



Sounding Like a “Little Vienna?” Habsburg Ambitions at the Bonn Electoral Court, 1784–94

Anna Sanda

Universität Würzburg, Institut für Musikforschung

anna.sanda@uni-wuerzburg.de

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6168-2285>

Abstract: Bonn’s musical life in the final decade of the Electorate of Cologne (1784–94) was decisively shaped by Viennese influence, particularly through the acquisition of approximately 140 sacred music compositions by Georg Reutter the Younger (1708–72). This article argues that the Viennese sacred music repertoire cultivated at the Bonn Electoral Court functioned as a key medium of political and dynastic representation, staging Habsburg belonging and authority through ritual, liturgical, and musical practice. A case in point is the introduction of a new feast day for Saint Leopold (15 November 1790) into the liturgical calendar; reflecting imperial and dynastic interests, it underscores the close interdependence of sacred music and politics.

Focusing on Reutter’s motet *Leopolde Sancte Marchio*, the article examines the veneration of Saint Leopold as it was transferred from the Habsburg hereditary lands to the empire’s northwestern borderlands. It analyzes the material transmission of the composition, its textual and instrumental adaptation, and the ways in which Reutter’s music was prepared for performances in Bonn. The discussion then turns to the planning and conceptual framing of court festivities surrounding Leopold’s celebrations, with particular attention paid to Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopolds II. zur Kaiserwürde* (Cantata on the Accession of Emperor Leopold II), WoO 88.

Read together, Reutter’s motet and Beethoven’s cantata reveal that the celebration of Saint Leopold in Bonn was not merely occasioned by Leopold II’s imperial coronation (1790) but was embedded within a longer Habsburg tradition of commemorating the Babenberg margrave Leopold III (1073–1136). By integrating medieval saintly veneration with contemporary imperial politics, Leopold’s celebrations demonstrate the ritual’s capacity to merge different temporal layers of piety and to “mask historical contingencies.” It is precisely this integrative function that helps explain how Bonn’s sacred musical life could be perceived by contemporaries—and later by historiography—as sounding like a “little Vienna.”

Keywords: Bonn Electoral Court; Georg Reutter the Younger; Ludwig van Beethoven; Leopold II; Leopold III; Margrave of Austria; Habsburg; ritual; sacred music

Acknowledgments: This article is an expanded version of a paper presented at the conference “Sounding Habsburg: Sonic Circulations in Central Europe” (New York City, 23 April 2022). My participation was generously supported by the Austrian Cultural Forum New York. The argument developed here was first drafted prior to the completion of my PhD dissertation,

Aufgeklärte Repräsentation auf der sakralen Bühne. Symbolisch-rituelle Formen liturgischer Musik in der Spätzeit des Bonner kurfürstlichen Hofes (University of Vienna, 2023), where it is treated in detail in Chapter 7 (pp. 161–92). I am especially grateful to Elisabeth Reisinger for discussing the earliest draft with me. I also thank Barbara Babić and Jeremy Llewellyn for their feedback on my conference abstract, and Axel Körner, Dietmar Friesenegger, Quirin Lübcke, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on the final version. This article has been finalized within the framework of the project “Opera and the Politics of Empire in Habsburg Europe, 1815–1914”, hosted at the Department of History of Leipzig University and funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 101018743).

Ave decus Austriae ... nostrae Tutor Patriae. With these words, the patron saint of Austria above and below the Enns, Leopold the Good (1073–1136), is praised in a motet by Georg Reutter the Younger (1708–72). Written for St. Leopold’s Day after 1751, this concise homophonic composition for four voices, two ripieno violins, bass, and organ was widely performed at the Viennese imperial court and within its cultural sphere of influence until the late nineteenth century.¹ Two copies of the motet have recently been identified as part of the sacred music library of the Bonn Electoral Court, where they arrived after Archduke Maximilian Franz of Austria (1756–1801), the youngest son of Emperor Francis I and Maria Theresa, was elected Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in 1784.²

The “Leopold motet” was not an isolated case. During Maximilian Franz’s reign, approximately 140 sacred works by Reutter entered the Bonn court chapel’s collection, ultimately accounting for nearly a quarter of its sacred music repertoire.³ This unusually extensive acquisition decisively shaped sacred music practice at the electoral court and strongly suggests that Reutter’s music functioned as a marker of Maximilian Franz’s dynastic belonging to Vienna. Such a transfer is all the more striking given that the Electorate of Cologne had long been governed by the rival Wittelsbach dynasty and had maintained few direct political or cultural ties with the imperial court prior to the 1780s.⁴ Rather than treating this musical transfer as a matter of stylistic diffusion, the present study approaches sacred music practice at the Bonn Electoral Court as a form of ritual practice whose political meanings emerged through performances. Within Maximilian Franz’s enlightened political agenda, sacred music in particular assumed a central role as an aural symbol of stability, continuity, and legitimacy—both of his regional political power and in relation to Vienna. While it has long been recognized that music at the Habsburg court served political and confessional purposes,⁵ the case of Bonn demonstrates how such strategies were adapted within an ecclesiastical electorate—one that

required a subtle recalibration in the Age of Enlightenment.

Against this background, the following study traces Reutter's motet *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* across the Danube to the Rhine and examines how the veneration of Saint Leopold was transplanted from the Habsburg hereditary lands to the empire's northwestern borderlands once detached from its Central European cultural and sonic environment. It reconstructs the material transmission of the composition, its textual and instrumental adaptation, and its preparation for performance in Bonn's court chapel. I argue that sacred music at the Bonn Electoral Court functioned as a central instrument of enlightened dynastic representation, through which Maximilian Franz articulated both his authority as archbishop-elect and his Habsburg dynastic belonging. Juxtaposing Reutter's liturgically embedded motet with Ludwig van Beethoven's *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopolds II. zur Kaiserwürde*, WoO 88—conceived for courtly festivities marking the emperor's accession—allows the analysis to span both regular devotional practice and exceptional ceremonial planning. This combination reveals a shared representational logic across musical genres, linking routine liturgical sound to moments of heightened dynastic visibility. While Reutter's motet anchored Leopold's veneration in established devotional practice, Beethoven's cantata framed the same symbolic figure within the context of contemporary imperial politics.

The article proceeds in four steps. It first outlines the Habsburg tradition of Leopold devotion as a ritual and symbolic framework. It then reconstructs the material transfer and adaptation of Reutter's motet for Bonn's court chapel. A third section examines the planning and conceptual framing of Leopold celebrations in Bonn, including Beethoven's cantata for the accession of Leopold II. The final section reflects on how these practices shaped both contemporaneous perceptions and later historiographical characterizations of Bonn's musical life as sounding like a "little Vienna."⁶

Saint Leopold and Habsburg Dynastic Devotion

The veneration of Saint Leopold had its roots along the Danube and the Vienna Woods, a core territory of the Habsburg domain by the time of his canonization in 1485.⁷ Political efforts and diplomacy of the Babenberg dynasty had ultimately been successful in obtaining the status of a duchy for the formerly abandoned and dangerous eastern borderlands of the empire. This political legacy, particularly the geographical expansion along the Danube,

became the basis for the rise of the Habsburgs to the ranks of the great European powers.

The memory of Leopold was therefore consistently cultivated by the Habsburg family, with particular emphasis on the margrave's role in stabilizing and developing the region.⁸ As a decidedly Catholic dynasty, they had a duty to govern their lands and nations "devoutly" and with "Catholic discipline."⁹ Beyond this general confessional duty, Leopold's commemoration gained heightened significance at moments of political or military crisis. His elevation to patron saint of Austria by Emperor Leopold I in 1663, during one of many wars with the Ottoman Empire, exemplifies how saintly devotion could be mobilized in response to external threat.¹⁰ Similar conditions of instability—such as those marking the beginning of Maria Theresa's reign during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48)—sustained Leopold's symbolic relevance well into the eighteenth century. The empress's decision to name her second son, born in 1747, after the patron saint further underscores the dynastic dimension of this devotional practice.

The liturgical memory of Saint Leopold was anchored in a stable repertoire of chants that articulated both territorial and dynastic claims.¹¹ Table 1 situates the textual imagery of *Leopoldo Sancto Marchio* within this established liturgical language. The opening stanzas in Reutter's motet use the catchwords *decus* and *Tutor*, highlighting Leopold's contribution to the glory and protection of Austria, a link to a traditional vocabulary that can be traced back to liturgical texts from the late fifteenth century.¹² The hymn *Austriae decus princeps*, created in the course of Leopold's canonization, anticipates this status by using the word *patron* (in the sense of tutor) almost two centuries before Leopold's elevation.¹³ The author of the motet, obviously familiar with this liturgical-textual tradition, kept his text close to it (see table 1). The recurrence of themes such as territorial guardianship, pious rulership, and dynastic protection demonstrates that Reutter's motet did not introduce new devotional content but instead activated a widely used symbolic vocabulary that would have been readily legible within Habsburg courtly contexts.¹⁴

Table 1: Motet text (I-MOe, Mus.D.455, Bass part, f. 1) and hymn (A-KN, Cod.1193, f. 401-v)

motet	hymn
1. Leopolde Sancte Marchio! Casta Caeli unio! Ave <i>decus</i> Austriae!	1. Austriae <i>decus</i> , princeps et <i>patrone</i> , Da, Leopolde, quibus aduoceris, Gaudia, alto qui es de sanguine Marchio cretus.
2. Ave Pater pauperum, Ave Portus inopum, <i>Nostrae Tutor Patriae</i> .	8. Vexilla tua possident paterna Austriae duces, illos tu commenda Ut viuant iusti. Deoque accepti Totum per orbem. ¹⁵

Beyond its textual content, Reutter's motet also reveals a strategic engagement with established liturgical models. Table 2 compares the formal and textual structure of *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* with that of a Pentecost sequence, *Veni sancte spiritus*. The structure of the motet text follows the verse form: both have ten stanzas, each stanza containing three lines of seven syllables (except the opening line), with only the first two lines forming a rhyme (7a + 7a + 7b).¹⁶ Some verses seem to allude to the Pentecost sequence: *ave pater pauperum / veni pater pauperum* and *ad perenne gaudium / da perenne gaudium* (see table 2). This structural borrowing allowed dynastic devotion to be embedded within a widely recognized musical form, facilitating ritual continuity while permitting flexible reuse in different ceremonial settings.

