Beethoven and Russia

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Abstract: The article considers various connections of Beethoven's contacts with Russian culture. First, it traces Beethoven's ties with Russian aristocrats living in Vienna and working in the Russian Mission, who were generous patrons of the arts in general, and famous musicians in particular, and who commissioned musical compositions from Beethoven. Among these were Count Georg & Countess Anna Margarete Browne, Baron Philipp Adamovich Klüpfel, and Count Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky. The article also discusses Beethoven's use of Russian folk songs in compositions dedicated to these patrons.

Keywords: Beethoven, Russian folk songs, patronage, Count Andrei Razumovsky, Baron Philipp Klüpfel, Count Georg & Countess Anna Margarete Browne.

Beethoven was the only master of the Viennese classic school whose creative work remained outside the scope of the eighteenth-century St. Petersburg music lovers.[1] His works did not belong to the concert repertoire or domestic music-making, nor was his name mentioned in memoirs or private correspondences. The first publication of his music took place on the eve of the nineteenth century. On 10 May 1799, the *Saint-Petersburg News* (*Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*, 1799, no. 37) notified its readers of the publication of Beethoven's *Grand Trio pour le forte-piano, violon ou clarinette et basse*, Op. XI (cost 3 rubles)[2]—a year after its composition and publication in Vienna.

It was in Vienna that the connoisseurs from St. Petersburg had their first contacts with Beethoven. Among the representatives of the military and diplomatic elite we find Count Ivan Yurievich (Johann-Georg) von Browne (also known as Browne-Camus, 1767–1827), Count Mikhail Yurievich Vielgorsky, Count Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky, Baron Grigory Alexandrovich Stroganoff, and Prince Vasily Sergeevich Trubetzkoy. *Wiener Zeitung* from 9, 13, and 16 May listed their names among the subscribers to the very first Beethoven's opus edition: Three Piano Trios (1793–95), published in August

[1] The article was originally published in Russian in Anna Porfirieva (Ed.), *Muzykal'ny Peterburg, Encyklopedichesky slovar', XVIII vek* [Musical Petersburg, Encyclopedic Lexicon. Eighteenth Century], Vol. 1. Russian Institute of Arts History. St. Petersburg: Kompozitor, 1996, pp. 126–34.
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[2] Editorial data are lacking, and the Russian edition remains unknown—translator's note.

1795. Two months later, on 21 October, the same newspaper published notification of the appearance of the first stock for sale. Baron Stroganoff alone purchased six copies.[3]

Friends and Patrons

The list of Beethoven's admirers and patrons opens with Count Johann Georg (Ivan Yurievich) von Browne (1767-1827), colonel of the Kexholm infantry regiment, later brigadier of the Russian Military Mission in Vienna, and his wife, Countess Browne-Camus Anna Margarete (1769–1803). Browne was a member of the ancient nobility of Russified Irelanders, and was the son of one of Catherine II's renowned grandees Riga's and Revel's Governor General and Field Marshal Count Yuriy Yurievich (George) Browne.[4]

Johann Browne, educated in one of the monasteries of Prague, studied music along with other disciplines with his tutor, the Jesuit Johannes Diesbach (1729–92). Browne later became Beethoven's spiritual father and, concomitantly, Beethoven's most generous patron, together with Beethoven's student Archduke of Austria Rudolph.[5] Johann's wife, Anna Margarete, was a daughter of Baron Otto Hermann von Vietinghoff (1722–92), a senator, privy councilor, and the president of the St. Petersburg Medical College. Vietinghoff established the German theater in Riga and maintained its twenty-four musician orchestra. There was constant music at their home, which enjoyed visits from actors, musicians, and artists.[6] Anna Margarete inherited a love of the Arts and philanthropic inclinations from her father. To broaden the picture of the family's noble connections, one of Anna Margarete's sisters, Baroness Juliane (Barbara) von Krüdener, spiritual advisor to Emperor Alexander I, promoted the idea of the Holy Alliance (1815) following the Vienna Congress.

