

# ‘It was impossible for me to leave’ – Johann Friedrich Fasch and the *Thomaskantorat* in 1722

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Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758) served as court Capellmeister of Anhalt-Zerbst for over 36 years, from September 1722 to his death in early December 1758. The career paths of Fasch, Telemann, and Graupner intersected several times, the most important convergence being in 1722 when they all expressed interest in applying for the *Thomaskantorat*, the cantorship of St Thomas in Leipzig.<sup>1</sup> In 1757, a full thirty-five years later, Fasch published his *Lebenslauf*.<sup>2</sup> This short autobiographical account includes just one, albeit intriguing, comment on why he, as the newly appointed Capellmeister of Anhalt-Zerbst, was no longer keen to follow in the footsteps of his former teacher, Kuhnau, and become the next *Thomaskantor*.

In this essay, I explore the description of Fasch’s career path and pinpoint through his overt and implied arguments why he made Zerbst and not Leipzig his permanent home. Special attention is paid to four letters written to Fasch in 1722, three from Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, Capellmeister of Saxe-Altenburg-Gotha, and one from his father-in-law. This correspondence is unfortunately not extant. Nonetheless Fasch’s description of their contents in the *Lebenslauf* helps clarify his rationale for choosing a geographically isolated court in the Anhalt region over the Saxon university town of Leipzig. His decision-making process was undoubtedly externally motivated by the social prestige of a Capellmeister position, which did

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<sup>1</sup> Barbara M. Reul, “‘Dream job: next exit?’ – A comparative examination of selected career choices by J. S. Bach and J. F. Fasch”, in *Understanding Bach* 9 (2014): 9–24.

<sup>2</sup> It was based on a short write-up in J. G. Walther’s *Musicalisches Lexicon* from 1732. See Johann Friedrich Fasch, ‘Lebenslauf des Hochfürstl. Anhalt-Zerbstischen Capellmeisters, Herrn Johann Friedrich Fasch. (Zusatz zu Walthers musikal. Lexicon, Seite 240.)’, in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 3, Stück 2 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1757), 124–129. A digital copy of the German original is available at <http://commons.wikimedia.org> (accessed 11 August 2021). For a complete English translation of the *Lebenslauf*, see Barbara M. Reul, ‘Untersuchungen zu Johann Friedrich Faschs Biographien von 1732 und 1757’, in *Zerbst zur Zeit Faschs – ein anhaltinischer Musenhof*, Fasch-Studien 13 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2015), 335–337.

not require teaching at a school, whereas the *Thomaskantorat* did. What role did changes in his personal circumstances and his religious beliefs play in his 1722 decision? And did Fasch ever voice regrets about his decision not to return to his alma mater in the prestigious position of *Thomaskantor*?

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Fasch's 1757 *Lebenslauf* is an entertaining 'rags to riches' story of a young and poor, but highly gifted Thuringian lad who worked his way up from a scholarship *Thomaner* (a boarder at St Thomas School) to become a capellmeister. Fasch gratefully acknowledged that both the Civic Music Director of Hamburg and the Capellmeister of Hesse-Darmstadt had helped him. In 1708, while he was a university student in Leipzig, Fasch had founded and directed a successful *Collegium Musicum* (the 'Second' one). This was inspired by Telemann, the 'Herrn Capellmeister', whom he considered not only one of his earliest musical influences, but also a 'revered and beloved friend'. Christoph Graupner, a fellow *Thomaner* just five years older than Fasch, had 'liked' the twenty-six-year-old enough to give him free composition lessons in Darmstadt for fourteen weeks in 1714.<sup>3</sup>

To understand why Fasch had applied for the *Thomaskantorat*, and why he then lost interest in it and in 1722 chose the Zerbst post instead, it is important to examine his life and career in the years leading up to this decision. Fasch was a *Thomaner*, yet despite his thorough musical training he seems to have relied more on his non-musical skills for his first permanent position, which was as secretary and administrative assistant in Gera from 1715. The title page of a German-language drama set to music by Fasch that was premiered at the Gera court in mid-July 1715 documents his only extant contribution to the court's period of prosperity.<sup>4</sup> Fasch got married in 1717, and this may have been a motivating factor in 1719 when he relocated to Greiz where his father-in-law had been appointed archdeacon.<sup>5</sup> Fasch worked first as a city clerk and then as an organist in Ober-

<sup>3</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 125: 'geehrtest- und geliebtesten Freundes'; 126: 'Liebe für mich gehabt hatte'. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this article are mine.

<sup>4</sup> Bernd Koska, 'Die vergnügte Blumen- Feld- und Wald-Lust der angenehmen Sommer-Zeit – Johann Friedrich Fasch in Gera und Greiz', in *Zerbst zur Zeit Faschs – ein anhaltinischer Musenhof*, Fasch-Studien 13 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2015), 191. See also Gottfried Gille's *Fasch-Repertorium (FR): Vokalmusik von Johann Friedrich Fasch*, December 2019, <https://www.fasch.net/dokumente/2019faschrepertorium.pdf>, 297 (accessed 11 August 2021). Gille wonders whether this work could have been an audition piece of sorts.

<sup>5</sup> Hans-Rudolf Jung, *Musik und Musiker im Reußenland: höfisches und städtisches Musikleben in den Residenzen der Staaten Reuss älterer und jüngerer Linie vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Greiz, Schleiz, Lobenstein, Gera, Köstritz, Ebersdorf, Saalburg, Hirschberg) (Weimar, Jena: Hain, 2007), 100–104, especially 101. See also Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 127. The fact that 'Greiz' is given incorrectly as 'Zeit' suggests that Fasch had not been given the opportunity to fix the error or seen a proof copy before publication.