Table 2: Motet text (I-MOe, Mus.D.455, Bass part, f. 1, 3) and sequence (*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, no. 153)

motet	sequence
1. Leopolde sancte Marchio Casta Caeli unio Ave decus Austriae!	1. Veni, sancte spiritus, Et emitte caelitus Lucis tuae radium;
2. Ave Pater pauperum Ave Portus inopum <i>Nostrae Tutor Patriae</i> .	2. Veni, pater pauperum, Veni, dator munerum, Veni, lumen cordium.
10. Et in pugna ultima Nos benignus adjuva Ad perenne gaudium.	10. Da virtutis meritum, Da salutis exitum, Da perenne gaudium. ¹⁷

On a practical level, Reutter consciously exploited this structural accordance by using his musical setting to both texts as *contrafacta*.¹⁸ An examination of the surviving sources reveals four extant copies of the version with the sequence text *Veni sancte spiritus*: one in the monastery library in Heiligenkreuz,¹⁹ two in the Austrian National Library (one originally from the collection of Wenzeslaus Ruziczka [1757–1823],²⁰ the other from the former Imperial

Court Music Archives),²¹ and one in the Berlin State Library (originally from the Viennese Dominican Convent).²² The other text version, *Leopoldo Sancte Marchio*, survives in Klosterneuburg,²³ in the Austrian National Library (from the former Imperial Court Music Archives),²⁴ and recently rediscovered, in two copies from the Bonn Electoral Court, now kept in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, Italy.²⁵ For centuries, the imperial city shared religious and musical practices with ecclesiastical institutions within its sphere of cultural influence; these included the two Benedictine abbeys of Melk²⁶ and Göttweig²⁷ as well as the Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz.²⁸ All of these monastic libraries have extensive Reutter collections. It is therefore unsurprising that the principal sites of Leopold veneration largely coincide with those in which Reutter's compositions circulated.²⁹

Given the composer's positions as kapellmeister of both the Viennese Court of Maria Theresa and the metropolitan church of St. Stephan, Reutter's sacred music had become a central part of the performing repertoire in and around Vienna, reaching as far as up to the Austrian-Bohemian border region. Accordingly, it constituted a seminal component of an established tradition of sacred music until the late nineteenth century, even though the aesthetic appraisal of Reutter's oeuvre varied throughout this period. Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrin (1739–92), editor of the *Wiener Diarium*—a newspaper published twice a week that was closely associated with the Habsburg court—counted Reutter among the influential but narrow-minded personalities of eighteenth-century Vienna: "It is peculiar that Reutter, Meytens, and Weiskern, three pedants who blighted taste in the fine arts in Vienna, were contemporaries."³⁰

However, during the Restoration and the *Vormärz*, Reutter's music reached its peak popularity in part due to Francis I, Emperor of Austria. A letter from Count Moritz von Dietrichstein, the *Hofmusikgraf* (the overseer of the court's music institutions) to Count Moritz von Lichnowsky in February 1823 provides insight into the emperor's musical taste, both in stylistic and sonic aspects. The reason for this correspondence was Ludwig van Beethoven's interest in a position as kapellmeister at the Viennese Hofmusikkapelle (court music chapel). Almost four decades before, Beethoven had been introduced to Reutter's music as chapel organist at the Bonn Electoral Court.

I at the same time send you the score of a mass by Reutter that Beethoven wished to see. It is true that H.M. the Emperor loves this style. ... May he [Beethoven] take ... into account; - that the mass proves neither too long, nor too cumbersome in its execution; that it is a tutti mass, and that only small soprano and alto solos appear in the vocal parts, (for which I have two fine choirboys) - but neither tenor, bass, nor organ solos are included - at most only tenor, as Barth would then sing. As regards instruments, a violin, oboe, or clarinet solo could be added if he so desired.³¹

In sum, Reutter's oeuvre was well known across the Habsburg territories, from northern Italy to the Rhineland. In this respect, *Leopoldo Sancte Marchio* exemplifies a composition that originated in the heartlands of "Habsburg Central Europe," understood not only as a geographical space but also as an analytical framework shaped by shared cultural practices and historical experience, and one that could be successfully integrated into the liturgical-musical tradition of the Bonn Electoral Court.³²

From Vienna to Bonn: Transmission, Copying, and Adaptation

After Archduke Maximilian Franz took office as Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in 1784, the already extensive collection of sacred music from his predecessor's era (predominantly from Maximilian Friedrich's reign between 1761 and 1784) was expanded to include around 140 of Reutter's compositions.³³ Archival research has not yet been able to determine the circumstances of this unusually extensive acquisition. Intriguingly, neither written documents concerning the transfer nor any underlying personal connections have been found, although it is clear that the manuscripts arrived in Bonn in used condition. The inventory numbers, which do not match the Bonn numbering system, as well as some other notes on the covers, such as explicit references to previous use, grant some insight into the unresolved provenance.³⁴ In addition, the visual homogeneity of both the covers and the scribes' hands is striking and suggests a common Viennese institutional origin (see figures 1 and 2). These characteristics suggest that the Reutter collection came to Bonn from one or more institutions but in related bundles—perhaps through inheritance or the dispersal of monastic collections, and with limited financial outlay. This speculation raises further questions as to whether the acquisition of this material was serendipitous, that is to say a pragmatic purchase, or the consequence of a targeted search.

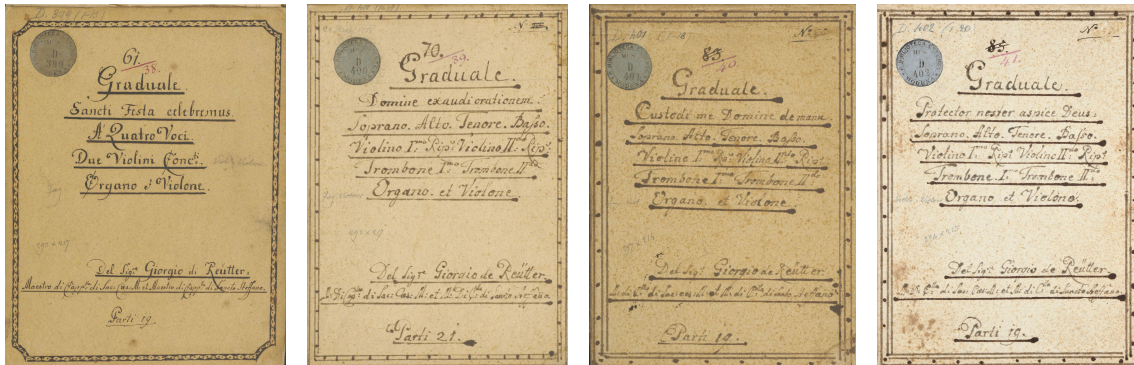


Figure 1: Cover type with frame, I-MOe, Mus.D.399-402. The old inventory number (in the upper right corner) has been erased.

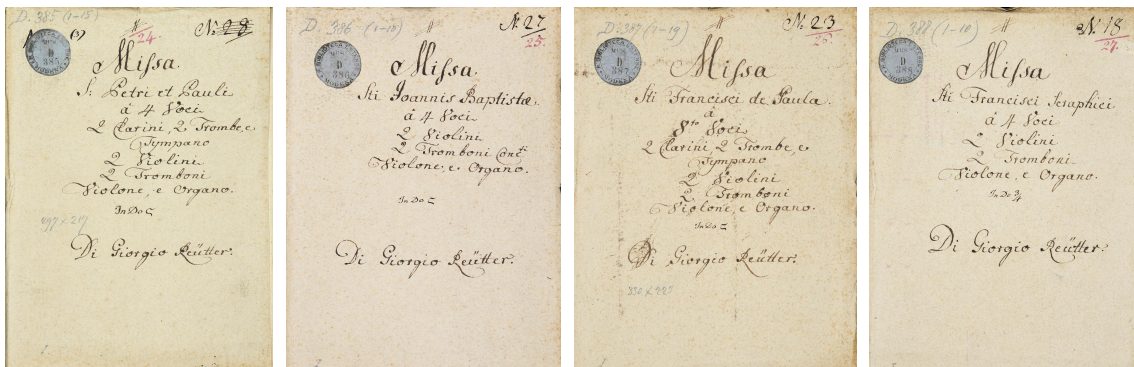


Figure 2: Cover type without frame, I-MOe, Mus.D.385-388. None of these copies was inventoried in Bonn; none contains any Bonn parts. The black numbers on the covers do not correlate with the Bonn numbering system.