The monetary fortune of the Browne couple enabled them to grant exceptional attention and patronage to Beethoven. The generosity of their support was reflected in seven Beethoven opuses dedicated to the Browne couple. The list opens with Three trios for violin, viola and violoncello G major, D major, and C minor, op. 9 (1796–98) published in June 1798. The title reads: *Trois Trios / pour Un violon, Alto et Violoncelle / Composés et Dédiés / à Monsieur / le Comte de Browne / Brigadier au Service de S.M.I. de touttes les Russies / par / LOUIS van BEETHOVEN / Oeuvre 9. / à Vienne chez Jean Traeg danx in Singerstrasse / [I.:] 42. [r.:] Prix 3 f 30 x*^{r}.

[3] For more details, see Robert S. Kahn, *Beethoven and the Grosse Fuge: Music, Meaning, and Beethoven's Most Difficult Work*. Scarecrow Press, 2010.
[4] He was known as Seoirse de Brún in Irish, Georg Reichsgraf von Browne in German, George de Browne in French, and Count von Browne in the ranks of the Holy Roman Empire nobility.
[5] Gunar Melder, "Beethoven i Latvia," in Nathan Lvovich Fishman (Ed.), *Iz istorii sovetskoy bethoveniany* ("Beethoven and Latvia," in From the History of Soviet Bethoveniana). Moscow, 1972, p. 271.
[6] Julius Eckardt von, *Die Baltischen Provinzen Russlands: politische und culturgeschichtlische Aufsätze*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1869, pp. 209–304; Melder, 274.

The dedication, written in the traditional form indicating the titles of the dedicatee, had an extensive foreword, written shortly before the music was sent to print, probably in June 1798.[7] It reads:

> Monsieur, / L'auteur, vivement pénétré de Votre Muni / ficence aussi delicate que libérale, se réjouit, de / pouvoir le dire au monde, en Vous dédiant cette / oeuvre. Si les productions de l'art, que Vous / honorez de Votre protection en Connoisseur, dé / pedaient moins de l'inspiration du genie, que de / la bonne volonté de faire de son mieux; l'auteur aurait la satisfaction tant désirée, de presenter / au premier Mécene de sa Muse, la meilleure / de ses œuvres.[8]

The humble style of the dedication is in keeping with literary introductions of this kind. But publicly naming Browne, the "primary Maecenas of his Muse," while simultaneously enjoying the patronage of other noble Viennese aristocrats, appears to be a true statement. true. Among additional compositions dedicated to Georg Browne we may note the Piano Sonata B flat major op. 22 (1799–1800), published in March 1802; Six Songs for Voice with Piano Accompaniment on poems by Christian Fürtegott Gellert (op. 48, 1803), published in August 1803; as well as Seven Variations for Piano and Violoncello on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen," the theme from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* E flat major (WoO 46, 1801, published in 1802).

Countess Anna Margarete von Browne was also a Beethoven dedicatee. The first piece dedicated to her was String Trio Op. 3, published in 1797 in Vienna by Artaria. A gifted pianist and a true music lover, the Countess, probably took lessons from Beethoven,[9] and also from Ferdinand Ries (who was invited to the Brownes' home as a music teacher, even though their son Mauritz was only three years old at the time). For her, Beethoven wrote Piano Sonatas Op. 10 1-3, in C minor, F major, and D major (published in September 1798); Twelve variations on the theme of *La danse Russe* (or *Der moskowitische Tanz* from Paul Wranitzky and Joseph Kinsky's ballet *Das Waldmädchen*, 1796–97 (WoO 71, published in November 1798), which seemingly triggered Beethoven's interest in Russian songs (which I will address below), and Piano Variations on the theme of Terzette from Franz Xaver Süssmayr's opera *Soliman der Zweite, oder Die drei Sultaninnen II* (WoO 76, 1799, published the same year).

[7] The newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* announced the run on 20 July 1798.

