music inventory from 1743 and documents the almost 500 works by nearly 90 composers that Fasch managed to accumulate, probably single-handed, after being appointed *Kapellmeister* in 1722.⁵⁹ Interestingly, numerous compositions listed in the *Concert-Stube* were written by the Italians who were popular at the Dresden court—Fasch's particular favourite was Vivaldi. It appears, therefore, that Fasch (who like Bach never crossed the Alps) compensated by requesting Italian music for the court of Anhalt-Zerbst.⁶⁰ Fasch must also have been proud to know that for nearly three decades his instrumental works were part of the Dresden *Kapelle's* repertoire. Whether he was aware of or minded that Pisendel occasionally revised his music and presented it in combination with opera overtures by Handel and orchestral suites by Telemann has yet to be determined.⁶¹

Thom (ed.), *Dokumentation zu Johann Friedrich Fasch 1688–1758: Georg Philipp Telemann und seine zeitgenössischen Kollegen* (Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1981), p. 31.

⁵⁶ It is unclear who arranged a movement from a trio sonata by Fasch (FWV N:c2) for organ and subsequently turned it into BWV 585 (Trio in c minor).

⁵⁷ However, none of the operas Fasch composed prior to Zerbst appear to be extant. An overview of works by Fasch that have been transmitted can be found in Stephan Blaut's comprehensive entry on 'Fasch, Johann Friedrich', in *MGG2*. The new, online thematic catalogue of Fasch's works ('Fasch-Repertorium') by Gottfried Gille and Brian Clark offers detailed descriptions of Fasch's vocal music at faschverzeichnis.wordpress.com, specifically of his church cantatas, *Magnificat*, and Vesper Psalms.

⁵⁸ Stephan Blaut, 'Neue Erkenntnisse zum Musikalientausch zwischen Zerbst und Dresden sowie zum Inventarverzeichnis der *Concert=Stube* von 1743', in *Fasch und Dresden*, pp. 153–83. See also www.schrank-zwei.de/projekt/projektbeschreibung and Gerhard Poppe (ed.), *Schranck No: II: Das erhaltene Instrumentalmusikrepertoire der Dresdner Hofkapelle aus den ersten beiden Dritteln des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik, 2 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2012).

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the inventory lists only the scoring of a piece and the composer's last name. It does not provide information on how, when, where and from whom Fasch received, exchanged, or purchased music.

⁶⁰ An attempt by Fasch to travel to Italy during his *Wanderjahre* (1713–1715) failed, apparently due to a lack of funds.

⁶¹ See Gerhard Poppe, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch und Dresden—Voraussetzungen, Fragen und weiterreichende Vermutungen', and Manfred Fechner, 'Die sogenannten "Ouverturen-Sinfonien" von Johann Friedrich Fasch: Bemerkungen zu den in Dresden überlieferten späten Orchesterwerken', both in *Fasch und Dresden*, pp. 9–33 (Poppe) and pp. 34–41 (Fechner). See

Bach's music never appears to have received much continued exposure at the Saxon court, despite repeated attempts to draw attention to himself, most importantly in 1733 with his *Missa* in B Minor.⁶² As one of the foremost organists of his generation, Bach gained fame by publishing collections of keyboard works in the mid-1720s (*Clavier-Übung*, parts 1–4). Publishing was not expected from a court *Kapellmeister* and therefore not a priority for Fasch. An updated (albeit less detailed) version of the *Concert-Stube* from October 1758 emphasises that after 1743 he turned his attention away from genres that primarily showcased soloists or concertino groups in favour of ensemble pieces, such as sinfonias and quadro sonatas.⁶³ Fasch also experimented with genres. Specifically, he paired the orchestral suite with the sinfonia by writing works that opened with an overture, but were followed by only two more movements, a slow second and a fast closing one.⁶⁴ This 'Vermischung' or blending of genres was arguably Fasch's most innovative contribution to the mixed style.

Two final questions remain. First, were there other issues that had a significant impact on Fasch's professional path? Yes – whether as a young university student or an elderly *Kapellmeister*, he always seemed to be borrowing money from someone and often took a long time to pay it back, for a variety of reasons.⁶⁵ In 1730, for instance, he was desperately trying to reduce a debt of 1000 *Reichsthaler* (or close to three times his annual *Kapellmeister* salary!), which he had managed to accumulate before turning forty. Thanks to the sustained efforts of his second wife, Fasch was able to avoid bankruptcy. Johanna Helena Fasch, née Simers, was a pastor's daughter from Gross-Kmehlen near Dresden, and half her husband's age. Perhaps they shared an interest or skill in music? Anna Magdalena Bach, of course, excelled as the highest-paid vocalist at the court of Anhalt-Köthen when she met Bach, a devout Lutheran-Orthodox.