Although the manuscript's origins are unclear, its adaptation in Bonn can be systematically examined, as the newer layers of parts have been preserved.³⁵ The arrangement of the items, indications of liturgical use, and layers of modification can often be clearly reconstructed.³⁶ The motet *Leopoldo Sancte Marchio* offers a glimpse of several scenarios, as there were two copies of it in the Bonn collection, kept in Modena under the shelf marks Mus.D.455 and Mus.D.423, hereafter called "A" and "B" respectively.³⁷

At its arrival in Bonn, "A" was given the inventory number forty-two, which was accurately noted by kapellmeister Andrea Luchesi in brown ink on the first page. The Viennese cover honors the composer's prestigious status and also provides information about the original Viennese arrangement:

Offertorium. / Leopoldo Sancte Marchio. Casta Caeli unio! / Soprano. Alto. Tenore. Basso. / Due Violini Ripieni. / Organo. et Violone. / Del Sig:re Giorgio di Reütter / M: di Capp:lla di Sac: Caes: M: et M: di Capp:lla di Sancto Steffano. / Parti 17.

In fact, the instrumentation indicated on the cover corresponds to the Viennese parts preserved in copy "A." However, there is only one copy of each, eight in total, compared to the seventeen parts indicated on the cover.³⁸ In addition, the soprano and alto parts are incomplete. The text breaks off in the soprano after the fourth stanza and in the alto after the second stanza (see figure 3).



Figure 3: I-MOe, Mus.D.455, soprano part f. 1-2. The text in the preserved soprano part breaks off after the fourth verse.

While no complete soprano and alto parts survive, there is evidence of newly copied instrumental parts made by the Bonn court copyist Johann Baptist Paraquin which can be dated to around 1790.³⁹ The second copy of the motet ("B") was not inventoried and shows no traces of use. Therefore, it is likely that

only “A” was used as performance material in Bonn, while “B” was treated as a duplicate and set aside. A similar pattern of material use can be found in other cases. Presumably due to the second-hand nature of the acquisition, there are several duplicates among the Reutter compositions that show no signs of use (see the description to figure 2).⁴⁰ Additional performance materials needed for Bonn included violin and bass parts, as the Hofkapelle (court chapel) had been gradually expanded by Maximilian Franz after 1787.⁴¹ Even though it might have been practical to simply take the necessary parts from the duplicate volumes, for reasons that remain unclear the collections remained separate and intact entities; no individual parts were removed and combined with others. Hence, only the Bonn copies provide codicological information on the *terminus post quem* for a use at the court chapel, and some uncertainty remains as to when the un-inventoried material was acquired. For practical reasons, a later purchase of duplicates which remained unused seems improbable.

It was also characteristic of the Bonn set of parts that the copied basso parts contained precise indications of instrumentation, such as *violoncello*, *contrabasso*, or *basso pour la mesure*.⁴² The latter part, with a designation for the conductor (usually abbreviated as p. l. m.) contained cue notes or, in other cases, (partially) integrated the first violin; both can be systematically traced in the Bonn sacred music collection from the second half of the 1780s.⁴³ Originally, Reutter’s compositions did not necessarily include a viola, instead opting for the Viennese instrumental tradition of the *Kirchentrio* (church trio), which encompasses two violins and basso. This arrangement was usually extended in Bonn to include the viola part(s). In accordance with this practice, Paraquin made one new copy each for the first and second violins, one for the viola and two for the basso parts of the motet *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* (see table 3).⁴⁴

Table 3: Overview of the Viennese parts and Bonn copies of *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* (I-MOe, Mus.D.455, 423)

“A” I-MOe, Mus.D.455		“B” I-MOe, Mus.D.423
Viennese set of parts	Bonn set of parts	Viennese set of parts [no Bonn parts]
SATB (f. 1–8)	Vn 1/1 (f. 9)	SATB
Vn 1/2 (f. 10)	Vn 2/2 (f. 12)	Vn1, Vn 2
Vn 2/1 (f. 11)	Va (f. 13)	Tbn 1, Tbn 2
Org (f. 14)	2 Basso (f. 16–17)	Violone
Violone (f. 15)	Basso p[our] l[a] m[esure] (f. 18)	Org

What insights can the adaptations for the viola, together with other arrangements, provide into the sonic expectations of the Bonn Hofkapelle under Maximilian Franz? As suggested by John D. Wilson on the basis of his ongoing research, the middle register (both for strings and brass instruments) was strengthened to create a full orchestral sound.⁴⁵ Nearly every composition in the Sacred Music Collection received a viola part, and several received two independent ones. In other cases, it seems to have been desirable to prepare an alternative to the lower trumpet parts, which were recast as horn parts, despite the availability of trumpets in Bonn throughout the relevant period.⁴⁶ While Wilson’s observations refer to the instrumentation for a full orchestra (with at least obligato strings and woodwinds), the plain scoring of this motet allows us to view the orchestral sound from a different angle. This can be demonstrated through consideration of all four existing copies of the motet, two from Bonn and one each from Klosterneuburg and Vienna (see table 4).

Table 4: Comparison of the scorings in Bonn, Vienna, and Klosterneuburg

Bonn “A” I-MOe, Mus.D.455	Bonn “B” I-MOe, Mus.D.423	Klosterneuburg A-KN, MA 268/4	Vienna A-Wn, HK.873
S + 2 Vn1	S + Vn1	2 S + 2 Vn1	3 S + 2 Vn1 + Cornetto
A + 2 Vn2	A + Vn2 + Tbn1	2 A + 2 Vn2	3 A + 2 Vn2 + Tbn1
T	T + Tbn2	2 T + Va	3 T + Va + Tbn2
B	B	2 B	3 B
Va ⁸ + 4 Basso + Org	Violone + Org	Violone + Org	3 Basso + Bn + Org

The four versions vary their approach to the four-part structural design, using basso continuo and *colla parte* instrumental parts differently. Both the Klosterneuburg and the Viennese copies double the tenor for the viola, while the larger Viennese arrangement distributes the additional brass parts equally among the four voices. Even without a viola part, the unused Bonn version (“B”)—in fact another Viennese arrangement—would have filled the middle register with two trombones, the first doubling the alto and the second the tenor. By contrast, the Bonn performance version (“A”) emphasizes the lower register by doubling the basso in the upper octave with the viola. Given the otherwise plain scoring with only *colla parte* string parts, the basso continuo assumes a stronger functional role. Since 1780, however, only a single positive organ (portable organ) was available in the court chapel, lacking a 16' register, which helps explain the reinforcement of the basso section.

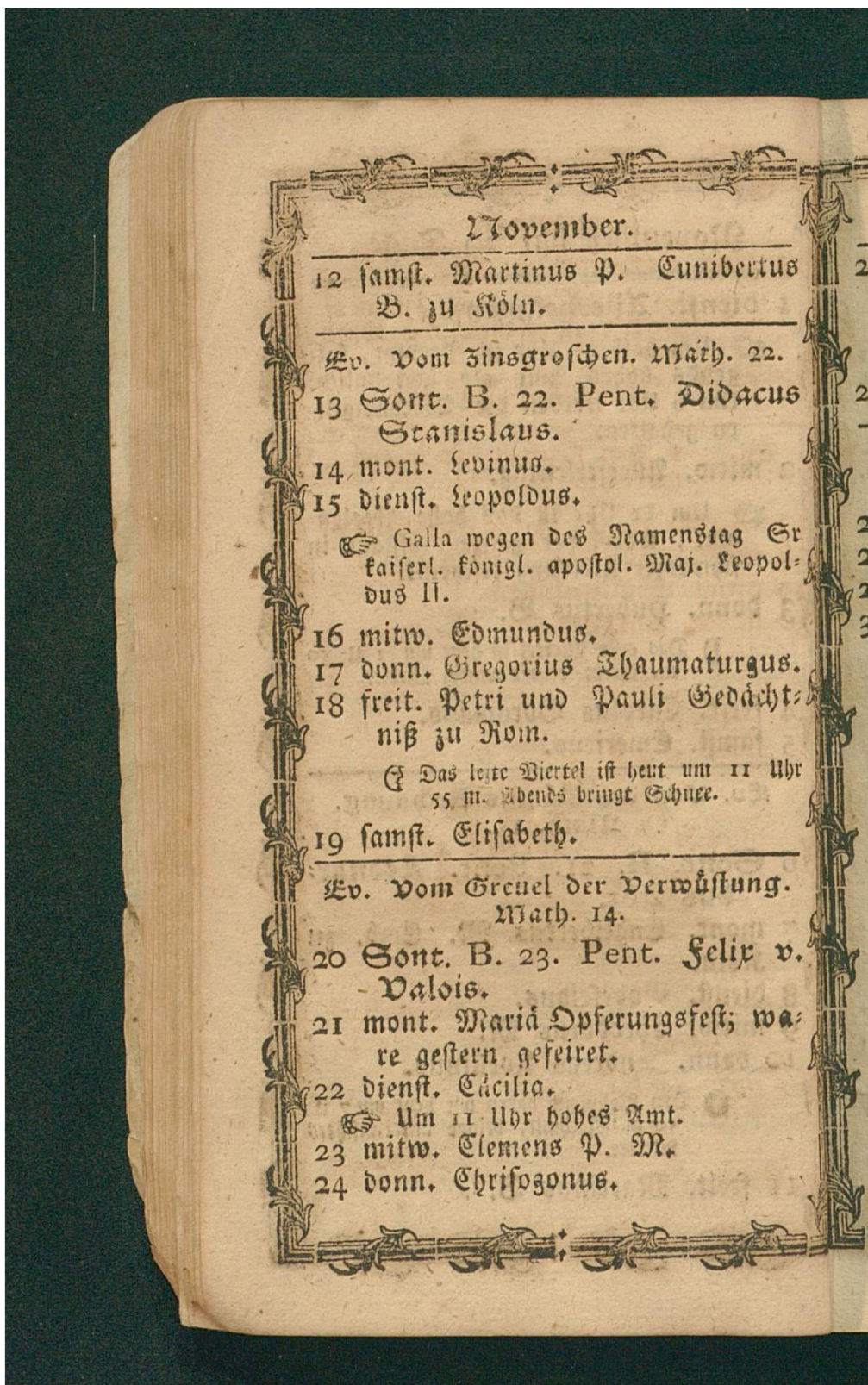
Although no major revisions were undertaken for *Leopoldo Sancte Marchio*, the motet nonetheless exemplifies a key feature of Reutter’s musical style: flexibility, understood as the potential for reuse and adaptation in both text