[8] Sir, / The author, deeply affected by your munificence, as delicate as it is liberal, rejoices to be able to say it to the world, by dedicating this work to you. If the productions of art, which you honor with your protection as Connoisseur, derive less from the inspiration of genius, than from the good will to do one's best; the author would have the satisfaction so desired, to present / to the first Mécene of his Muse, the best / his works (*Das Werk Beethovens*, 22).

[9] As suggested by H. Nohl (Hans Nohl, *Hofrat Johannes Büel von Stein am Rhein, 1761-1830: Ein Freund grosser Zeitgenossen*. Frauenfeld: Huber, 1930, pp. 2, 98), and P. Campe (Paul Campe, Otto Hermann von Vietinghoff gen. Scheel Marienburg, "Halbkönig von Livland: 1722–1792" in *Sonderdruck aus Baltische Hefte* 6. Jahrgang Heft 2. Januar 1960. Hannover–Döhren: Hirschheyd, 1960, p. 95).

An anecdotal story connected to the Three Four-Hand Piano Marches (C major, E flat major, and D major) (op. 45, 1802–1803, published in March 1804) was associated with the Browne family. Ries, like Beethoven, enjoyed laid-back friendships with the Brownes. He once joked with the hosts improvising two marches and pretending to play Beethoven's new opus. The next day, when Beethoven visited the house, the Count immediately commissioned these marches from him, which were—as he thought—Beethoven's opus heard in Ries's performance. As usual, the Count generously paid Beethoven in advance. Soon after, in the spring or summer of 1802, Beethoven composed the marches, but they were scandalously stolen for the Viennese publisher Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie. Beethoven strove to delay their publication but in vain. He finally added the third march, and the publication took place in 1804, dedicated to the Princess Maria Josepha Fürstin Esterházy von Galántha.[10]

An ambiguous episode in the Beethoven–Browne relations occurred in 1803–1804 in connection with the song *Der Wachtelschlag*, based on Samuel Friedrich Sauter's poem (WoO 129, 1803, published in 1804). As was later discovered, Beethoven's manuscript featured the inscription "Der Wachtelschlag komponiert für den Grafen Browne von Ludwig van Beethoven 1803."[11] Surprisingly, however, the dedication does not appear in the published work. Was it commissioned and generously paid for by the Count, like Marches op. 45? Was it unfortunate timing? 1803 was the year of the Countess Anna Margarete's sudden and premature death, which could have made certain things inappropriate. Beethoven's special interest in the creation of the song is seen in his comment in his letter to Breitkopf & Härtel from c. September 1803), where the composer shared his views regarding writing under conditions of music and poetry interaction: "Die Poesie … aus drei Strophen besteht und hier aber ganz durchkomponiert ist." Beethoven pointed to the through-composed form, overcoming the strophic structure of the original poem.[12] As M. Unger supposed, Anna Margarete's death could probably have inspired Beethoven to write Six Spiritual Songs on [J.-J.?] Hellert's poems (op. 48), and dedicate them to the widowed Count Browne.[13] Schmidt-Görg suggested that the idea of this composition could have come from Johannes Büel (1761–1830), a Viennese court

[10] The frustrated Beethoven discussed the issue many times in correspondence with Ries and the publisher Gottfried Christoph Härtel (see Franz Gerhard Wegeler, *Ferdinand Ries, Biographische Notizen über Beethoven*. Coblenz, K. Bädeker, 1838 (mit Nachtrag von Wegeler. 1845, p. 90).
[11] *Das Werk Beethovens*, 591.
[12] "It consists of three verses, but my setting is entirely durchkomponier." (The translator Emily Anderson explains in the reference that there was no English equivalent for this German word. Her explanation of its meaning corresponds to the now generally excepted term "through-composed." See *The Letters of Beethoven*, collected, translated and edited by Emily Anderson. London: Macmillan & Co, Press; New York: St Martin's Press, 1961. Vol. 1, pp. 95–96.
[13] *Das Werk Beethovens*, 113–14.

councilor, and the tutor of Browne's son.[14] The nature of the inscription made by Beethoven in Büel's album on 29 June 1806 and Büel's letter to one of his friends attest that their relations were significant for the composer. However, much remains unclear in their communications.[15]

The relations between Beethoven and the Brownes were true friendship, in which Beethoven was accepted unconditionally as an authority. It was Beethoven who recommended Ries, his pupil, and close friend, to be a music teacher to the Count's household.[16] When, in spring 1802, Ries suddenly needed quite a large loan, it was Beethoven who recommended that he address Browne, and supported Ries' request with his own letter to the reliable benefactor (the document has not so far been found).