Greiz where, given the religious leanings of Heinrich XIII of Unter-Greiz (1696–1722), he may have come in direct contact with Pietists.<sup>6</sup>

Fasch's world was turned upside down in early October 1720 when his wife passed away after giving birth. He was left with the responsibility for their two children, a young girl and a baby boy who would be dead and buried by mid-March 1721. Due to internal political discord, salaries of all civic employees were frozen in mid-May of that year. What exactly happened between then and the end of October 1721, when Fasch signed his resignation letter from Prague, rather than Greiz, remains something of a mystery. This is what we know: Fasch's noble Greiz employer reluctantly granted his request for leave on 1 November 1721, the letter of resignation suggesting that Fasch had left earlier and without permission.<sup>7</sup> It is unclear as to whether the offer to work in Prague, the Bohemian capital, as the resident composer ('Hauscomponist') of Count Wenzel Morzin (1676–1737) had been a surprise to his parents-in-law too, or whether they had actually encouraged Fasch (or at least given him their blessing) to seek employment elsewhere.

Documents do not appear to have been preserved that would identify the individual(s) who could have recommended Fasch for this job in Prague – was it his 'Herzens Freunde'<sup>8</sup> Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749), Capellmeister of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, who had lived there from 1715 to 1717? It has not been possible to determine any other applicants or possible audition requirements,<sup>9</sup> nor is it known whether Fasch had first considered (and possibly turned down?) other work opportunities closer.

There is, however, no doubt that it would have been difficult for Fasch to focus fully on his new post, had his parents-in-law not agreed to look after his young daughter during his absence. The aristocrat Morzin, a relative of one of Joseph Haydn's employers,<sup>10</sup> provided a grateful Fasch with 'good food, lodgings, wood, free lighting as well as a cash salary of three hundred Gulden', and the opportunity to receive 'applause from the local nobility'.<sup>11</sup> Since none other than Antonio Vivaldi served as Morzin's 'Maestro di musica in Italia' from ca. 1719 to 1729, readers of the *Lebenslauf* – especially those from the distant future – would

<sup>6</sup> Fasch had first met Pietists in Gera. See Koska, 'Die vergnügte Blumen- Feld- und Wald-Lust', 197.

<sup>7</sup> Rüdiger Pfeiffer, *Johann Friedrich Fasch 1688–1758: Leben und Werk* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1994), 33.

<sup>8</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 126: (lit.) 'friend of the heart'.

<sup>9</sup> Koska, 'Die vergnügte Blumen- Feld- und Wald-Lust', 191–204. Only vocal music by Fasch written for Gera and Greiz remains accessible to date, including i) the printed text of a cantata for the consecration of St Trinity Church in Reinsdorf near Greiz in 1720, and ii) his setting of the *Brookes-Passion* which could date from either period (see no. 1040 in Gille's *Fasch-Repertorium*).

<sup>10</sup> Václav Kapsa, 'Account books, names and music: Count Wenzel von Morzin's *Virtuosissima Orchestra*', *Early Music* 40/4 (2012): 605–620.

<sup>11</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: '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'.

expect Fasch to have emphasised his first-hand exposure to the Venetian master's music, at least from November 1721 on.<sup>12</sup> But there is no such comment. Instead, Fasch proceeds with an account of how he became aware of the vacant Capellmeister post in Anhalt-Zerbst in the summer of 1722:

I had spent about one and a half years there [in Prague] when I received a letter from the Capellmeister of Gotha, Herr Stölzel, [indicating that] upon the recommendation of his Most Gracious, Serene Highness, the Duke [of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg], his Serene Highness, the Prince of Zerbst, had requested my service.<sup>13</sup>

Modern Fasch scholars have relied on Bernhard Engelke's 1909 reading of this passage which suggests that Stölzel had orchestrated this job offer for Fasch.<sup>14</sup> But this raises many questions: why, for example, had Stölzel not simply drawn Fasch's attention to the vacancy and left Fasch himself to deal with the official application process, including expressing an interest, and requesting letters of recommendation? Their close friendship comes to mind, as does the timing of the offer. 'Capell-Director' Johann Baptiste Kuch probably left Zerbst sometime between January and May 1722 after settling an ugly court case involving a local Zerbst girl and their child.<sup>15</sup> Another possible scenario is that Stölzel could have discreetly turned to his own employer, Duke Friedrich II, for support: Fasch had been received at the Gotha court on two prior occasions, in 1713 and 1714, and was paid for unspecified compositions in 1718.<sup>16</sup> According to Engelke, the Zerbst

<sup>12</sup> Kapsa, 'Account books, names and music', 608–612.

<sup>13</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: 'Hieselbst befande ich mich etwa 1 und ein halb Jahr, als ich von dem Gotha'schen Capellmeister Hrn. Stölzel ein Schreiben erhielt, wie auf seines gnädigsten Herzogs Durchl. hohe Recommendation des Fürsten von Zerbst Durchl. mich als Capellmeister, in Dero Dienste verlangten'.

<sup>14</sup> Most recently Reul, 'Untersuchungen zu Johann Friedrich Faschs Biographien', 328, and Pegah, 'Hausväterlicher Hof oder Musenhof?', 72, both drawing from Bernhard Engelke, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch: Versuch einer Biographie', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10/2 (January–March 1909): 277. He writes: '... auf eine Anfrage in Gotha wurde dem Hofe Joh. Fr. Fasch empfohlen. Stölzel, damals Kapellmeister in Gotha, übernahm die Korrespondenz und hatte ja schließlich auch das Glück, seinen Freund zu gewinnen, durch die feine Diplomatie ....' ('... upon an enquiry at Gotha Johann Friedrich Fasch was recommended. Stölzel, then Capellmeister in Gotha, took up the correspondence and in the end had the good fortune to successfully recruit his friend through fine diplomacy ...'). Cf. David Sheldon, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch: Problems in Style Classification', *The Musical Quarterly* 58/1 (1972): 94 ('... Stölzel recommended Fasch for the Zerbst vacancy and acted as a mediator between the parties involved').