and instrumentation. Through repeated exposure, the Bonn court became familiar with this sonic idiom, which may already have been known to Viennese diplomats and travelers through their own musical experiences. Seen in the context of contemporary debates on liturgical reform, these stylistic traits acquire greater significance. The concise design of the vocal parts, the economical instrumentation, and the avoidance of excessive musical ornamentation correspond closely to Enlightenment critiques of Baroque sacred music that increasingly targeted its perceived excess and lack of functional clarity. Qualities that critical contemporaries such as Wekhrlin dismissed as a lack of originality may therefore also be understood as aligning with emerging ideals of moderation, intelligibility, and utility.⁴⁷ In this sense, Reutter's music occupied a productive middle ground: it retained a recognizably Viennese courtly character while offering a restrained and adaptable musical language suited to specific liturgical and ceremonial contexts. These material and sonic features provided the basis for Leopold celebrations in Bonn to function as acts of enlightened dynastic representation, linking Viennese devotional soundscape to contemporary imperial politics.

Leopold Celebrations as Dynastic Strategy at the Bonn Electoral Court

As the dating of Paraquin's new copies suggests, performances of *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* in Bonn began around 1790. It is likely that the first High Mass was held on 15 November 1790. Not only was 15 November Leopold's name day, but it was precisely the date on which Leopold II was coronated as King of Hungary and Croatia in Bratislava/Pozsony/Pressburg. It had been his second coronation, following an earlier one as Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt in October. The printed *Kurkölnischer Hofkalender* (Court Almanac of the Bonn Electoral Court) for 1791 and 1792 suggests that 15 November was to be celebrated with the highest degree of solemnity.⁴⁸

The inclusion of Leopold's feast in the *Hofkalender* (see figure 4)⁴⁹ shows a convergence of two different aspects of religious practices. On the one hand, only occasions that were meant to be established as a standard practice were entered into the *Hofkalender*. Between the years of 1790 and 1792, Leopold's feast took on a special significance, being celebrated with a degree of solemnity only reserved for temporal and selected Marian feasts. On the other hand, given the contemporary relevance of Emperor Leopold's reign, the



November.

12 samst. Martinus P. Cunibertus
B. zu Köln. 24

Ev. Vom Zinsgrofchen. Math. 22.

13 Sont. B. 22. Pent. Didacus
Stanislaus. 26

14 mont. Levinus.

15 dienst. Leopoldus.

☞ Gala wegen des Namenstag Er
kaiserl. königl. apostol. Maj. Leopoldus II. 27

16 mitw. Edmundus. 28

17 donn. Gregorius Thaumaturgus. 29

18 freit. Petri und Pauli Gedächtniß zu Rom. 30

☞ Das letzte Viertel ist heut um 11 Uhr
55 m. Abends bringt Schnee.

19 samst. Elisabeth.

Ev. Vom Greuel der Verwüstung.
Math. 14.

20 Sont. B. 23. Pent. Felix v.
Valois.

21 mont. Mariä Opferungsfest; wa-
re gestern gefeiret.

22 dienst. Cäcilia.

☞ Um 11 Uhr hohes Amt.

23 mitw. Clemens P. M.

24 donn. Chrisogonus.

Figure 4: . Entry in the Hofkalender 1791 on Leopold's Day, "Gala wegen Namenstag Kaiser Leopold II."

celebration of his name day is linked to special occasions, including elections, consecrations, birthdays, and exequies of prominent personalities (that is, members of the Habsburg dynasty). Such occasions were documented through printed announcements and decrees.⁵⁰ They referenced key local or supra-regional political events and were staged in the court chapel during Maximilian Franz's era in Bonn. These occasions took on a greater significance because of the status of the ecclesiastical electorates: lacking legitimate families of their own, electors and archbishops were unable to hold a number of festivities that offered opportunities for representations of continuity, prestige, and stability, such as announcements of births, baptisms, engagements, and weddings.

Sacred and Secular Stages of Dynastic Representation

What settings for acts of representation were available to Maximilian Franz? One option, the Hoftheater (court theatre), was typically closed during Lent or at times of mourning, limiting its role as one of the traditional stages for representation.⁵¹ As the printed *Reglements* after the death of both Joseph II and Leopold II show, such periods regularly lasted up to six months (see figure 5).⁵² Moreover, the Hoftheater remained closed for much longer during the first four years of the Bonn reign of Maximilian Franz. Ian Woodfield has already pointed out the cultural-political dimensions of these circumstances:

By the late 1780s, a new wave of Viennese opera buffa was sweeping across Europe, but because the Elector repeatedly postponed the reopening, the latest works by Martín y Soler, Salieri, and Mozart remained unheard. This had consequences on a wider political level, as Maximilian Franz was unable to stage the series of festive works commissioned by Joseph II for the imperial dynastic marriage celebrations of his niece and nephew in 1787 and 1788: *L'arbore di Diana*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Axur*.⁵³

After the theater's reopening in January 1789, the operatic repertoire mirrored the latest Viennese trends.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the French Revolution soon overshadowed the musical life of the electoral court, and from the season that was cut short by the death of Emperor Joseph II onward, "the music theater started to lose ground."⁵⁵

In an important sense it was the court chapel that also constituted a kind of stage. Its role was complementary to the theater by building continuity through ongoing liturgical celebrations and via its repertoire. Maximilian Franz maintained and expanded upon the sacred music collection of his

predecessor, Maximilian Friedrich.⁵⁶ This traditional attitude, or more precisely, the appearance of it, is not unusual in terms of religious musical practices. Narratives of continuity (historicity) often go hand in hand with narratives of authority.⁵⁷ The dual power of the elector and archbishop turned sacred spaces into a stage for political representations. The first occasion for Maximilian Franz also came on a name day. On 12 October 1780, the newly rebuilt court chapel was cleverly presented alongside Maximilian Franz, the newly elected coadjutor. Since the elector and the coadjutor happened to have the same name, the first High Mass of the new court chapel was solemnly celebrated on Maximilian's Day. The printed report in the *Hofkalender* of the following year affirmed once again the political agenda that had to be fulfilled in the course of these ceremonies: a consideration of prosperity (*Wohlstand*) and prestige (*Ansehen*) and their careful fortification ("Befestigung durch weise Vorsorge").⁵⁸ Maximilian Franz's views on stability and continuity in sacred music practices are articulated in the handwritten *Hofstaatsentwurf*—a draft outlining financial planning and the potential relocation of the court to Münster in response to the advance of French revolutionary troops. In view of his dual status as archbishop and elector, the document emphasizes the particular care required for ecclesiastical services and their decorum, which in turn necessitated instrumental music and, accordingly, an appropriate number of musicians and a carefully balanced budget.⁵⁹ Although these considerations arose from practical circumstances, they nonetheless testify to Maximilian Franz's acute awareness of the responsibilities inherent in the spiritual and secular dimensions of his office and to his deliberate effort to uphold their compatibility.⁶⁰ He states that

The dignity of an archbishop, coupled with that of an elector, requires the particular consideration of ecclesiastical functions and their propriety. ... It would be most unusual for an audience to hear the pontifical service of an archbishop with mere singing in the German language.⁶¹

This emphasis on ceremonial propriety must be situated within the wider constitutional debates of the late phase of the Holy Roman Empire. The Congress of Ems (1787), however, was primarily directed against papal claims over the Imperial Church (*Reichskirche*) rather than constituting a direct response to contemporary criticism of the ecclesiastical principalities. Nevertheless, it formed part of a broader discourse in which the relationship between *temporalia* and *spiritualia* was increasingly scrutinized. While critics questioned the feasibility of combining secular and ecclesiastical authority,

ecclesiastical princes generally sought to counter such objections, not by relinquishing one aspect of their rule but by actively demonstrating their capacity to fulfill both.⁶² Maximilian Franz was likewise prompted to articulate his position within this context. The *Hofstaatsentwurf* thus emerges not merely as a document of administrative planning but as a deliberate affirmation of dual responsibility, corresponding to contemporary theoretical reflections such as those articulated by Joseph von Sartori:

From the twofold relationship of his personal titles, the ruler must also accept a specific divisibility of his duties, namely those that he must observe as the supreme head of his church, and those as the regent of the territories of his ecclesiastical principality.⁶³

Saint, Emperor, and Audience: Multiple Readings of Leopold Veneration

Due to the emperor's short reign, celebrations of Leopold's feast did not become part of Bonn's standard sacred music practice. This contrast highlights the differing status of Leopold veneration in the Rhineland and in Austria. In Bonn, the feast primarily served as the official celebration of the reigning emperor and was perceived as such by most members of court society. For members of the Habsburg family, diplomats, and visitors from the hereditary lands, however, performances of Reutter's motet could recall familiar devotional practices and dynastic associations rooted in Viennese tradition, potentially uniting different audiences through shared musical experience shaped by education and institutional background. It is likely that the motet was performed on 15 November between 1790 and 1792 in Vienna, Klosterneuburg, and Bonn and that some listeners—possibly including members of Maria Theresa's family—had encountered it in earlier contexts.⁶⁴ The long-standing annual procession from Vienna to Klosterneuburg, maintained throughout Maria Theresa's reign with her participation *in publico*, further reinforced this shared devotional memory.⁶⁵