Another prominent figure among the "Viennese Petersburgian" friends of Beethoven was Baron Philipp Adamovich Klüpfel (1756–1823).[17] Klüpfel hosted the young Elizabeth von Kisow (1783–1868, married name von Bernhard), who participated in musicales organized at Baron Klüpfel's house, as well as at the homes of Prince Karl de Lichnowsky and Count Razumovsky. One of her performances, probably with Beethoven's Piano Sonatas op. 2 and the piano part in the First Trio op. 1, prompted Beethoven to write a letter to her teacher, the renowned piano master J.A. Streicher (between July and October 1796). The composer expressed his delighted impression of her performance and his joyful feelings, causing him "to write for piano more than before"—an undertaking which he indeed fulfilled.[18] In that letter, Beethoven formulated his conception of piano sound.

Klüpfel's house was a prominent feature of Viennese musical life. The young von Kisow, who, in 1863, became the eighty-year old Madame von Bernhard, had a lot to tell renowned Beethoven scholar D. Noll about the great composer, whom she had met and whose impressions of him she had collected entirely within the context of the musical salons. She vividly remembered his appearance and social behavior, and his acute vulnerability that was manifested in the form of various eccentricities.[19] She related that Klüpfel was very musical, and Beethoven often and wishfully visited and played there. The public was particularly impressed, and even struck, by his playing "without notes." From

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[14] Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Zur Entstehungszeit von Beethovens Gellert-Liedern*, Beethoven Jahrbuch, Bonn, 1966, p. 89.

[15] Stephan Ley, "Kleine Beethoveniana," in *Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch*, VI. Brauschweig, 1935, pp. 27–28; Ludwig Nohl, *Beethovens Leben*, Vol. 1. Wien: H. Markgraf, 1864, p. 240.

[16] In his biographical notes, Ries mentioned several anecdotes characteristic of his relations with Beethoven; see Ferdinand Ries, *Beethoven Remembered: The Biographical Notes of Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries* (trans. from German). Arlington, VA: Great Ocean Publishers, 1987.

[17] Philipp Klüpfel was the father of the adjutant general Vladimir Philippovich Klüpfel. He served as translator (from 1769) and was a counselor at the Russian Embassy in Vienna (from 1799), also serving as secretary to Count Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky.

[18] *The Letters of Beethoven*, pp. 25–26.

[19] *Beethovens Persönlichkeit: Urteile der Zeitgenossen*, gesammelt und erläutert von Albert Leitzmann, Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1914, 18–21.

her account, as presented to Noll, we also learn how the Beethoven–Klüpfel relations were ruptured.[20] It happened no later than 1800—the year von Kisow left Vienna, and the incident was probably the first of a series of many such incidents between Beethoven and his noble patrons. The pattern was always the same as with Klüpfel: the Baron expressed his displeasure regarding "the young man's" (Beethoven's) behavior, who demonstratively ignored the new piece written by "the elder and venerable composer" (F. Kramář, Krommer), played by the author on piano. From that moment on, Beethoven's never set foot in Baron Klüpfel's home.

Finally, the name of Count Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky is probably the most resonant in what is known about Beethoven's Russian connections. There is no doubt that Beethoven knew Count Razumovsky from the 1790s, although all known facts of their relationship relate to the nineteenth century. The famed Russian diplomat was associated with the most influential aristocratic families in Vienna through close family ties. His wife was the daughter of Countess Maria Wilhelmine Thun, known for her friendship with the artistic milieu and her patronage of Haydn, Mozart, and Gluck—and the sister of Karl Lichnowsky's wife, in whose house Beethoven lived for a long time. The salons of Browne, Klüpfel, as well as the palaces of Lichnowsky and Razumovsky regularly held musicales, assembling a more or less constant audience, and inviting the same musicians—composers and performers. It is implausible that Beethoven, who moved to Vienna in 1792, would not have encountered Count Razumovsky during that decade.