<sup>15</sup> Rashid-S. Pegah, 'Johann Baptiste Kuch und das Musikleben am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof 1715–1722', in *Fasch und die Konfessionen*, Fasch-Studien 14 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2017), 57–112, especially 101–111. See also Reul, "'Dream job: next exit?'"', 13. In an unsuccessful petition to the court for a salary increase, Johann Friedrich Wagner claimed to have carried out the former Capellmeister for half a year, i.e. since January 1722. Wagner was Kuch's most recent recruit for the Zerbst Capelle; he had joined in late June 1720.

<sup>16</sup> See Rashid-S. Pegah, 'Hausväterlicher Hof oder Musenhof? Prinzen und eine Prinzessin von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg und die Höfe von Berlin-Cölln an der Spree, Köthen, Gotha und Zerbst', in *Zerbst zur Zeit Faschs – ein anhaltinischer Musenhof*, Fasch-Studien 13 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2015), 68–72; and Christian Ahrens, 'Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle ...': *Aus dem Innenleben einer thüringischen Hofkapelle des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Friedenstein-Forschungen 4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009), 267. I would like to thank Brian Clark for drawing my attention to this matter.

court had asked the Gotha court for assistance regarding the vacant Capellmeister post.<sup>17</sup> Could the Duke himself have told Stölzel about the sudden vacancy in Zerbst? Duchess Magdalena Augusta was a sister of Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst and regularly visited her relatives in the Anhalt region.<sup>18</sup> Viewed against this backdrop, the 'on the spot' job offer to Fasch in Prague was the best outcome Stölzel could have hoped for, assuming that recruiting Fasch for the post had indeed been his idea.

Fasch's timeline in the *Lebenslauf* then becomes chronologically vague. 'One and a half years' implies that he could have left for the Bohemian capital right after, or even before, his second child was buried in early March 1721.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Stölzel making inroads could have caught him by surprise, especially if Fasch had promised to return home, were a suitable position – such as a Capellmeister post – to become available. The odds of that occurring were slim, of course, because they typically involved the death of one's predecessor. Rashid-S. Pegah has suggested that Stölzel could have got involved to make amends for an incident almost a decade earlier when Stölzel ended up taking a trip to Italy in late 1713 instead of Fasch (who still expressed regrets about this in 1757).<sup>20</sup> Alternatively, Stölzel could have meddled in Fasch's professional affairs because he wished to be working closer – their friendship now being long-distance.

It is impossible to determine at present when Fasch received the initial job offer from Prince Johann August of Anhalt-Zerbst, via Stölzel's first letter, that is, how soon it arrived in Prague after Kuch's departure,<sup>21</sup> and what specific information it contained. I wish to offer three arguments in favour of Fasch accepting the post of Capellmeister of Anhalt-Zerbst:

- I. Social prestige: It would have meant a huge increase in status, because Fasch had only been composing for – but never directed – a private ensemble, let alone one as renowned as Count Morzin's based in the Bohemian capital;<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Engelke, Johann Friedrich Fasch, 277.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Pegah, 'Johann Baptiste Kuch', 94 (1715), 95 (1718), and 100 (1721).

<sup>19</sup> Engelke's statement that the Zerbst job offer reached Fasch in Prague 'nach einem halben Jahre' ('after half a year') was likely an oversight; see Engelke, *Johann Friedrich Fasch*, 278. For additional chronological problems in Fasch's *Lebenslauf*, see Reul, 'Untersuchungen zu Johann Friedrich Faschs Biographien', 320–333.

<sup>20</sup> Pegah, 'Hausväterlicher Hof oder Musenhof?', 72; and Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 126. It is highly unlikely that Fasch and Stölzel would have lost touch after Fasch left Greiz for Prague.

<sup>21</sup> It took ca. four days for a letter to be delivered by mail coach from Leipzig to Prague; mail from Leipzig to Gotha (via the Erfurt and Frankfurt line) was transported by riders ('reutend'), see the *1755 Leipziger Adress-, Post- und Reise-Kalender*, 188, <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/df/76733/222/0/> (accessed 11 August 2021).

<sup>22</sup> Kapsa, 'Account books, names and music', 608–617. Vivaldi and Morzin had first established contact in 1718. The concertmaster ('music director' or acting Capellmeister) during Fasch's appointment was Franz Forstmayer (Forstmeyer). Music composed by Fasch while in Prague has not survived.

2. Professional prestige: As the highest-ranking musician in a small principality, Fasch would be able to lead a court Capelle that consisted not only of professionally trained musicians, but was also hired by a sovereign who considered tenured court musicians an important and a lasting status symbol;<sup>23</sup>
3. Financial security: This position was potentially one for life and involved an annual salary of 400 *Reichsthaler*.<sup>24</sup> Since Fasch had struggled with money ever since his student days in Leipzig, the promise of a steady income could have ranked higher in Fasch's list of priorities than the social prestige argument.<sup>25</sup>

Fasch's legal training – he had studied jurisprudence at the University of Leipzig after graduating from St Thomas School in 1708 – could also have had an impact on his decision-making process in 1722.