Thus, the motet gave rise to a range of different readings, both musically and textually, among Bonn's courtly society. For Habsburg family members, diplomats, and visitors from the hereditary lands, it could evoke established devotional and dynastic meanings. In the Bonn context, by contrast, the veneration of Saint Leopold was primarily oriented toward the contemporary emperor and the political present, rather than toward a deeply embedded

regional cult. These overlapping modes of reception allowed listeners to “include in their own reception what they [knew] of earlier interpretations and of the traditions based on them,”⁶⁶ while adapting these meanings to local circumstances—a dynamic that becomes particularly visible in the planning and conception of Beethoven’s cantata for Leopold II discussed below. Such plurality did not result in contradiction, as ritual practice could pool individual perceptions into a shared framework, provided that a basic consensus was maintained.⁶⁷

Beethoven’s *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopolds II. zur Kaiserwürde*, WoO 88, by contrast, presents the explicitly imperial dimension of Leopold veneration.⁶⁸ Its libretto contains no direct references to the Habsburg dynasty or to Leopold III as margrave and saint. Instead, formulations such as “Hörst du nicht der Engel Grüße Über dir Germania!” (“Germany, do you not hear the angelic greeting above you?”⁶⁹) articulate an imperial perspective situated within the constitutional “tapestry of the electorates.”⁷⁰

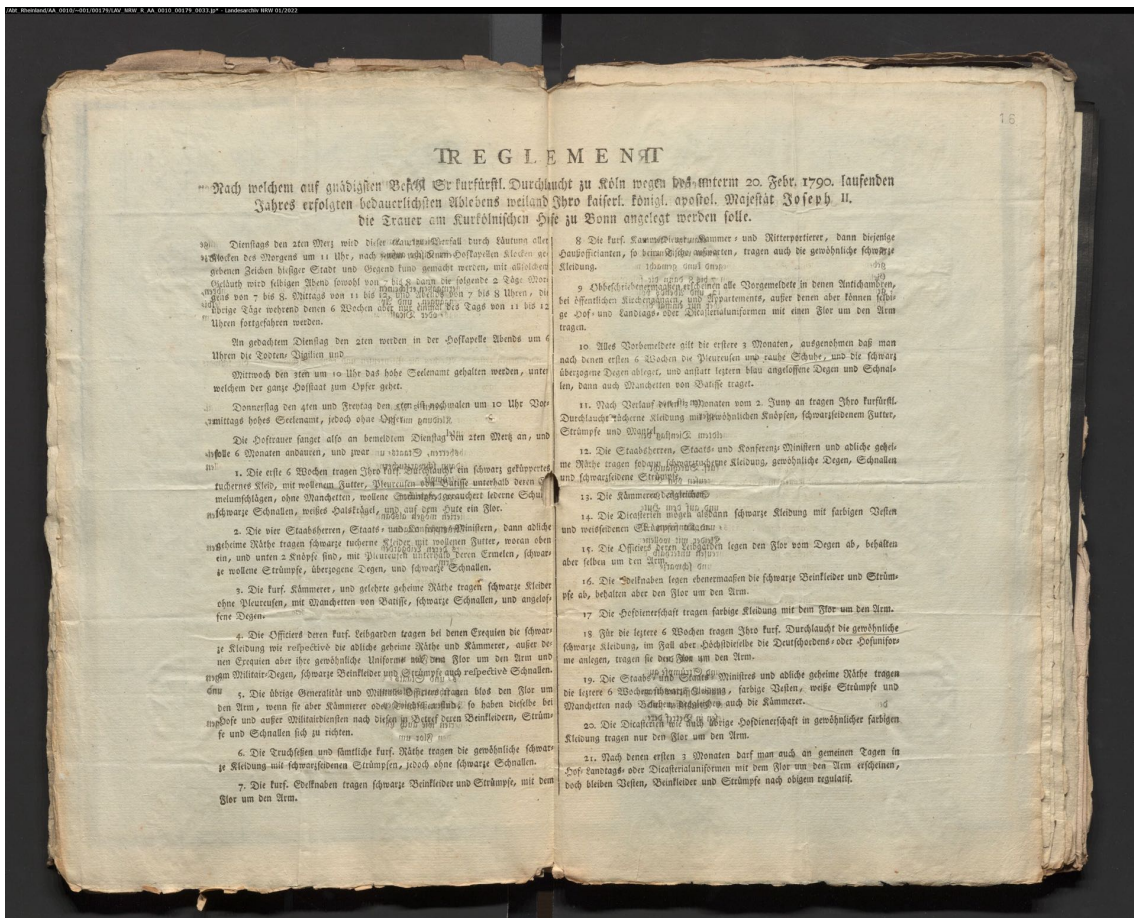


Figure 5: “Reglement nach welchem Befehl Sr. Kurfürstl. Durchlaucht zu Köln wegen des ... bedauerlichen Ablebens weiland Dhro kaiserl. königl. apostol. Majestät Joseph II. die Trauer am Kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Bonn angelegt werden solle” (D-DGla, Kurköln V, Nr. 179, f. 33).

The dramatic development of the cantata—from mourning and sorrow to hope and joy—can be understood as an artistic decision, but it may also reflect lived experience at the Bonn court. The public mourning at the electoral court began on 2 March 1790 and lasted for six months, until 2 September, with restrictions gradually relaxed (see figure 5). No one could have failed to hear this announcement, as the Bonn residence and the entire city were filled with the ringing of bells:

On Tuesday, 2 March, this sorrowful event will be announced by the ringing of each of the city's bells at eleven o'clock in the morning according to a sign given by the court bells of the city and region, with all such ringing continuing the same evening both from seven until eight, then the following two days from seven until eight in the morning, from eleven until noon and from seven until eight o'clock in the evening, and only once a day during the following six weeks from eleven until noon.⁷¹

Beethoven's cantata begins in *medias res* and continues the expressive trajectory of his earlier cantata on Joseph II's death, which culminated in the emphatic proclamation "Ist tot! tot! ist tot!" ("Dead! Dead! Dead!"). Leopold's election on 30 September 1790 and his coronation nine days later created a temporal overlap between mourning and celebration, producing a symbolic transition from sorrow to joy—from sleep ("Er schlummert" / "He is asleep")⁷² to awakening fanfare ("Erschallet Jubelchöre, dass laut die Welt es höre!" / "Resound, choruses of joy, that the world may loudly hear it!").

The devotional attitude of the final chorus ("Stürzet nieder, Millionen, an dem rauchen Altar!" / "Bow down, ye millions, before the smoking [burning incense] altar!") shows the demand for the sacral legitimization of imperial rule even in the heyday of the Enlightenment. The altar—recalling the throne—mediates between earthly and transcendent authority. During the coronation ceremony, Leopold himself knelt at the altar while the Elector of Mainz performed the anointing.⁷³ After the antiphons sung by the *Kapelle*, the three electors and archbishops jointly placed the crown on Leopold's head, whereupon Leopold swore an oath on the Aachen Bible (see the cover picture).⁷⁴ Many contemporaries would have remembered this ritual vividly. Although Beethoven's cantata was never performed in Bonn, its final chorus evokes the Church as a central stage of representation in Frankfurt, Bonn, and elsewhere, echoing Maximilian Franz's insistence on the "special care" and "decorum" of sacred music in his *Hofstaatsentwurf*.⁷⁵ At the same time, Beethoven's compositional language integrates theatrical elements drawn from the operatic repertoire cultivated at the Bonn court after 1789.⁷⁶

Reutter's Leopold motet and Beethoven's Leopold cantata thus represent two distinct yet complementary manifestations of the integrating capacity of the processual formation in ritual acts.⁷⁷ The shared experience of Leopold's accession as emperor linked the transition from death to life with a broader historical and devotional bridge connecting the margrave, the saintly myth, and the contemporary ruler.

In this sense, Leopold celebrations exemplify the "mutual interplay of construction and modification," integrating individual participation into a collective ritual process and fostering a constitutive sense of community.⁷⁸

Sounding like a "Little Vienna?"

In historiographical terms, the decade of Maximilian Franz's rule in the Rhineland has been interpreted from markedly different perspectives. Within German constitutional and nation-state narratives, the Rhineland has often been framed as a geopolitical borderland whose significance lay primarily in its role in later processes of national identity formation.⁷⁹ From this vantage point, a brief Habsburg episode lasting little more than a decade appeared marginal. Music historiography has likewise tended to view Bonn primarily through a teleological lens, most notably as a preliminary stage in Ludwig van Beethoven's biography. John D. Wilson has recently reexamined this perspective:

Most of all, the extensive music library that the elector maintained and continually expanded—which formed the core of the repertoire for the chapel, theatre, and Akademiensaal concerts—played no small role in their [Ludwig van Beethoven's, Anton Reicha's, Ferdinand Ries's, Bernhard Romberg's, and Andreas Romberg's] education. This repertoire showed a sharp receptivity to the newest and most challenging works from across Europe and in this way made the Bonn court a rival to the most rarefied circles of Kenner in Vienna or Berlin while avoiding the insular character that these often assumed. Just as Beethoven's first twenty-two years cannot adequately be summarized as "Not Yet Beethoven," Electoral Bonn's musical life in its last decade is inaccurately characterized as a "little Vienna."⁸⁰

Building on Wilson's reassessment, this article has approached the question of Bonn's relationship to Vienna from a different angle. Rather than asking whether Bonn was a "little Vienna," it has examined how sacred music and ritual practice enabled Bonn's court to appear Viennese to specific audiences under specific conditions. The collection of sacred music in particular was

remarkable in this respect, as it covered a musical repertoire of composers from different regions and musical centers: from Italy to Bavaria, as well as from the Austrian and Bohemian hereditary lands, but with a conspicuously low proportion of local Rhenish compositions. Whereas other prominent court chapels, such as those of Salzburg or Vienna, almost exclusively performed a local repertoire—particularly the compositions of the resident kapellmeisters—the Bonn court cultivated a markedly more heterogeneous sacred music repertoire.⁸¹ These connections had been cultivated throughout the eighteenth century, as evidenced by personnel exchanges, repertorial choices, and long-standing liturgical traditions. One example is the repertoire of Marian litanies at the Bonn court, a genre central to its sacred musical life and closely connected to the devotional practices of two Catholic dynasties, the Wittelsbach and the Habsburg, whose traditions intersected in Bonn.⁸² These traditions formed an established framework into which newer repertoires—such as Reutter’s Leopold motet—could be integrated.