Beethoven and Russian Songs

Beethoven's attention to Russian songs began from the above-mentioned Piano Variations on the dance theme from Wranitzky-Kinsky's ballet *Das Waldmädchen*, dedicated to Countess Anna Margarete von Browne. The dance became exceptionally popular through the concerts of a famous Croatian virtuoso violinist Ivan Mane Jarnović (in Italian, Giovanni Mane Giornovichi). The piece was his transcription of the famous Russian folk dance/song "Kamarinskaya" which possibly was the reason for its inclusion as Russian Danse (La danse russe) or, as known in Vienna, Der moskowitische Tanz from *Das Waldmädchen*, whose piano score indeed has the inscription on p. 20: "Russe par Jarnović." The ballet premiered on 23 September 1796, and, that same autumn, Beethoven wrote his Piano Variations on the theme of the Russian Dance.[21]

This popular Russian tune and song ("Kamarinskaya"), with a different text, "Pri dolinushke kalinushka stoit [In the dale stands a snowball tree]," was, and still is, one of

[20] Nohl, 225.

[21] *Das Werk Beethovens*, 521. As for the "St. Petersburg Croatian," Jarnović emerges in Beethoven's creative biography also in connection with the English wonder child George Polgreen Bridgetower (1778–1860), who performed from the age of ten as violinist virtuoso. Then Jarnović's pupil, Bridgetower premiered Beethoven's Violin Sonata op. 47, 1803, accompanied by the composer himself, who even initially dedicated the work to Bridgetower (eventually changing the dedication to Kreutzer).

the most iconic Russian folk songs/dances, and it was the first among several that Beethoven addressed. No wonder, therefore, that the question of whether Beethoven succeeded in comprehending the national nature and spirit of folk materials was the focus of debates in the nationalistic nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russia, and "Kamarinskaya" was the most widely discussed case.

Victor Paskhalov considered that "in this case, the inner essence of this melody either did not interest Beethoven or simply was not known."[22] Victor Zuckerman agrees with Paskhalov that "characteristically Russian features of the theme found quite a remote reflection in the Variations and that only a few moments derive from the *development* of Kamarinskaya motifs. Nevertheless, he noted that "Paskhalov had somewhat exaggerated," and stated that "Beethoven in all probability had no purpose other than to develop the rhythmic dance base of the theme." Zuckerman further wrote that Beethoven only incidentally approached another variant of the song, somewhat reminiscent of Glinka's arrangement of this tune (at the beginning of Variation 3).[23]

Another critical remark by Paskhalov states that Beethoven turns the "naughty dance melody with its sharply accentuated 2/4 meter into a blatant German waltz with 6/8 meter (Variation 2).[24] This view was countered by Nathan Fishman, who argued that "there is no reason to consider Kamarinskaya as having only one specific character. Other variants of this song performed in moderate tempo and cantilena-like style are known. The fact that Beethoven chose the slower tempo did not mean that the essential character of this song did not interest Beethoven or was not known by him." Supporting this view, Fishman cited a striking similarity between the melody that Beethoven used in this set of variations with a refrain of an ancient song "Vo luzyakh [In the meadows]" as transcribed by Anatoly Konstantinovich Lyadov in his collection "50 Songs of Russian People" (St. Petersburg, 1903).[25]

This cycle of Piano Variations demonstrates outstanding compositional inventiveness. Interesting and unusual, for example, is the regular appearance of minor-mode variations after every group of three major-mode variations, thus bestowing the cycles with features of a rondo.[26] The composer also individualized each variation and deviated from the theme, only a few of which preserve generic signs of the original dance.