The following arguments against leaving Prague may have crossed his mind:

1. Contractual obligations: Morzin could have required Fasch to stay for a particular period of time. Unfortunately, no appointment letter from Prague has been preserved that would shed light on this matter;
2. Geographical isolation: The thought of relocating to a remote principality in the Anhalt region could have felt to Fasch like moving (back?) to the middle of nowhere. Incidentally, Princess Friederike Auguste Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst – better known as Catherine the Great – had left her childhood home in 1744 for Russia and never set a foot on Zerbst soil again;<sup>26</sup>
3. Workload concerns: Fasch's duties would most probably increase when he became Capellmeister. The extent to which it did is reflected in the high number of musical works he was required to supply in his first year of tenure. These were itemised 35 years later in his *Lebenslauf*:
  - A 'double cycle' of cantatas (i.e., two sacred pieces of music that had been conceived as a set but performed separately at the Zerbst court chapel throughout the liturgical year during Sunday morning and afternoon services, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent 1722);

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<sup>23</sup> Samantha Owens and Barbara M. Reul, "'Das gantze Corpus derer musicirenden Personen': An Introduction to German Hofkapellen", in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 1–14.

<sup>24</sup> This amount matched J. S. Bach's Capellmeister wage in Anhalt-Cöthen. See also 'Appendix 3: Money and Living Costs in Bach's Time', in Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, London: W. W. Norton, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> 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): 261–286.

<sup>26</sup> 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.

- Two more cantatas in weeks that included a holiday or feast day (translating into four cantatas in total per week or ca. 60 minutes of music);
- Three large-scale pairs of princely birthday cantatas and serenatas (one each for the ruling couple, and one for the dowager princess); and
- One substantial (as in lengthy) passion oratorio during Holy Week.<sup>27</sup>

The prospect of a gruelling work schedule might arguably have deterred those applicants for whom the post in Anhalt-Zerbst would have been a lateral career move, especially salary-wise. For that reason, J. S. Bach, Capellmeister at the sister court of Anhalt-Cöthen since 1717, would most likely have declined the opportunity if had someone brought it to his attention – including, for example, the Zerbst court official von Kayn who had commissioned Bach to compose a birthday cantata for (the absent) Prince Johann August in early August 1722.<sup>28</sup>

Fasch's next statement in the 1757 *Lebenslauf* clearly indicates that he was not ready to commit to a new job yet: 'Hence I wrote to Gotha [i.e. Stölzel] twice, declining both times'.<sup>29</sup> Since neither this correspondence nor other rejection letters by Fasch appear to be extant, it is difficult to judge how he would have worded them. Had he felt flattered, angry, amused, or indifferent about Stölzel's follow-up letters – which could have included new arguments in favour of Zerbst?

We also cannot be sure of Stölzel's reaction to Fasch's lack of interest in the Zerbst job, and whether or not he had informed Prince Johann August or his own employer, or both, about it. Salary expectations and other employment benefits could have played a role as well. If so, one wonders how comfortable Stölzel would have felt negotiating those (or anything else) on Fasch's behalf. Conversely, Fasch could have told Count Morzin about the job offer and renegotiated his current wage and compensation package accordingly.

Or was Fasch, in fact, stalling because he was keen on becoming the next *Thomaskantor*? Since he is listed first among the applicants considered by the Leipzig selection committee at their first meeting on 14 July 1722, Fasch's non-extant letter of interest could have been the first one to reach them.<sup>30</sup> One

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<sup>27</sup> Fasch refrained from including in this list the huge number of instrumental works needed for regular performances at the Zerbst palace, perhaps because his focus was on sacred music during his first year of employment. After Prince Johann August's death in late 1742, Fasch itemised nearly 500 pieces of instrumental music by close to 90 different composers, as well as his own works in the 'Concert=Stube' court music inventory. See Stephan Blaut, 'Neue Erkenntnisse zum Musikalientausch zwischen Zerbst und Dresden sowie zum Inventarverzeichnis der *Concert=Stube* von 1743', in *Fasch und Dresden, Fasch-Studien* 11 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2011), 153–183.

<sup>28</sup> Reul, "'Dream job: next exit?'" , 15–17.

<sup>29</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: 'so schrieb ich diesen Ruff 2 mahl nach Gotha ab'.

<sup>30</sup> *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats*, vol. 2: *Vom Amtsantritt Johann Sebastian Bachs bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Andreas Glöckner (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 2018), No. VIII/A12.

wonders whether Fasch, who had played with the Leipzig *Oper am Brühl* orchestra as a university student from 1710 to 1712, was aware that since 1720 the Dresden court authorities had 'mehrfach ermahnt' ('repeatedly admonished') the Leipzig town council to repair the building and reopen the opera house, as Michael Maul reminds us.<sup>31</sup> In mid-August 1722 Telemann was offered the *Thomaskantor* job, news that Stölzel may have communicated in his third letter to Fasch. It was accompanied by a personal message from Fasch's father-in-law who 'pressured' the widower and single father 'greatly to accept the post in Zerbst'.<sup>32</sup> The in-law's offer to raise little Sophia was unlikely to have been open-ended, and her grandfather could well have been annoyed, if not embarrassed about Fasch's audacity to turn down a prestigious Capellmeister post that was being handed to him on a silver platter.

No details are known as to when exactly Fasch gave in to his father-in-law, accepted the Zerbst position officially, and travelled to Zerbst in the summer of 1722. We know only that Count Morzin had expressed his 'greatest displeasure' about letting Fasch go.<sup>33</sup> He may have gone first to Thuringia to pick up his young daughter and then collected one of his single sisters to help with child-care responsibilities in Zerbst.<sup>34</sup> Fasch also seems to have visited Gotha in September 1722, perhaps to express his gratitude in person to Stölzel and the Duke.<sup>35</sup>

Later that month, on the feast day of St Michael's and All Angels, Fasch took up the post of Capellmeister of Anhalt-Zerbst, earning, according to the *Lebenslauf*, 'a graciously prescribed salary of 400 *Reichsthaler*' as well as 'a measure of rye'.<sup>36</sup> An examination of the Zerbst court records reveals, however, that he was paid only 350 *Reichsthaler* annually for the first fifteen years of his tenure. It has yet to be determined what or who had prompted this lower starting wage, and why it took Fasch until 1737 to successfully recover the full amount from the Zerbst court.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Maul, *Barockoper in Leipzig* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2009), 41. I would like to thank Ursula Kramer for drawing my attention to this matter. Regarding Fasch, see *ibid.*, 311–327.