Bonn’s sacred musical repertoire was clearly shaped in its last decade by Viennese components, with the acquisition of approximately 140 sacred works by Georg Reutter the Younger constituting a particularly significant intervention. At the same time, the court selectively introduced into the liturgical calendar a new feast that reflected contemporary imperial and dynastic interests. This addition did not disrupt existing structures but was embedded within a stable liturgical cycle whose repetition lent an appearance of continuity. In this way, sacred music contributed decisively to what ritual theory has described as the capacity of rituals to “mask the historical contingencies of their own creation” and to “construct alternative narratives of authority and legitimacy.”⁸³ Reutter’s *Leopolde Sancte Marchio* proved especially adaptable in this respect. The motet could sustain readings that resonated with centuries-old veneration of Saint Leopold while simultaneously accommodating the brief yet politically charged celebrations of Emperor Leopold II in Bonn. Its text allowed listeners to recall the protective patron of Austria while also engaging with the figure of the enlightened ruler. Within ritual performance, these layers did not contradict one another but were integrated into a shared experience whose meaning varied according to audience, memory, and political context.

It is in this sense that Bonn’s musical life could strategically “sound like a little Vienna.” Here, “little Vienna” should be understood not as a derivative label but as a situational and performative effect generated through ritual, repertoire, and audience-specific reception. This was neither a matter of

imitation nor a devalued provincial copy but the result of a deliberate and flexible deployment of sacred music within ritual frameworks capable of generating multiple, overlapping meanings. Historiographical perceptions have captured this effect because such ritualized practices could, in specific moments, produce a “Viennese soundscape.” What emerges from the case of Leopold veneration is a Habsburg experience shaped not only by imagination and ambition but by concrete ritual practices—practices in which the sacred stage and its musical repertoire played a central role.

Notes

1. Norbert Hofer, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Georg Reutter jun.*, typescript (Vienna, 1947), 173, kept in A-Bn, Mus.Hs.28992.
2. I-MOe, Mus.D.423 and Mus.D.455. See the online database of the collection in *Sacred Music Library*: <https://musikwissenschaft.univie.ac.at/maxfranz>; Mus.D.423: <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/entry/249>; Mus.D.455: <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/entry/170>. Digitized copies of the manuscripts in *Estense Digital Library*, Mus.D.423: <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/11677>; Mus.D.455: <https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/11700>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
3. Elisabeth Reisinger and Anna Sanda, "Gebraucht – funktional – flexibel: Vokale Kirchenmusik von Johann Georg Reutter im Musikarchiv der Bonner Hofkirche," in *Vernetztes Sammeln. Bericht der Tagung Krems, 10.–12.4.2019*, ed. Elisabeth Hilscher and Anja Grebe (Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde, St. Pölten, 281–318 in print).
4. The election of Maximilian Franz as coadjutor (Cologne and Münster) was only achieved after long and costly negotiations (in total, 948,000 gulden). The position in Bonn represented an "imperial ecclesiastical off-ramp." This required close cooperation with the Curia, without whose support the successful realization of these aims would have been inconceivable. See Bettina Braun, *Princeps et episcopus. Studien zur Funktion und zum Selbstverständnis der nordwestdeutschen Fürstbischöfe nach dem Westfälischen Frieden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 114–15 and 146, <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/48665>; on cultural-musical connections Alexander J. Fisher, "Die Teutsche Nation: Musical Links between the Habsburg Courts and the German States of the Empire," in *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Andrew H. Weaver (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 468–93. These well-considered diplomatic efforts can be reconstructed from a web of correspondence between members of the imperial family, the imperial court, and the diplomats sent to Cologne and Rome, as well as between the imperial court and the Curia and with other powerful actors in European politics. See, for example, D-DGla, Kurköln II, Nr. 387; this extensive correspondence still requires a systematic analysis.
5. Andrew H. Weaver, "Music in the Service of Counter-Reformation Politics: The Immaculate Conception at the Habsburg Court of Ferdinand III (1637–1657)," *Music and Letters* 87 (2006), 362: "... music at the Habsburg court played a significant role in a calculated plan whereby religious devotion was placed in the service of a political agenda."
6. John D. Wilson, "From the Chapel to the Theatre to the Akademiensaal: Beethoven's Musical Apprenticeship at the Bonn Electoral Court, 1784–1792," in *Beethoven Studies 4*, ed. Keith Chapin and David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 3.
7. See, on this topic in general, Franz Zagiba, *Die ältesten musikalischen Denkmäler zu Ehren des Heiligen Leopold, Herzog und Patron von Österreich: Ein Beitrag zur Choralpflege in Österreich am Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Zurich: Amalthea, 1954); Rainer Rudolf, "Die liturgische Gestalt der drei älteren Leopold-Offizien," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 5, no. 1 (1957): 1–32; and David Merlin, "Musik und Verehrung von Lokalheiligen," in *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*, <https://musical-life.net/essays/musik-und-verehrung-von-lokal-heiligen> (2016). Accessed 20 July 2022.
8. A-M, Hs. 937 (Compendium, fifteenth century), 149. For example, the first responsory of the first nocturn summarizes Leopold's efforts: "Claustri septa quibus serui et ancille Dei ne in

viam abeant, vltro mancipantur, sanctus erigebat Leopoldus et plura in Austria fundavit, atque dotavit monasteria, ad militandum in eis Deo sub Beatorum Augustini et Benedicti regulis valde securis. V. Quorum iugum suaue est et onus leue Dei non grauat dilectores Regulis." See the text transcription in Rudolf, "Drei älteren Leopold-Offizien," 16.

9. A-KN, Cod. 1193 (Breviary, late fifteenth century), f. 402. The second antiphon of the first nocturn highlights these duties: "Dedit Dominus sancto marchioni terras et gentes in possessionem suam, quas apprehensa catholica disciplina deuote gubernavit." See the text transcription in Rudolf, "Drei älteren Leopold-Offizien," 9.
10. Paula Sutter Fichtner and Andrew H. Weaver, "Politics, Religion, and Music at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts," in Weaver, *Music at the Habsburg Courts*, 47: "The fear and suffering experienced by the Viennese people during the ensuing siege were captured in an outpouring of devotional and liturgical musical works." Cf. Robert G. Rawson, "Suffering and Politics, Religion, and Music at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts: Supplication as Emblems of Power in Music Relating to the 1683 Ottoman Siege of Vienna," in *Music and Power in the Baroque Era*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 221–36; Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern: 2000), 31 and 206.
11. See notes 7–9.
12. For the motet's text, see the digitized copies in *Estense Digital Library* (note 2).
13. A-KN, Cod. 1193, f. 401–v. See the text transcription in Rudolf, "Drei älteren Leopold-Offizien," 8.
14. See notes 7–9.
15. Motet: 1. Saint Leopold, holy Margrave! / Pure union of Heaven! [Purlez joined to heaven above] / Hail, glory of Austria! 2. Hail, father of the poor, / Hail, harbor of the needy, / Guardian of our fatherland.
Hymn: 1. Glory of Austria, prince and patron, / Grant, O Leopold, to those whom you are invoked by, / Joy, since you are of lofty blood, / Born a margrave. 8. Austria's dukes possess your ancestral banners; / Commend them yourself, / That they may live as righteous men and pleasing to God, / Throughout the whole world.
16. *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland] 1915), vol. 54, no. 153, 234–39.
17. Motet: 1. Saint Leopold, holy Margrave! / Pure union of Heaven! [Purely joined to heaven above] / Hail, glory of Austria! 2. Hail, father of the poor, / Hail, harbor of the needy, / Guardian of our fatherland. 10. And in the final battle / Kindly help us / Toward everlasting joy.
Sequence: 1. Come, Holy Ghost / send down those beams, / which sweetly flow in silent streams / from Thy bright throne above. 2. O come, Thou Father of the poor; / O come, / Thou source of all our store, / come, fill our hearts with love. 10. Grant us in life Thy grace that we, / in peace may die and ever be, / in joy before Thy face. Translation of the sequence: John Austin (1613–1669).
18. Hofer, *Thematisches Verzeichnis*, 173.
19. A-HE, IV, "Graduale in C Veni sancte spiritus a Canto Alto Tenore Basso Violino Primo Violino Secondo Organo et Violone. Auth." (RISM ID: 600091895).