Faith also played an important role in Fasch's life. While in Dresden in 1726/27, he attended (and met his future wife at) gatherings of Lutheran Pietists,

also Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), p. 242: Scheibe considered Fasch and Telemann as the best German composers of orchestral suites.

⁶² See Janice B. Stockigt, 'Bach's *Missa* BWV 232¹ in the context of Catholic Mass settings in Dresden, 1729–1733', in Yo Tomita, Robin A. Leaver, and Jan Smaczny (eds.), *Exploring Bach's B-Minor Mass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 39–53.

⁶³ Barbara M. Reul, 'Musical life at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst: An examination of unknown primary sources at the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt, Abteilung Dessau', in *Musik an der Zerbstter Residenz*, pp. 197–222, specifically pp. 210–19. The number of Sinfonias jumped from 13 in 1743 (including 8 by Fasch) to 140 (!) in 1758. Even though quadro sonatas were included in the 140 works, there must have been a substantial number of Sinfonias nonetheless.

⁶⁴ The term was coined by Manfred Fechner, see his 'Einführung' to the opening concert, programme guide of the Tenth International Fasch Festival (Zerbst, 2008), p. 21. An excellent example of such a hybrid is Fasch's Overture in D Major, FWV K:D2, for 3 trumpets, timpani, two horns, 2 oboes, bassoon, strings and basso continuo. The work has been recorded by Tempesta di Mare, see *Johann Friedrich Fasch: Instrumental Works*, 3 (Chandos, 2011). Several other hybrids were premiered by the ensemble Les Amis de Philippe (directed by Ludger Rémy) on the occasion of the opening concert of the Twelfth International Fasch Festival (Zerbst, 2013).

⁶⁵ Reul, 'Forgive us our debts'.

led by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.⁶⁶ His decision to support this non-mainstream religious community resulted in him being bullied by Lutheran-Orthodox clergy at the Zerbst court for decades. Several attempts to find a more Pietistically-inclined environment failed, despite asking Zinzendorf for assistance in the 1730s.⁶⁷ But the support of Zerbst's small Pietist circle, which also included several members of Fasch's *Kapelle*, must have been invaluable in the 1740s. During that decade Fasch's wife died, followed by his oldest daughter Sophia and his favourite employer, Prince Johann Ludwig.⁶⁸ In comparison, Bach had not only buried one noble employer, Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen, but ten of his twenty children before 1750.

Even though Fasch's health began to deteriorate in the 1750s, he made the musical education of his only living son a priority, sparing no expense. That strategy paid off when the talented Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch left Zerbst in 1756 to join Frederick the Great's court orchestra as a keyboardist. None other than Carl Philip Emanuel Bach offered to take Fasch junior under his wing.⁶⁹ How and when they had first come into contact is unclear. But in the summer of 1758, when war-torn Berlin became unsafe, C. P. E. Bach moved his family to Zerbst for several months. In addition to composing keyboard works, this 'famous composer from Berlin' took the time to listen to candidates who had been short-listed for the vacant organist's position at Zerbst's *St Bartholomäi-Kirche*.⁷⁰ The old and ailing Fasch died shortly after the visitors' departure for Berlin in early December 1758.

Did Johann Friedrich Fasch and Johann Sebastian Bach ever meet in person and, most importantly, did they know each other's music? It is entirely possible that their paths did cross, given that Bach's brother-in-law lived in Zerbst and Fasch knew Bach's second-eldest son personally. Furthermore, ten orchestral

⁶⁶ Apparently Fasch had come into contact with Lutheran Pietists much earlier than previously assumed, during his appointment at the courts of Gera and Greiz (1715–1721). See Bernd Koska, *Die Geraer Hofkapelle im 18. Jahrhundert*, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik, 3 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2013), pp. 101–7.

⁶⁷ Unfortunately, Zinzendorf's replies to Fasch's letters are not extant. Fasch's correspondence has been discussed, for example, by Thilo Daniel, 'Fasch und Zinzendorf: Bemerkungen eines Briefwechsels', in Konstanze Musketa (ed.), *Das Wirken des Anhalt-Zerbster Hofkapellmeisters Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) für auswärtige Hofkapellen*, Fasch-Studien, 8 (Dessau: Anhalt-Edition, 2001), pp. 74–83. A broader theological perspective is provided by Elena Sawtschenko, *Die Kantaten von Johann Friedrich Fasch im Lichte der pietistischen Frömmigkeit* (Schöningh, 2009).