<sup>32</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: 'welcher mein einziges Töchtergen bey sich hatte, und sehr drauf drunge, die Zerbster Vocation anzunehmen'.

<sup>33</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: 'worauf ich zu größtem Mißfallen des Hm. Grafen, im Sommer 1722. dahin abgienge'.

<sup>34</sup> Reul, "'Forgive us our debts'", 267. Sophia Fasch (1692–1726), one of his unmarried sisters from Suhl, comes to mind. Since she and her niece share the same first name, Sophia was likely her godmother and thus responsible for her upbringing until Fasch married again, which he did only in 1728. Baptismal conventions and the role of godparents in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Leipzig are discussed by Ellen Exner, 'The Godfather: Georg Philipp Telemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, and the Family Business', *Bach* 47/1 (2016): 1–20, specifically 3–8.

<sup>35</sup> Pegah, 'Hausväterlicher Hof oder Musenhof?', 72.

<sup>36</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128: 'und diese Stelle, mit einem gnädigstgeordneten Gehalt von 400 Rthlr. wozu noch ein Winspel Rocken in Natura kam, unterthänigst annahme'.

<sup>37</sup> Reul, 'Untersuchungen zu Johann Friedrich Faschs Biographien', 328–329.



Fasch's explanatory account of his early days as Capellmeister – that is, the list of required compositions detailed above – appears next in the autobiographical essay. While his productivity emphasises his personal commitment to the position and superior work ethic, it does not prepare the reader for what comes next:

I had been [serving as Capellmeister] in Zerbst for just over 8 weeks when I received two letters, one after another, from the late Herr *Hofrath* Lange in Leipzig in his capacity as the then incumbent mayor to audition for the vacant Cantor position there, since Herr Telemann had declined the offer [on 6 November 1722].<sup>38</sup>

This unexpected turn in the narrative shows the renewed and ongoing interest of the Leipzig selection committee in Fasch – who never seemed to have officially withdrawn his application – when it met on 23 November 1722 to discuss next steps.<sup>39</sup> The committee's interest could have been rooted in its possible intention to hire a 'multifaceted municipal Capellmeister', ideally with strong ties to Leipzig, in favour of an old-school *Thomaskantor* like Kuhnau. Fasch fitted the bill.<sup>40</sup> Lange's letters have not survived, but the selection committee agreed that the Zerbst Capellmeister, 'a skilful person', would be required to audition for the post and to teach as part of his duties.<sup>41</sup>

Fasch's reply (at least in the *Lebenslauf*) was succinct: 'However, it was impossible for me to leave my most gracious employer'.<sup>42</sup> This statement suggests that his non-extant Zerbst employment contract included a clause that would not have allowed him to quit without permission.<sup>43</sup> One wonders whether Fasch had given this particular reason in his first letter to Lange – and, upon receiving his second missive, had written again because of what Lange had, in fact, reported to the selection committee on 21 December 1722: that Fasch's lack of interest in the post was tied solely to his unwillingness to teach.<sup>44</sup> This rationale would not only

<sup>38</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 128–129: 'Kaum war ich 8 Wochen in Zerbst, als ich 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'.

<sup>39</sup> *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats*, No. VIII/A10.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Maul, 'New Evidence on Thomaskantor Kuhnau's Operatic Activities, Or: Could Bach have been allowed to compose an opera?', *Understanding Bach* 4 (2009): 19. See also Reul, "'Dream job: next exit?'" 10–13. Fasch's and Kuhnau's kerfuffle in 1710 over performing at the University Church, the *Paulinerkirche* (St Paul's Church), must not (or no longer) have been an issue.

<sup>41</sup> *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats*, No. VIII/A10: 'ein geschickter Mensch ... man könne Faschen die probe in [recte: im] musiciren und informiren lassen'. He was also to receive a travel stipend ('20 thlr. zu Reise Kosten'). Regarding the audition process, see Marc-Roderich Pfau, 'Telemanns Probe-Music für das Leipziger Thomaskantorat im Jahr 1722', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 104 (2018), 95–111.

<sup>42</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 129: 'es war mir aber ohnmöglich meine gnädigste Herrschaft zu verlassen'.

<sup>43</sup> It is unclear whether such a clause had also been part of his Greiz employment contract in 1719. If not, then Fasch could have (still) felt remorseful in 1722 about not having followed proper protocol.

<sup>44</sup> See *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Leipziger Thomaskantorats*, No. VIII/A10: 'Fasch aber erkläre sich, daß er nicht mit informiren könne'. It is unclear whether Fasch was unwilling to teach in general or only at his alma mater, and whether he was aware that Telemann had also voiced a lack of interest in teaching at the *Thomasschule* when he applied in July 1722. *Ibid.*, No. VIII/A5.

have sent a strong 'No, thank you' signal to the Leipzig selection committee, but also pleased his noble employer in Zerbst.

