

# 1 | From the Chapel to the Theatre to the *Akademiensaal*: Beethoven's Musical Apprenticeship at the Bonn Electoral Court, 1784–1792\*

JOHN D. WILSON

It is worth remembering, if seldom remembered, that when Beethoven moved to Vienna in November 1792 to study composition with Haydn, he was already a grown man who had amassed nearly a decade of professional experience as a paid court musician. Just as rarely borne in mind is his portfolio of at least forty completed works that show a growing ambition to establish himself not only as a piano virtuoso, but as a serious composer who could competently write for the largest forces that were available to him in Bonn. Symptomatic in both respects is Douglas Johnson's seminal contribution to *Beethoven Studies* 3, which skilfully analyses how Beethoven's publications from 1794–95, especially Opp. 1, 2 and 4, grew out of revisions to earlier compositions. While acknowledging the Bonn origins of these works Johnson chose a title that simultaneously erases them by referring to 1794–95 as 'Decisive Years in Beethoven's *Early Development*' (my emphasis).<sup>1</sup>

If it is hardly customary to characterize the published opuses of any twenty-four-year-old composer as 'early', to do so with one who had been publishing music for twelve years is a curious lapse from the scholar who, after Thayer, has contributed the most to our knowledge of the Bonn works;<sup>2</sup> it is also a symptomatic one. The tendency to undervalue Beethoven's Bonn years has, until very recently, been entrenched in both popular and scholarly narratives of the composer's creative development, one that seldom acknowledges any composition earlier than his Op. 1, except those like the Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II (WoO 87) and the

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas Johnson, '1794–1795: Decisive Years in Beethoven's Early Development', *Beethoven Studies* 3, ed. Alan Tyson (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 1–28.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Douglas Johnson, 'Beethoven's Early Sketches in the Fischhof Miscellany' (PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1977).

three piano quartets (WoO 36) from which he would later reuse material. True enough, this systematic exclusion of the first third of Beethoven's life has begun to wane, with some recent biographies giving more weight to Beethoven's early works and their context in Bonn's blend of courtly life and powerful aristocratic networks.<sup>3</sup> But still, as Ulrich Konrad has reminded us, there is an instinctive tendency to draw the portrait of Beethoven the courtier in sharp relief against a more broad-stroke background of Bonn as a hotbed of the German Enlightenment, a tendency which, while not counterfactual, inspires a kind of tunnel vision as it pertains to the young musician's intellectual horizons, his perceived career options, and the creative products that were responses to a complex environment that needs to be understood on its own terms.<sup>4</sup> Put another way, Bonn Beethoven is too often viewed retroactively as a harbinger of Vienna Beethoven, particularly Heroic Beethoven, with the composer denied serious consideration as a rational individual operating in a particular set of circumstances.

It is not the intention here to do full justice to Beethoven's early creativity and Bonn's role in the formation of his personality. But, to the detriment of our full understanding of Beethoven's long apprenticeship, the habitual skimming over the Bonn years also devalues the Bonn Electoral Court as a musical centre in its own right. Its cultural life in the 1770s and 1780s is often vastly underestimated in the Beethoven literature. While not always portrayed as a backwater, it is often treated condescendingly, as a respectable if sleepy province, a distant pre-echo of Vienna. Recent research into the primary sources – in particular the remaining portion of the court music library in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena and other documents pertaining to the theatre and chapel – has turned this view on its head.<sup>5</sup> In its final decade, between Elector

<sup>3</sup> Insightful general treatments of the Bonn period can be found in Konrad Küster, *Beethoven* (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 13–36; David Wyn Jones, *The Life of Beethoven* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1–27; and Barry Cooper, *Beethoven* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 1–43.

<sup>4</sup> Ulrich Konrad, 'Der "Bonner" Beethoven', *Bonner Beethoven-Studien*, 12 (2016), pp. 65–80.