20. A-Wn, Mus.Hs.39122, "Veni Sancte Spiritus: A Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Violinis Duos, Con Organo, et Violone." Wenzeslaus Ruziczka (= Václav Apollinarius Ružička), 1757–1823.
21. A-Wn, HK.871, "Sequenza pro festo Pentecostes [: Veni sancte Spiritus]: a 4 voci."
22. D-B, Mus.ms. 18392/2, "No 16 Graduale ex Db De Spiritu Sancto Veni Sancte Spiritus a Soprano Alto Tenore Basso Violino in Duplo Violino Secondo in Duplo Violone Organo Auth: Georgio Reutter Pro Choro R: R: P: P: Dominican: Vien: Partes 10" (RISM ID: 452500193).
23. A-KN, MA 268/4.
24. A-Wn, HK.873 "Offertorium: In Festo St.i Leopoldi et de Comuni Confessorum (Leopoldi Sancte Marchio) à 4 Voci Ripieni."
25. I-MOe, Mus.D.423, Mus.D.455. Two research projects funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and conducted at the University of Vienna's Institute of Musicology—*The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz* and *The Sacred Music Library of Elector Maximilian Franz*—identified and analyzed the opera and sacred music manuscripts in Modena that once belonged to the Bonn electoral court. Prior to these projects, Bonn's sacred music repertoire had never been systematically studied: <https://musikwissenschaft.univie.ac.at/maxfranz>. Accessed 2 January 2026. Cf. Birgit Lodes, Elisabeth Reisinger, and John D. Wilson, "Zwischen Wien, Bonn und Modena: Erzherzog Maximilian Franz und die kurkölnischen Musiksammlungen," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 61 (2021): 41–71.
26. *Der Göttweiger Thematische Katalog von 1830*, facsimile, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel, 2 vols. (Munich: Katzbichler, 1979).
27. *Catalog, aller auf dem Stifts-Chore von Melk vorhandenen Musikalien*, 4 vols. (1821).
28. A recent research project with cooperation of the monastery libraries Klosterneuburg, Göttweig, and Melk sheds new light on the circulations of repertoire through institutionally organized exchange: <https://klostermusiksammlungen.at/>. Accessed 4 January 2026.
29. Heiligenkreuz Abbey was also founded by Margrave Leopold in 1131. It keeps one of the largest Reutter collections due to his son, Marian Reutter (1734–1805), who was librarian and later abbot of Heiligenkreuz Abbey.
30. [Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin], *Denkwürdigkeiten von Wien: Aus dem Französischen übersetzt* (Lyonel, 1777), 154, <https://books.google.at/books?id=qzFiAAAACAAJ&hl=de&pg=PA154#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Accessed 7 January 2026. Original wording: "Es ist merkwürdig, daß Reutter, Meytens und Weiskern, drey Pedanten, die den Geschmack in den schönen Künsten zu Wien verdarben, Zeitgenossen waren." (Unless indicated otherwise, all German translations are by Tom Alterman.) Wilhelm Ludwig Wekhrlin mentions Reutter together with the court painter, later director of the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), and Friedrich Wilhelm Weiskern (1711–68). Weiskern is primarily known as the librettist of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Bastien and Bastienne*. He became the department head of German studies at the Savoyische Adelige Akademie in Vienna in 1750.
31. Count Moriz von Dietrichstein to Count Moritz von Lichnowsky, Vienna, 23 February 1823. Autograph, 1 double leaf, 3 written pages; Berlin State Library (aut. 35,45a). *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: Henle, 1996), Nr. 1610. Original wording: "Ich schicke dir hier zugleich die Partitur einer Messe von Reutter

welche Beethoven zu sehen wünschte. Wahr ist es, daß S.M. der Kaiser diesen Stil liebt. ... Er [Beethoven] möge ... blos berücksichtigen; - daß die Messe nicht zu lang, noch zu schwer in der Ausführung werde; - daß es eine Tutti-Messe sey, und bey den Singstimmen nur kleine Sopran- und Alto-Solos vorkommen, (wofür ich 2. brave Sängerknaben habe) - doch weder Tenor- noch Baß- noch Orgel-Solos - höchstens für den Tenor, weil Barth dann singen würde. - Bey Instrumenten könnte ein Violin- oder Oboe oder Clarinett-Solo angebracht werden, wenn er es wollte." Joseph Barth (1781–1865) became a member of the Hofmusikkapelle in 1819.

32. Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen, "Introduction: Understanding Multiculturalism; the Habsburg Central European Experience," in *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* ed. by Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 4: "This ... concept of Central Europe is predefined in two main categories: first, a structural one, ...; and second, one of values and practice, that is, certain distinct traditions and correlate actions that were generated by shared social and historical developments."
33. The collection, which already existed before Archduke Maximilian Franz took office in Bonn, was inventoried in May 1784. It is preserved in the Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen (D-DGla) under the shelfmark Kurköln II, Nr. 340. Cf. Lodes, Reisinger, and Wilson, "Wien, Bonn und Modena," 41–71.
34. The Viennese Minorite monastery is indicated in three cases and the monastery of St. Michael near the Vienna Hofburg in one case. For detailed codicological explanations, see Reisinger and Sanda, "Vokale Kirchenmusik von Johann Georg Reutter" 291–292, in print.
35. See note 24.
36. *Estense Digital Library*: Mus.D.423 and Mus.D.455 (see note 2).
37. Ibid.
38. Copyist 1: vocal parts (nos. 1–8), vn 1/2 (no. 10), vn 2/1 (no. 11); copyist 2: org (no. 14); copyist 3: violone (no. 15), Mus.D.455: <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/entry/170>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
39. I-MOe, Mus.D.455, paper type described by John D. Wilson, "Fleur-de-lis / Shield with two diagonal bars: IV"; date of use c. 1790; chain lines 27–28mm: <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/watermark/9>. Accessed 7 January 2026. On the copyist, see Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Leben*, ed. Hermann Deiters and Hugo Riemann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901/1917), I:189–99: "Most Humbly Pro-Memoria Concerning the Electoral Court Music: '12: Johan Paraquin is a very good contrabasso violinist, but because of the loss of the basso parts, he is compelled to sing the basso, which, however, is not his thing at all, unmarried and of good performance.'" Original wording: "Unterthänigstes Pro-Memoria die Kurfürstliche Hof Musique betreffend: '12: Johan Paraquin ist ein sehr guter Contrebasso Geyger, wird aber wegen Abgang der Bassostimmen genöthiget die Baß zu singen, welches aber gar nicht seines thuens ist, unverheirathet und von guter Aufführung.'"
40. Of the 134 items in total, 95 were inventoried. Twelve of these are not accompanied by any further Bonn partbooks; their use therefore cannot be confirmed. In all likelihood, 85 pieces were actually performed in the palace chapel. For further discussion, see Reisinger and Sanda "Vokale Kirchenmusik von Johann Georg Reutter" 294, in print.

41. Most prominently, in 1789, Maximilian Franz hired 4 vocalists, 5 violinists, 2 violists, 1 contrabassist, 1 flautist, 1 oboist, and 1 bassoonist. Elisabeth Reisinger, Juliane Riepe, and John D. Wilson, in collaboration with Birgit Lodes, *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz: Reconstruction, Catalogue, Contexts*. Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung, no. 30, Musik am Bonner kurfürstlichen Hof, no. 2 (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018), 149.
42. Gerald Abraham, *The Age of Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 14–15.
43. The same type of bass part (*Direktionsstimme*) was also used in the Viennese Hofmusikkapelle and usually specified by the note “Maestro di Capella.” My thanks to John D. Wilson for this information.
44. Copyist Paraquin: vn 1/1 (no. 9), vn 2/2 (no. 12), va (no. 13), basso (no. 16 and 17), basso p.l.m. (no. 18): <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/entry/170>, Mus.D.455.
45. John D. Wilson, personal communication, April 2022.
46. Ibid.
47. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces: Or The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: Travis & Emery Music Bookshop, 1773), I:356–57, digital: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/73255/ng9>, here: 266: “The music was by Reutter, an old German composer, without taste or invention.” Original wording: “Die Musik war von Reutter, einem alten deutschen Komponisten, ohne Geschmack oder Erfindung.”
48. The *Kurkölnischer Hofkalender* for 1790 had to be printed by the end of 1789, when the changes in rulers could not yet be foreseen. Leopold’s election took place on 30 September and the coronation in Frankfurt on 9 October 1790. Digitized copy available (D-BNu): <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/periodical/titleinfo/1501944>. Accessed 7 January 2026
49. D-BNu, Digitale Sammlung: <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/periodical/titleinfo/2913598>, without page number, digitized page number 34, accessed 7 January 2026.
50. D-DGla, Kurköln V, Nr. 179, f. 4, f. 33.
51. Austin Glatthorn, *Music Theatre and the Holy Roman Empire: The German Musical Stage at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), esp. chap. 5, “Staging Imperial Identity.”
52. D-DGla, Kurköln V, Nr. 179, f. 33.
53. Ian Woodfield, “Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family,” *Music & Letters* 93, no. 3 (2012): 289. *L’arbore di Diana* was performed in Bonn in 1789, *Don Giovanni* in 1789/90, and *Axur* in 1792/93. See further details in Reisinger, Riepe, and Wilson, *Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz*, 155.
54. *Auszug eines Briefes aus Bonn, vom 3. März 1790*, in *Annalen des Theaters* 5, ed. Christian August von Bertram (Berlin: Maurer, 1790), 100. Additionally, see Reisinger, Riepe, and Wilson, *Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz*, 148; see also the official ban on public entertainment (“Verbot der öffentlichen Lustbarkeiten”) due to court mourning after the death of Joseph II. D-DGla, Kurköln V, Nr. 179.