The final entry in Fasch's *Lebenslauf* is as surprising as it is intriguing. He ends abruptly, writing:

Even though I had received a call [that is, an offer of employment] elsewhere three times, I declined each time. As a result, I still live here [in Zerbst], for as long as it is God's will.<sup>45</sup>

Fasch had provided no further details regarding the types of appointment, locations, and timelines for this matter-of-fact statement. As a God-fearing individual who had achieved his *Lebensstellung* (position for life), Fasch may not have wanted to appear boastful or bother his readers with additional information that had no bearing on his chosen career path. Arguably, Fasch may also have been tight-lipped in 1757 because he had fibbed a little! While he had indeed applied for two vacant positions in Saxony a total of three times over the course of two decades – in 1735 for the *Director musices* (music director) and organist's post at the *Johanniskirche* (St John's Church) in Zittau, and in 1744, and again in 1755, for the Freiberg Cantorship – no employment offers seem to have been made to Fasch.<sup>46</sup>

Fasch's decision to end his autobiographical account so suddenly was most probably intentional for the following reasons: firstly, he seems to have followed a template, possibly provided by his editor, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg;<sup>47</sup> secondly, by choosing not to share details of his accomplishments as Capellmeister of Anhalt-Zerbst, Fasch avoided a direct comparison with Telemann and Graupner; and, finally, unlike his *Lebenslauf* readers, these fellow-Capellmeisters would have known what Fasch had been up to since his appointment in the early autumn of 1722.

In my opinion, Fasch's two most impressive achievements were:

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<sup>45</sup> Fasch, *Lebenslauf*, 129: 'Wie ich denn noch drey-mahl einen Ruf anderwärts erielte, aber solchen von mir ablehnte. Also lebe ich noch hier, so lange Gott will. [New line, indented, emphasis in original] **Joh. Friedr. Fasch**'.

<sup>46</sup> Regarding Zittau, see Fasch's letter from 20 December 1736 to Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, transcribed in Elena Sawtschenko, *Die Kantaten von Johann Friedrich Fasch im Lichte der pietistischen Frömmigkeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2009), 55: '... endl[ich] gute Nachricht erhalten. Bald wäre [ich], in [recte: im] vorigen Jahre, nach Zittau, als Director Musices, gekommen' ('... [I] finally received good news. Last year [I] was close to [being asked to] relocate to Zittau, as director of music'). Regarding Freiberg, see Michael Maul, 'Johann Friedrich Fasch und das Freiburger Kantorat', in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist*, Schriften zur Mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte 14 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 237–250. An application to the Court of Copenhagen in 1732 had been similarly unsuccessful.

<sup>47</sup> Reul, 'Untersuchungen zu Johann Friedrich Faschs Biographien', 332. The autobiographical account written by Fasch's concert master Carl Höckh, which follows his own, breaks off at exactly the same point, i.e. when the author had been granted tenure. The extent of Marpurg's input could not be determined; for instance, had he asked Fasch for revisions?

1. Exchange of sheet music ('Musicalien Wechsel'): Fasch networked all over Germany from Zerbst for nearly thirty years, from approximately 1728 to 1755. Importantly, he regularly sent his own music to the court of Dresden which was performed there by his old chum from Leipzig, Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755).<sup>48</sup> In turn, Fasch's Capelle performed works he had received from Dresden at the Zerbst palace, and in 1743 he itemised them, in addition to his own, in a huge court music inventory, the 'Concert-Stube'.<sup>49</sup> The best represented was Vivaldi, i.e. Fasch's favourite composer and, hence, that of his aristocratic audiences, followed by Telemann to whom Fasch had sent a cantata cycle written for Zerbst in the early 1730s. Fasch may also have received instrumental works by Telemann from Graupner in exchange for sending his own music to Darmstadt. Remarkably, money never ever seems to have exchanged hands, and the Princes of Anhalt-Zerbst all generously permitted Fasch to share with other parties music that had been written originally for their exclusive enjoyment.<sup>50</sup> This early eighteenth-century approach to not-for-profit dissemination of one's work is unique and somewhat reminiscent of remarkably modern concepts such as 'file sharing' and 'open access'.
2. 'Oberhofkapellmeister' (highest-ranking court Capellmeister) of Anhalt: Like Bach before him from 1723 to 1729, Fasch served as 'Capellmeister by proxy' for the Calvinist court of Anhalt-Cöthen from 1732 to 1755. During his tenure Fasch composed at least 30 occasional works required for princely birthdays, weddings, and funerals at the only other Anhalt court that also boasted a professional Capelle. His overall impact on the development of musical life of the entire Anhalt region cannot be overestimated and warrants this label for Fasch, coined by Maik Richter in 2017.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Manfred Fechner, 'Vom Dresdner Umgang mit Faschs Kompositionen', in *Das Wirken des Anhalt-Zerbster Hofkapellmeisters Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688-1758) für auswärtige Hofkapellen*, Fasch-Studien 8 (Dessau, Anhalt-Edition, 2001), 9–28.

<sup>49</sup> Blaut, 'Neue Erkenntnisse zum Musikalientausch', 153–183. A hitherto-unknown volume of 18<sup>th</sup>-century prints acquired by the Zerbst Franciscum Library in late 2019 (D-ZEo, A. 13.m.) emphasises one aspect of Fasch's ongoing productivity after 1743, specifically in the 1750s. He was still composing sacred and secular birthday music for his noble employer and his family on an annual basis, specifically for Prince Friedrich August and his wife Princess Carolina Wilhelmina Sophia, his mother, Dowager Princess Johanna Elisabeth, and his sister, Catherine the Great. When the 'Grand Duchess' ('Großherzogin') of Russia gave birth in 1758, a sacred cantata composed by Fasch was premiered at the court chapel to mark the occasion. See the respective entries (in German) in Gille, *Fasch-Repertorium*.

<sup>50</sup> This was not the norm at early modern courts in German-speaking lands, 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*, Fasch-Studien 10 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2008), 103–116.

<sup>51</sup> See Barbara M. Reul, 'Sharing Resources: J.F. Fasch, J.S. Bach, and Princely Funeral Music at the Courts of Anhalt-Zerbst and Anhalt-Köthen', *Musicology Australia* 41/2 (2019): 106–120, at 120.