<sup>5</sup> The results of the two research projects based at the University of Vienna, directed by Birgit Lodes and carried out by Elisabeth Reisinger and myself, are to appear in five volumes published by the Beethoven-Haus in the series 'Musik am Bonner kurfürstlichen Hof', under the imprint of *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung*. The following volumes have appeared to date: Birgit Lodes, Elisabeth Reisinger and John D. Wilson (eds.), *Beethoven und andere Hofmusiker seiner Generation. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn, 3. bis 6. Dezember 2015* (Bonn, 2018); Elisabeth Reisinger, Juliane Riepe and John D. Wilson (eds.), *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz: Reconstruction, Catalogue, Contexts* (Bonn, 2018); and Elisabeth Reisinger, *Musik machen – fördern – sammeln. Erzherzog Maximilian Franz im Wiener und Bonner Musikleben* (Bonn, 2020).

Maximilian Franz's reorganization in 1784 and the French occupation in 1794, the Bonn Hofkapelle, already acclaimed during the reign of his predecessor Maximilian Friedrich, grew in number and quality to rank among the finest in Europe. Like Beethoven, several of the next generation's leading virtuosos, composers and pedagogues – such as Anton Reicha, Ferdinand Ries, and the cousins Bernhard and Andreas Romberg – spent their formative years in this highly charged atmosphere. And this concentration of talent, especially young and emerging talent, was far from fortuitous, rather a result of Maximilian Franz's reputation as a knowledgeable patron and his many years of informed personnel choices. 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 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'.

### The Unparalleled Music Library of a 'Profound Connoisseur'

An anonymous Bonn musician, most likely Christian Gottlob Neefe, was not merely flattering his new boss when, in August 1784, he praised Maximilian Franz in print as a 'profound connoisseur' and credited his patronage for the town's affinity for music 'continually expanding more and more, its taste becoming more refined every day'.<sup>6</sup> Neefe, or any other resident of Bonn with musical inclinations, would have immediately recognized a serious collector in their midst. In April, the newly arrived elector had brought with him from Vienna a music library that included around 2,350 works in every significant genre: symphonies (c. 380), trios (c. 460), quartets (c. 900), concertos and cassations (close to 100), other chamber music (c. 330), ballets (26) and vocal works large and small (c. 150).<sup>7</sup> While in Bonn, he would continue to collect new works with

<sup>6</sup> *Beiträge zur Ausbreitung nützlicher Kenntnisse*, No. 20 (20 August 1784), pp. 161–7, at p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> The quantitative analysis in this paragraph is indebted to Elisabeth Reisinger, for which see *Musik machen*, Appendix E.

an enthusiasm that bordered on mania, until his library reached a height of around 3,500 items, not counting sacred music, which was maintained separately in the chapel. By way of comparison, the Duchess Anna Amalia's music collection in Weimar, one of the most legendary of its day, included close to 3,000 works at the time of her death in 1807.<sup>8</sup> Another equally legendary contemporary collection by a different Anna Amalia, the Princess of Prussia, was even larger: at her death in 1787, it encompassed over 3,800 works in over 600 volumes.<sup>9</sup> The musical holdings of the Imperial Court Library in Vienna, the so-called 'Kaisersammlung', are harder to estimate, but they probably did not approach their present quantity of 3,200 shelf marks until well into the nineteenth century, representing 150 years of accumulation by many generations of Habsburg rulers.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, Maximilian Franz's music library not only ranks among the largest of its kind in the late eighteenth century (that is, before the more voluminous one by his nephew, Archduke Rudolph), but also the most rapidly assembled. His zeal for keeping track of his music collection was such that, before leaving Vienna, he commissioned an extraordinarily detailed 642-page inventory that includes incipits for every instrumental work.<sup>11</sup> New acquisitions after 1784 were similarly entered in the blank spaces, largely in the hand of Franz Anton Ries, who appears to have acted as music librarian in Bonn. This inventory, preserved today in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria under the shelf mark 'Catalogo Generale 53 I-II' (new shelf mark ε40.4.10, referred to hereafter as 'Cat. Gen. 53') is a rich source for reconstructing the library; when the different layers of handwriting are teased out and cross-referenced with the surviving manuscripts and other sources, it is possible also to document its growth between 1784 and 1794.<sup>12</sup>

But Maximilian's library distinguished itself from its more famous rivals in another respect, as Elisabeth Reisinger has observed. Typically, such music collections served an important representational function, their gilt leather volumes an expression of their collectors' erudition. The elector, on

<sup>8</sup> Richard Münnich, 'Aus der Musikaliensammlung der Weimarer Landesbibliothek', *Aus der Geschichte der Landesbibliothek zu Weimar und ihrer Sammlungen*, ed. Hermann Blumenthal (Jena, 1941), pp. 168–84. But, as Münnich notes, many of the rarities often associated with this collection were acquired in the nineteenth century.