55. Reisinger, Riepe, and Wilson, *Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz*, 153. It was the company of the Mainzer Nationaltheater that regularly performed in Frankfurt during the festivities of Leopold's coronation.
56. The inventory completed on 8 May 1784 (D-DGla, Kurköln II, Nr. 340) allows for a comparison of the pre- and post-1784 acquisitions of items of the sacred music collection. In the inventory, all musical items were recorded and organized in categories or genres, arranged alphabetically by composer, and given an inventory number. These are also found on the manuscripts themselves and proved to be a central identification feature for manuscripts and prints stemming from Bonn.
57. Nils Holger Petersen, "Carolingian Music, Ritual, and Theology," in *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Mette Birkedal Braun, Jeremy Llewellyn, and Eyolf Østrem (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 13–31.
58. [Joanne] P[hilippo] N[erio] M[aria] V[ogel], *Kurfürstlich-köllnischer Hof-Kalender für das Jahr 1781* (Bonn: Ferdinand Rommerskirchen, Churf. Hof-Buchdrucker und Buchhändlern, 1780). "The consideration of the former prosperity and prestige of the Archbishopric of Cologne in the first times: its decrease in the middles, and its fortification in the present times on the occasion of the coadjutor election, which was successfully and unanimously carried out by the wise precaution of a much beloved Max Friderich, and on the most dear Archduke Max Franz's royal highness under the 7th of August in Cologne, and the 16th in Münster in the year 1780." Original wording: "Die Rücksicht auf den ehemaligen Wohlstand und das Ansehen des Erzstifts Köln in denen erstern Zeiten: dessen Abnahme in Mittlern, und dessen Befestigung in jetzigen Zeiten bey Gelegenheit der durch die weise Vorsorge eines vielgeliebten Max Friderich beförderten und auf des theuersten Erzherzogs Max Franz königl[icher] Hoheit unterm 7ten August zu Köln, und den 16ten zu Münster glücklich und einstimmig ausgefallenen Koadjutorwahl im Jahr 1780."
59. For further explanations see Anna Sanda, "The Enlightened Practice of Sacred Music in Bonn and the Role of Andrea Luchesi," in *Rethinking Beethoven and the Enlightenment*, ed. Nicholas Chong and Daniel KL Chua (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2026), 112–14.
60. Ibid.
61. D-DGla, Kurköln II, Nr. 637, f. 3v. Original wording: "Die Würde eines Erzbischofs mit jener eines Kurf[ür]st[en] verpaart erfordert, daß man eine besondere Sorge für die Kirchlichen Functionen, und deren Anstand trage. Es würde dem publicum höchst-auffallend seyn, ein Erzbischöfliches pontifical-amt mit bloß deutsch[en] Gesängen zu hören." For the complete transcription, see Anna Sanda, "Aufgeklärte Repräsentation auf der sakralen Bühne. Symbolisch-rituelle Formen liturgischer Musik in der Spätzeit des Bonner kurfürstlichen Hofes," Diss. Univ. Vienna 2023, 177; and further on this topic, see Elisabeth Reisinger, "Persönliches Amusement und politische Agenda: Bedeutungen von Musik für Kurfürst Maximilian Franz," in *Beethoven: Die Bonner Jahre*, ed. Norbert Schloßmacher (Cologne: Böhlau, 2020), 241–62.
62. Andreas Joseph Schnaubert, *Ueber des Freiherrn von Moser's Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der geistlichen Staaten in Deutschland* (Jena 1788), in the discourse of the prize question posted by Philipp Anton von Bibra, "Preisaufgaben," *Journal von und zu Deutschland* 2/12 (1785/86): 552.
63. Joseph von Sartori, *Staatistische Abhandlung über die Mängel in der Regierungsverfassung der geistlichen Wahlstaaten, und von den Mitteln, solchen abzuhelpfen* (Augsburg: Nicolaus Doll, 1787), 9. Original wording: "Der Regent muss aus dem zweyfachen Verhältnis seiner Personalwürde auch eine gewisse Theilbarkeit seiner Pflichten zulassen, nämlich derjenigen, die er als oberster

Vorsteher seiner Kirche, und als Regent seiner geistlichen Stiftslande zu beobachten hat.“

64. However, the preserved performance copy from the Imperial Court Music Archive notes on the covers the dates of performances between 1797 and 1801 every year.
65. Elisabeth Kovács, “Kirchliches Zeremoniell am Wiener Hof des 18. Jahrhunderts im Wandel von Mentalität und Gesellschaft,” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 32 (1979), 109–42.
66. Nils Holger Petersen, “Introduction: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000,” in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and Their Representation in the Arts, 1000–2000*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen, Claus Clüver, and Nicolas Bell (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1. With reference to André Lacocque and Paul Ricoeur, *Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutical Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
67. “It is precisely the special capacity of rituals that they are in many respects diffuse, vague and ambiguous. An actual consensus about the exact meaning of the act is not necessary as long as the participants believe that such a consensus exists and communicate this to each other precisely through their participation in the ritual.” Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2017), 11. Original wording: “Es macht gerade die besondere Leistungskraft von Ritualen aus, dass sie in vieler Hinsicht diffus, vage und vieldeutig sind. Ein *tatsächlicher* Konsens über die genaue Bedeutung des Aktes ist nicht erforderlich, solange die Beteiligten *glauben*, dass es einen solchen Konsens gibt, und dies einander gerade durch ihre Teilnahme an dem Ritual gegenseitig vermitteln.“
68. Ludwig van Beethoven, *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopolds II. zur Kaiserwürde für Solostimmen, Chor und Orchester* WoO 88: Complete Edition with Critical Report, ed. Ernst Herttrich (Munich: Henle, 2006).
69. All German translations of the cantata are by Lionel Salter.
70. Fischer, “Die Teutsche Nation,” 467: “While remaining nominally loyal to the emperor and imperial institutions, each of these hundreds of political entities, to a greater or lesser degree, pursued an independent foreign policy and developed a unique political, social, and religious profile.”
71. D-DGla, Kurköln V, Nr. 179, f. 33. Original wording (see also in Figure 5): “Dienstag den 2ten Merz wird dieser trauriger Vorfall durch Läutung aller Glocken des Morgens um 11 Uhr, nach jenem von den Hofkapellen Glocken gegebenen Zeichen hiesiger Stadt und Gegend kund gemacht werden, mit allsolchen Geläuth wird selbigen Abend sowohl von 7 bis 8 dann folgende 2 Tage Morgens von 7 bis 8. Mittags von 11 bis 12 und Abends von 7 bis 8 Uhren, die übrige Tage wehrend denen 6 Wochen aber nur einmal des Tages von 11 bis 12 Uhren fortgefahren werden.“
72. Even if the period of court mourning had been strictly enforced until September, there must have been some temporal overlap with the preparations for the coronation celebrations. Severin Anton Averdonk’s texts of the *Cantata on the death of Emperor Joseph II*, WoO 87 uses the image of the Emperor “asleep” in death (No 5. Recitativo: “Er schläft von den Sorgen seiner Welten entladen”; No 6. Aria: “Hier schlummert seinen stillen Frieden”).
73. Austin Glatthorn, “The Imperial Coronation of Leopold II and Mozart, Frankfurt am Main, 1790,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 14, no. 1 (2017): 100.

74. Ibid.
75. Klaus Pietschmann, "Vokalwerke mit Orchester der frühen Jahre," *Beethovens Vokalmusik und Bühnenwerke*, ed. Birgit Lodes and Armin Raab, Laaber 2014, 235–56. First performance: Vienna, 23 November 1884. Cf. First Edition: *Ludwig van Beethoven's Werke, Complete Edition with Critical Report*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888, digitized copy: Beethoven Haus Bonn: https://www.beethoven.de/en/s/catalogs?opac=kat_en.pl&dokid=bb:T00042126 Accessed 7 January 2026, see also note 65.
76. Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 1998), 63–77.
77. Glatthorn, "Imperial Coronation of Leopold II," 100.
78. Petersen, Bruun, Llewellyn, and Østrem, "Introduction," 1.
79. Michael Rowe, *From Reich to State. The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 2: "For Germans, the Rhine became a symbol of resistance to French imperialism, whilst generations of Frenchmen were taught that the river represented civilization's frontier with barbarism. Rhinelanders, caught in-between, felt obliged to assert their essentially German culture against claims from both sides that they tended towards francophilia and ultramontanism. Nationalistic stridency increased in times of Franco-German conflict, especially in the aftermath of the First World War, when historians sought to justify their countries' claims to the Rhineland by reference to Napoleonic rule a century earlier."
80. John D. Wilson, "From the Chapel to the Theatre to the Akademiensaal: Beethoven's Musical Apprenticeship at the Bonn Electoral Court, 1784–1792," in *Beethoven Studies 4*, ed. Keith Chapin and David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 3. On this topic, see also Elisabeth Reisinger, "Höfische Musikpraxis in Wien und Bonn im späten 18. Jahrhundert: Neue Perspektiven auf Handlungsweisen, -räume und Akteure," *Die Musikforschung* 71, no. 1 (2018): 3–18.
81. For further literature, see Reisinger and Sanda, "Vokale Kirchenmusik von Johann Georg Reutter im Musikarchiv der Bonner Hofkirche" 288–292, in print).
82. For further discussion on the Marian litany repertoire at the Bonn Electoral Court and its dynastic context, see Sanda, "Aufgeklärte Repräsentation auf der sakralen Bühne," chap. 6, esp. 137f.; D-DGla, Kurköln II, Nr. 4894; I-MOe, Mus. D. 128. (Haan Vacláv); Mus.D.2 (Johann Georg Albrechtsberger); Mus.D.74 (Georg Joseph Donberger); Mus.D.83 (Ferdinand von? Everard); Mus.D.84 (Ferdinand von? Everard); and Mus.E.106 (Leopold Hofmann). See also the online database of the collection: <https://musikwissenschaft.univie.ac.at/maxfranz>.
83. Petersen, Bruun, Llewellyn, and Østrem, "Introduction," 1.