This brings us back to two questions posed at the beginning. Did Fasch ever voice any regrets about making Zerbst his musical 'forever home', and did his faith play any role in the life decision?

The answer to both is yes, although he never put it in official correspondence with the Zerbst court. When Fasch wrote to Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf between 1731 and 1737 and in 1752 sent a letter to the poet Johann Armand von Uffenbach, he offered several examples of how toxic his work environment had become in Zerbst over the years. For instance, a horrific bullying incident in 1737 had made Fasch leave town for a month and consider resuming theological studies at university.<sup>52</sup> Fasch had remarried in 1728, and his second wife, as well as at least two members of the Zerbst court Capelle, concert master Carl Höckh and oboist Johann Georg Fröde, appear to have been fellow-Pietists.<sup>53</sup> They could have provided Fasch with spiritual support during the 1740s when he lost not only his second wife (1743) and his daughter from his first marriage (1746), but as he also mourned three ruling Princes: Johann August (1742) and his cousins, Johann Ludwig II (1746) and Christian August (1747), had died in quick succession.<sup>54</sup> The fact that Fasch never had to worry about being let go as Capellmeister and that Zerbst court officials approved multiple loan applications he made in the 1750s,<sup>55</sup> signals to me that his superior work ethic and untarnished reputation as a valued, long-time court employee far outweighed his frowned-upon religious beliefs and pecuniary incompetence.

In conclusion, one wonders whether Fasch had ever contemplated – for example while putting together his *Lebenslauf* in 1757 – an alternative reality in which he had auditioned for, been offered, and accepted the *Thomaskantor* position in the autumn of 1722. Perhaps, it crossed Fasch's mind when Bach's cantata *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis* (BWV 21) was premiered at the Zerbst court

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<sup>52</sup> Reul, "'Forgive us our debts'", 277.

<sup>53</sup> Reul, "'Forgive us our debts'", 274–275. According to his letter of 20 February 1732 to Zinzendorf from 20 February 1732, Fasch shared the same 'geistigen Hunger' ('spiritual hunger') with his second wife. See also his letter from 20 December 1736 (transcribed in Sawtschenko, *Die Kantaten von Johann Friedrich Fasch*, 55): these two Capelle members exemplified the 'wenigen red[lichen] Seelen', so noch hier seyn' ('few trustworthy souls who are also here'), i.e. in Zerbst. Could the post in Zittau have appealed to Fasch in 1735 because the town was close (13 km) to Zinzendorf's Herrnhut estate (see <https://www.unitaetsarchiv.de/> (accessed on 29 September 2021))?

<sup>54</sup> Reul, 'Fürstliche Trauermusiken am Anhalt-Zerbster Hof', 330–340.

<sup>55</sup> See *Was uns dieser Geldmangel für tägl. Kummer machet: Briefe, Johann Friedrich Fasch betreffend, aus dem St. Bartholomäi-Stift zu Zerbst (1752 bis 1757)*, ed. Konstanze Musketa (Oschersleben: Ziethen, 1997). The extra cash – typically 50 Reichsthaler or an eighth of his annual salary – allowed Fasch to cover such things as medical bills, and help finance his son Carl's expensive musical education. See also Karl Friedrich Zelter, [Biography of] *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1801), 13, available online at [https://imslp.org/wiki/Karl\\_Friedrich\\_Christian\\_Fasch\\_\(Zelter%2C\\_Carl\\_Friedrich\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Karl_Friedrich_Christian_Fasch_(Zelter%2C_Carl_Friedrich)) (accessed 11 August 2021). Zelter suggests that Fasch senior was grooming Carl to be his successor in Zerbst and thus secure the financial future of 'his only, beloved son' ('und hegte die Hoffnung, seinem einzigen geliebten Sohne seine für Zerbst sehr einträgliche Stelle nach seinem Tode zu hinterlassen').

chapel in 1727 as part of the so-called 'Dresden cycle', and repeated three times in the 1730s.<sup>56</sup> There is no question that Bach knew Fasch's music as he arranged two movements of Fasch's Trio in c minor for organ (FaWV N:c2, formerly BWV 585).<sup>57</sup> As the *Thomaskantor* Bach would also have been aware that Carl Gotthilf Gerlach, music director of Leipzig's *Neue Kirche*, performed and copied numerous works by the Zerbst Capellmeister between ca. 1730 and 1750.<sup>58</sup> In turn, Fasch must have known that Bach was performing cantata cycles by Stölzel in Leipzig.<sup>59</sup> Information on the contents of Fasch's personal musical collection – if he ever put one together – is not available. As a trained organist, however, Fasch would likely have been aware of Bach's published music for keyboard.

Did Fasch and Bach ever meet in person? Visits by the *Thomaskantor* to Zerbst are not documented,<sup>60</sup> but highly feasible. His brother-in-law Johann Caspar Wilcke junior, who lived and worked in Zerbst as a 'court and field trumpeter' from 1717 to his death in 1766, could have kept him abreast about musical life at the court.<sup>61</sup> Janice B. Stockigt recently discovered that Fasch had visited Leipzig on 1 May 1738, but his reasons for so doing remain a mystery.<sup>62</sup> When and how

<sup>56</sup> Peter Wollny, 'Neue Ermittlungen zu Aufführungen Bachscher Kirchenkantaten am Zerbster Hof', in *Bach und seine Mitteldeutschen Zeitgenossen*, Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte 4 (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 2001), 199–217. It is likely that Bach's setting of the text *Bereitet die Wege, bereitet die Bahn* by Solomo Franck (BWV 115) was also performed at the Zerbst court chapel as part of the 'Hallesche' cycle in 1725/26 (repeated in 1728/29, 1731/32, and 1739/40).