<sup>9</sup> Eva Renate Blechschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek. Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preußen (1723–1787)* (Berlin, 1965).

<sup>10</sup> Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library*, pp. 224–5.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview, see Juliane Riepe, 'Eine neue Quelle zum Repertoire der Bonner Hofkapelle', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 60/2 (2003), pp. 97–114.

<sup>12</sup> Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library*, pp. 231–50.

the other hand, was far more interested in pieces that he could play himself – he was a skilful viola player as well as an able pianist and singer – or ones that he could have played by the musicians available to him.<sup>13</sup> As the extant sources reveal, he seldom went to the trouble of having his scores and parts bound at all, with the exception of sacred music (see below). This practical bent was paired with the sensibilities of a methodical completist: while still in Vienna, where he had two excellent violinists in his retinue,<sup>14</sup> Maximilian managed to compile an almost encyclopedic compendium of string duos, trios and quartets from Vienna, South Germany, London and Paris. In one especially striking example of this, by 1784 he owned every single commercially available *quatuor concertant* by the prolific Giuseppe Maria Cambini, amounting to 139 works.<sup>15</sup> Virtually every significant composer in the early history of the string quartet is represented in impressive quantities: Johann Baptist Vanhal (forty-two), Anton and Carl Stamitz (thirty-six and twenty-seven), Carlo d'Ordonez (eighteen) and, of course, Joseph Haydn (thirty-three). No less impressive was his collection of Luigi Boccherini's chamber music: forty-two quartets (everything up to Op. 32), thirty quintets, twelve sextets and thirty-five trios in Maximilian's library represent practically the composer's entire catalogue of chamber music published before 1784.<sup>16</sup> In the pre-1784 acquisitions, similar trends are evident in symphonies for strings alone. This is not to say that Maximilian did not sometimes acquire works that he had no means to perform. His ballet scores all date from his time in Vienna, and for some reason his Italian operas include the working score and complete instrumental parts to Pasquale Anfossi's *L'avarò* performed at the Kärntnertheater in 1776–77 (a rare survival of performance material for Viennese opera from that era).<sup>17</sup> But these were exceptional cases springing from a parallel collecting impulse, the score usually memorializing a momentous family event – the weddings, births and coronations that constituted the milestones of the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>14</sup> Dorothea Link, 'Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court', *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link with Judith Nagley (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 153–78, at p. 161.

<sup>15</sup> As listed in Dieter Lutz Trimpert, *Die Quatuor Concertants von Giuseppe Cambini* (Tutzing, 1967), pp. 243–306.

<sup>16</sup> As listed in Yves Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini* (London, 1969).

<sup>17</sup> See Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library*, pp. 359–61. <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

In Bonn, Maximilian also retained a small chamber ensemble (to which Beethoven belonged as a viola player and pianist),<sup>19</sup> and continued to collect new trios, quartets and quintets. But now with an entire Hofkapelle at his disposal, his acquisitions took a different direction. The bulk of his energies was now channelled into works that showcased his new ensemble's strengths, especially German operas, symphonies and piano music. Notably, the last of these, which includes both concertos and sonatas, was the single largest area of growth after 1784.<sup>20</sup> In this endeavour, Maximilian Franz discovered among his court musicians a kindred spirit with whom he promptly entered a symbiotic partnership. Beginning in July 1784, the court horn player and aspiring music dealer Nikolaus Simrock was granted a yearly stipend of forty Reichsthaler to source new music, along with the privilege to use the works he acquired for the court as the basis for copies that he sold to the public. As Simrock acquired new works, he would typically advertise them in the local newspaper, the *Bönnisches Intelligenzblatt*; the same works would inevitably also be entered in the elector's inventory.<sup>21</sup> Often, opera scores would be re-arranged locally, set idiomatically for keyboard and their texts translated, the latter two services provided by Neefe. By 1790, due in equal part to Simrock's resourcefulness, the elector's insatiable taste for new works, and the industry of Neefe and others in adapting these works, Bonn constituted a hub for the dissemination of music to other theatres. Among Simrock's clients were German troupes in Mainz, Mannheim, Hamburg and even Berlin.<sup>22</sup>