⁶⁸ His 'great love' ('gros[s]e Liebe') for the Prince had compelled Fasch to decide against applying for the vacant Freiberg Cantorship when it became vacant in 1744; see Fasch's letter from 30 October 1755, transcribed in Maul, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch und das Freiburger Kantorat', p. 248.

⁶⁹ Karl Friedrich Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin, 1801), repr. in Eitelfriedrich Thom (ed.), *Dokumentation zu Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch, 1736–1800* (Michaelstein: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1983), p. 13. Bach offered Fasch junior not only room and board ('in Kost und Wohnung zu nehmen'), but also promised to help him avoid temptation as much as possible ('so viel wie möglich vor Verführung zu bewahren').

⁷⁰ See David Schulenberg, 'C. P. E. Bach in Zerbst: The Six Sonatas of Fall 1758[,] with Contributions on the Early Biography and Compositions of Carl Fasch', in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist*, pp. 131–52; 'berühmter Tonkünstler aus Berlin', see Reul, 'Das vakante Organistenamt', pp. 136–7.

suites by Fasch found their way into the *Thomasschule* library via Carl Gotthilf Gerlach. The music director of Leipzig's *Neue Kirche* had copied and performed them in Leipzig between 1730 and 1750, which would have made it easy for Bach to examine and listen to them.⁷¹ Works by the *Thomaskantor* are, however, not listed in the 1743 Zerbst *Concert-Stube* music inventory. Only one cantata, *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis* (BWV 21), was premiered as part of the so-called 'Dresden' cycle in 1726/27.⁷² But that does not mean that Fasch was unfamiliar with other works by Bach, only that evidence supporting this hypothesis has yet come to light. The index of C. P. E. Bach's musical estate lists one '[cantata cycle by] Fasch' ('Faschischen [Jahrgang]').⁷³ This collection of vocal works may have been a gift by Fasch senior (or his son), or part of an exchange of music between them. If only relevant archival sources remained extant to provide the answer, or we knew the contents of Fasch's personal musical collection.

In conclusion, it is obvious that Bach and Fasch had different ideas of what it meant to climb the career ladder as a musician. Bach, the organist, followed in his family's footsteps and learned a musical trade before systematically working his way to the top by first securing a concertmaster position in Weimar and then accepting a *Kapellmeister* post in Anhalt-Köthen. Fasch, in contrast, graduated from the *Thomasschule* and went straight to university to study law and theology. Even though he realised quickly that his future was in music, he took longer to secure an executive position at a German court. It is, therefore, not surprising that Fasch withdrew his application for the *Thomaskantorat* in favour of a more prestigious appointment – one that also did not require him to teach at a school. Bach had already served as *Kapellmeister* for five years by 1722 and was ready to move on to a bigger centre and everything such a location had to offer. Once settled, Bach and Fasch used a similar yet different coping strategy to counteract the work-related stress they experienced respectively in Leipzig and Zerbst. Both created external musical communities, with the frustrated *Thomaskantor* focusing on publishing his music, and the overworked *Kapellmeister* sharing his for free. Their most important assets – and main reason – for excelling in their respective careers, however, were the same, namely supportive wives and talented children. They provided Bach and Fasch with the strength they needed to embrace life's challenges fully.

⁷¹ Stephan Blaut, 'Die 1898 von Hugo Riemann in der Leipziger Thomasschulbibliothek gefundenen Fasch-Ouvertüren-Suiten: Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke?', in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist*, pp. 17–26.

⁷² It was repeated several times at the Zerbst court chapel during Fasch's tenure. See Peter Wollny, 'Aufführungen Bachscher Kirchenkantaten am Zerbster Hof', in Rainer Kaiser (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach und seine mitteldeutschen Zeitgenossen* (Eisenach: Wagner, 2001), pp. 199–217, especially pp. 204–7; and Pfau, 'Der sogenannte "Dresdner Jahrgang"', pp. 144–52.

⁷³ Rachel Wade (ed.), *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, Hamburg, 1790* (New York and London: Garland, 1981), p. 86. C. P. E. Bach had also returned (another?) cantata cycle by Fasch to Georg Michael Telemann in 1771. See Paul Corneilson, 'Introduction', in *CPEBCW*, IV/7i, p. xi.