<sup>57</sup> Digitals scans of primary sources can be found here: <https://katalog.slub-dresden.de/id/0-1647933420/#detail> (Fasch); [https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork\\_work\\_00000667](https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork_work_00000667) (Bach) (accessed 11 August 2021).

<sup>58</sup> 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*, Schriften zur Mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte 14 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 17–26.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Peter Wollny and James Brokaw (trans.), "'Bekennen Will Ich Seinen Namen': Authenticity, Purpose and Context for the Aria BWV 200. Observations on Johann Sebastian Bach's Reception of Works by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel', *Bach* 48/1 (2017): 36–75.

<sup>60</sup> An exception of sorts is the baptism of Bach's nephew Johann Georg Wülcke (Wilcke) which took place on 3 March 1729. According to an entry in the Zerbst court chapel baptismal register (1728–1735) at the Pfarr- und Gemeindearchiv St Bartholomäi Zerbst, J.S. Bach, as the first and thus most valued godparent, had been unable attend the ceremony. No reasons are provided as to why, but a fellow court trumpeter, J.A.G. Fliedner, replaced him ('H[err] Johann Sebastian Bach, Hochfürstl. Anhalt. Cöthn. Capellmeister, wie auch Director Musices und Cantor zu Leipzig, deßen Stelle, weil er nicht zugegen seyn können, hat H. Johann Andreas Gregorius Fliedner, Hochfürstl. Hoff-Trompetter allhier vertreten').

<sup>61</sup> Barbara M. Reul, 'The Court of Anhalt-Zerbst', in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, eds. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 259–286. See also Michael Maul and Bernhard Schrammek, hosts, 'Die Bach-Kantate: "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen" BWV 51', *Die Bach-Kantate mit Maul & Schrammek* 56 (podcast), 12 September 2021, <https://www.mdr.de/mdr-klassik-radio/podcast/bach-kantate/index.html> (accessed 12 September 2021). Maul suggests that Bach could have conceived *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen* (BWV 51) as a piece of virtuosic chamber music for his former princely employer in Anhalt-Cöthen or for Duke Christian of Saxe-Weissenfels, with Anna Magdalena Bach singing the soprano part and her brother Johann Caspar performing on the trumpet.

<sup>62</sup> Janice B. Stockigt, "'Capell Mstr Fasch von Zerbst' – Johann Friedrich Fasch's Leipzig visit in 1738', in *Musik in Anhalt-Zerbst*, Fasch-Studien 15 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2019), 171–186. Fasch could have been on official business, picking up a Cremonese violin that he had ordered from the widow Koch in Eisenach. Or he

Fasch met C.P.E. Bach, whether before or after his father's death in 1750, has yet to be determined. We know for a fact, however, that Fasch visited Berlin at least twice, in 1750 and 1751, where he performed for the *Musikübende Gesellschaft* each time.<sup>63</sup> According to Carl Fasch's student Karl Friedrich Zelter, 'the Berlin Bach' was 'a good friend of the old Fasch'.<sup>64</sup> J.S. Bach's second-oldest son had taken the young Carl Fasch under his wing when he joined King Frederick the Great's orchestra as a keyboardist in 1756. Two years later, a war-torn Berlin compelled C.P.E. Bach to stay (and compose) in Zerbst for several months in the summer and fall of 1758.<sup>65</sup> The index of his musical estate also lists one unspecified cantata cycle by Fasch; it could have been a gift or part of an exchange of music between them.<sup>66</sup> Or was it the cycle which Fasch had sent to Telemann in the early 1730s?<sup>67</sup>

Finally, one wonders what Johann Friedrich Fasch would have expected from, or wished for himself or his friend Telemann or his kind teacher Graupner, had either one of them succeeded Kuhnau as *Thomaskantor*, also in light of their shared Leipzig past. The lack of archival sources that would help contextualise such 'what if' scenarios and provide answers to many of the other questions pondered in this essay is admittedly frustrating. Asking them, however, is an important step towards understanding the context of the succession planning for the vacant *Thomaskantorat* in 1722–1723. The rest, as they say, is history.

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was involved in some 'Music-Wechsel' activities in Leipzig or Dresden (where he could have observed the celebrations and music performed on the occasion of a princely wedding and/or visited his in-laws who lived near Dresden).

<sup>63</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, 'Entwurf einer ausführlichen Nachricht von der Musikübenden Gesellschaft zu Berlin', in *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1, Stück 5 (Berlin: Joh. Jacob Schützens sel. Wittwe, 1754), 408–410. C.P.E. Bach only seemed to have begun participating in 1755, see Jane Stevens, CD liner notes to *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Keyboard Concertos*, vol. 3 (Djursholm: Grammofon AB BIS CD-868, 2000), reprinted in David Schulenberg, ed., *C.P.E. Bach* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 181.

<sup>64</sup> Zelter, [Biography of] *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 14: '... Berliner Bach, der ein guter Freund des alten Faschs war'.

<sup>65</sup> David Schulenberg, 'C.P.E. Bach in Zerbst: The Six Sonatas of Fall 1758. With Contributions on Early Biography and Compositions of Carl Fasch', in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist*, *Schriften zur Mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte* 14 (Beeskow: Ortus, 2007), 131–152.

<sup>66</sup> Reul, "'Dream job: next exit?'" , 24.

<sup>67</sup> As suggested to me by Brian Clark. Incidentally, C.P.E. Bach's older brother Wilhelm Friedemann may have known (and performed) Fasch's compositions as well. Between 1749 and 1755, Friedemann set to music eight texts from a cantata cycle by Johann Friedrich Möhring premiered by Fasch at the Zerbst court chapel in 1723/24. See Peter Wollny, 'Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Halle performances of cantatas by his father', in *Bach Studies* 2, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 207.