Many clues throughout 'Cat. Gen. 53', as well as in the surviving manuscripts, suggest that the elector did not reserve the items in his library for his own private amusement, but made them freely available for performances elsewhere at court and even lent them out to individuals. A comment in ink under the listings for sacred music, 'Die KirchenMusik ist dem Capellmeister übergeben', reflects the fact that at some point after his arrival in Bonn, Maximilian transferred the entirety of his somewhat modest collection of such music to Andrea Luchesi for use in the chapel. In the listings of opera, marginal remarks in pencil of 'Reicha' or 'R' next to certain titles indicate that Joseph Reicha, who acted as music director of the theatre from 1789, borrowed several scores; not every work he examined

<sup>19</sup> A-Whh, Habs.-Est. FA, 172, Mappe 5.      <sup>20</sup> Reisinger, *Musik machen*, Appendix E.

<sup>21</sup> Reisinger et al., *The Operatic Library*, pp. 162–72.

<sup>22</sup> A survey of all known Simrock opera scores can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 373–80.

was taken up for performance at court.<sup>23</sup> Finally, both Luchesi and the young Beethoven apparently borrowed items of instrumental music, as attested by two small leaves that still remain inserted in the inventory.<sup>24</sup>

The breadth and scope of Maximilian's music library, its focus on the most current repertoire and the openness with which the elector handled it, provided one of the clearest early signs of the direction in which he would take the Hofkapelle. There is every reason to believe that from 1784 musical tastes were, indeed, becoming 'more refined by the day'. This was balanced, however, by the elector's stern sense of economy and an instinctive distaste for the extravagant self-glorification that often characterized musical representation in eighteenth-century courts. Economic prudence ensured that the theatre would remain closed for over four years and many court musicians would either lose their jobs or have their salaries reduced,<sup>25</sup> while the avoidance of musical self-representation seems to have contributed to a creative chill at court during which previously industrious composers, including the young Beethoven, ceased to write anything new at all for several years.<sup>26</sup> But it would be a mistake to view even Maximilian Franz's early reign as times of mere austerity and reduction of means. Rather, closer attention reveals significant developments from the beginning of his rule in all three sectors of the electoral palace where musicians performed, chapel, theatre and concert hall; all three underwent significant reforms that, sooner than has been previously thought, resulted in a rejuvenated musical life, just as Beethoven was coming of age.

### Sacred Music at an Ecclesiastical Court

Beethoven's earliest experience as a court musician would have been in the small palace chapel,<sup>27</sup> newly rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1777. In 1781, he was engaged as an *Accessist*, an unpaid assistant organist to Neefe. As a Protestant from Lower Saxony, Neefe appears not to have filled the role of first organist to anyone's satisfaction, leading to a disastrous personnel

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245. <sup>24</sup> 'Cat. Gen. 53', fols. 103bis and 103ter.

<sup>25</sup> Ian Woodfield, 'Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family', *Music & Letters*, 93/3 (August 2012), pp. 289–315.

<sup>26</sup> A new chronology of Beethoven's compositions based on paper studies has revealed that he apparently stopped composing abruptly in 1784 and did not resume until 1787. See John D. Wilson, 'Music Papers in Electoral Bonn', *Bonner Beethoven-Studien*, 13 (in preparation).

<sup>27</sup> To avoid confusion, I use here the English 'chapel' or 'palace chapel' instead of 'Hofkapelle', which in German can take on the meaning of the entire court music establishment.



report in 1784 (see below). This also seems to have meant that Beethoven, who by then had already learned the fundamentals of Catholic service playing under Gilles van dan Eeden, Zensen and Willibald Koch, acted frequently in this capacity when Neefe's workload increased.<sup>28</sup> The longest such spell occurred in 1783 and 1784, when Luchesi travelled to Italy, leaving Neefe in charge.<sup>29</sup> But it can also be assumed that after the theatre was reopened in 1789, Neefe, whose real talents and inclinations had always lain in opera, would have delegated more and more to his assistant.

For all this, Beethoven's often weekly stints in the palace chapel take on a surprisingly marginal role in biographical accounts.<sup>30</sup> This is all the more regrettable because Beethoven and his colleagues encountered a rich and varied repertoire there. This is already clear in the inventory of the palace chapel drawn up during the change in leadership in May 1784 (hereafter 'Inventarium 340'), discovered by Adolf Sandberger in the early 1910s.<sup>31</sup> Although its listings of liturgical music include only genres and names of composers, these alone testify to a wide palette of styles, not only from Vienna, the Rhineland and Munich, but from Bohemia, Bologna, Venice and Rome as well. Admittedly, the continued importance of sacred music in the life of Electoral Bonn could not be thoroughly appreciated until the surviving sources had been studied in depth.<sup>32</sup> There may have been legitimate reasons to believe that, under Maximilian Franz, sacred music withered on the vine under similar attitudes that motivated the anticlerical reforms of his brother, Joseph II. In fact, little is known about how these reforms actually affected sacred music at the imperial court in Vienna, as the sources for this period still await study. For Bonn, however, the musical sources are very well preserved, in both quantity and quality. Of the 410 works in various genres that were inventoried before the court

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Ludwig van Beethovens Leben*, rev. ed., vol. 1, ed. Hermann Deiters (Leipzig, 1917), pp. 137, 140. See most recently Julia Ronge, 'Beethovens kirchenmusikalische Ambitionen. Pläne, Ideen und Fragmente', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 99 (2015), pp. 59–79.

<sup>29</sup> Theodor Anton Henseler, 'Andrea Luchesi, der letzte Bonner Hofkapellmeister zur Zeit des jungen Beethoven. Ein Beitrag zur Musik- und Theatergeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, 1 (1937), pp. 225–364, at pp. 320–3.

<sup>30</sup> But see the attempt by Jeremiah Walker McGrann to reconstruct the mass repertoire and its influence on Beethoven: 'Beethoven's Mass in C, Opus 86: Genesis and Compositional Background' (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1991), pp. 559–63.

<sup>31</sup> Adolf Sandberger, 'Die Inventare der Bonner Hofmusik', *Ausgewählte Aufsätze der Musikgeschichte* (Munich, 1924), vol. 2, pp. 109–34, at pp. 114–28.

<sup>32</sup> This and the following paragraphs represent ongoing research by Elisabeth Reisinger, myself, and a consortium of scholars, which will appear as volumes 4 and 5 of 'Musik am Bonner kurfürstlichen Hof'. A database of the musical sources can be accessed at [www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/](http://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/sacredmusiclibrary/).



was evacuated in 1794, at least 352, or 86 per cent of them, made their way to Modena, offering a rare glimpse into a lively practice of sacred music at a sacred court that remained vital up until the end. The bright, beautiful bindings of the performance parts, for which the aged Johann Meuris was paid a small yearly stipend to maintain, reflect the representational importance that sacred music held in Bonn.

Fascinatingly, several of the manuscripts show layers of constant revision, often quite comprehensive. Here, the industrious hand of Kapellmeister Luchesi is vividly in evidence. In full scores of masses and other large concerted works that were frequently compiled from the original sets of parts by Bonn copyists, Luchesi alters details large and small: textures thickened to better support the vocalists, wind parts added, solo and choral voices differentiated, entirely new obbligato violin parts composed and *contrafacta* devised to keep pace with changing liturgical necessities. Since it has been possible to date the paper on which the different layers of local parts were written, correlation of musical sources with administrative ones has allowed for a nuanced chronology of the changes to music in the chapel under Maximilian Franz.

To understand these, it is necessary briefly to sketch the development of the ensemble and the accumulation of its repertoire from the 1750s onwards. Under Elector Clemens August (r. 1723–1761), the repertoire showed a strong influence of the Wittelsbach court in Munich, from which works by Ercole Bernabei and Andrea Bernasconi were acquired, as well as smaller anonymous works for Advent, Christmas, Lent and Easter. Around the same time, copies of several sacred works were purchased from St Vitus Cathedral in Prague as well; these included, notably, Christmas masses and offertories in typical Bohemian pastoral style by composers such as František Brixi and Josef Antonín Sehling.<sup>33</sup> This repertoire was filled out by the Bonn court trumpeter and violinist Johann Ries, who flattered his employer's love for the hunt with a small number of exuberant sacred compositions dedicated to St Hubert (patron saint of hunters) and St Florian (patron saint of Upper Austria), replete with horn calls and trumpet fanfares. After Luchesi was named Kapellmeister in 1774 he reshaped the repertoire after his own Venetian tastes, composing several dozen works in all genres and for all occasions.<sup>34</sup> His concertmaster, Gaetano Mattioli, developed the orchestra to a much higher level and used his contacts with

<sup>33</sup> Milada Jonašová, personal communication. For the wide dissemination of Bohemian Advent music, see Mark Germer, 'The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and the Pastoral Mass to c. 1780' (PhD thesis, University of New York, 1989).

<sup>34</sup> For the most recent overview of Luchesi's sacred works, see Claudia Valder-Knechtges, *Die Kirchenmusik Andrea Luchesis* (Berlin, 1983), esp. pp. 182–263.

the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna to obtain large-scale concerted masses by the likes of Davide Perez, Antonio Mazzoni, Gabriele Vignali, Pietro Sales and Giovanni Pergolesi. Masses from Vienna and Salzburg, as well as from Mannheim and Oettingen-Wallerstein, also entered the repertoire during the 1770s.

Mattioli may have been behind the acquisition of instrumental music, notably symphonies from Mannheim and Paris, plus a considerable number by Joseph Haydn. Some may also have been copied from the library of Court Councillor Johann Gottfried Mastiaux, who by 1783 had his own large collection of Haydn symphonies.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that the 155 symphonies and overtures listed in *Inventarium 340* were intended primarily for use in chapel services, since there was no discernible tradition of court concerts at the time (see below). A fact overlooked by Sandberger and others since him, this list of symphonies and overtures appears as a subsection of 'Music Belonging to the Chapel', between similar lists for liturgical music and oratorios. This brings Bonn in line with other cloisters and churches in German Catholic territories, where movements of symphonies were regularly performed during mass.<sup>36</sup>

Maximilian Franz appears not to have made radical changes right away, apart from handing over his collection of sacred music to Luchesi. A new inventory was begun in 1785, which is now lost, but new acquisitions were numbered consecutively following on from *Inventarium 340*; the high survival rate of sacred music manuscripts thus allows for a fairly unproblematic reconstruction. The first wave of reforms took hold in 1787.<sup>37</sup> At around this time, it seems the performance of symphonies in services was discontinued. In their place, offertories and motets with full orchestral accompaniment were sung instead. To fill this need, hundreds of works by Georg Reutter the younger were acquired, apparently bought secondhand from cloisters in and around Vienna whose music establishments had been disbanded under Joseph's reforms. These, too, were freely adapted by the Kapellmeister to meet local needs and to show off the ensemble's strengths.

As Joseph had done in Vienna, German congregational singing was introduced in Bonn, while the number of solemn services in Latin requiring full orchestra and choir was somewhat reduced, if far less drastically

<sup>35</sup> Christian Gottlob Neefe, 'Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst', *Magazin der Musik*, 1 (1783), pp. 377–96, at p. 392.

<sup>36</sup> Mary Sue Morrow, 'Patrons and Practices', *The Symphonic Repertoire, Vol. 1: The Eighteenth-Century Symphony*, eds. Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2012), pp. 75–99, at p. 77.

<sup>37</sup> Anna Sanda, personal communication.