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[22] V. Paskhalov, "Russkaya tematika v proizvedeniyakh Bethovena [Russian themes in Beethoven's works]," in *Russkaya kniga o Bethovene* [Russian book on Beethoven]. Moscow: Izd-vo Muzykal'ny sektor, 1927, p. 189.

[23] Victor Zuckerman*, Kamarinskaya" Glinki i eyo traditsii v russkoy muzyke* [Glinka's Kamarinskaya and its traditions in Russian music]. Moscow: Gos. Muzykal'noe izd-vo, 1957, pp. 130–31.

[24] Paskhalov, *Russkaya tematika*, 189.

[25] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Pesni raznykh narodov* [Songs of Various Nations], with Preface by Nathan Fishman, Beethoven. Moscow, 1959, p. 316.

[26] Victor Zuckerman, *Analiz muzykal'nykh proizvedeniu: Variatsionnaya forma* [Analysis of musical compositions: Form of variations]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1974, p. 179.

In addition, certain instrumental-technical and textural artifices filled the grand-scale Coda (it was the first Beethoven's cycle where the Code reaches 155 mm), anticipating the Finale of the Pastoral Sonata (Op. 28).[27]

It can also be noted that Beethoven's familiarity with "Kamarinskaya" through Jarnović had additional far-reaching consequences. For example, the melodic contour of "Kamarinskaya" clearly appears in the third movement (Minuet) of the Serenade for String Trio op. 8, composed soon after the Piano Variations. Some find it echoed in trios of Scherzos in the Second and even in the Ninth symphonies.

Following the "Kamarinskaya" song, Beethoven cites many well-known Russian songs. His main source was *The Collection of Russian Folk Songs* by Nikolay Lvov and Ivan Pratch (also spelled as Iwan Pratsch; St. Petersburg, 1790, 2nd ed. 1806, and 3rd ed. 1815) from which, in different years, Beethoven used five songs. There is a copy of this Collection with Beethoven's marginalia in Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde library.[28] In 1805, he began work on the String Quartets op. 59, dedicated to Count Razumovsky, and used two songs: "Ah, talan li moi, talan takoi [Ah, my fate, my fate]" (Quartet op. 59 No 1) and "Uzh kak slava Tebe Bozhe na nebesi [Glory to God in the highest]"[29] (Quartet op. 59 No 2).

Other Russian songs appeared in *The Songs of Various Nationalities* (WoO 158). These songs include, for example, "Vo lesochke komarochkov mnogo urodilos [In the forest many mosquitoes hatched]," "Ah, rechen'ki, rechen'ki, kholodnye vodyn'ki [Ah, dear rivers, little rivers]," "Kak poshli nashi podruzhki v les po yagody gulyat [As our dear girlfriends went off to the woods]," as well as the Ukrainian (or Little-Russian) song "Ïkhav [Ekhav] kozak za Dunai [The Cossack rode beyond the Danube])." This latter song was extremely popular in Germany and Austria, and Beethoven could have known it either from the second edition of the Lvov-Pratch Collection (1806) or from the Russian (including Cossack) army which was present in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. According to Georg Schünemann, who first published this Beethoven collection in 1941, this song was also published in Germany in 1809, in "Taschenbuch zu geselligen Vergnügen," with a free translation by the poet Christoph August Tiedge: "Schöne Minka, ich muß scheiden."[30] The same tune also appears in one of the cycles of Variations for

[27] Zuckerman, *Kamarinskaya*, 131.
[28] The copy is listed in RISM and Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelebrten der christilischen Zeitrechnug*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–1904). See Margarita Mazo, *Preface to A Collection of Russian Folk Songs by Nikolai Lvov and Ivan Prach*, ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown, with Introduction and Appendixes by Margarita Mazo. UMI Research Press, 1987, p. xii, n. 9, with reference to Lewis Lockwood.
[29] In the Soviet era, obviously as a result of atheistic censorship, this title of the song was replaced by the pagan "Slava na nebe solntsu vysokomu [Glory to the lofty sun in the sky]."
[30] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Neues Volksliederheft: 23 Tiroler, schweizer, schwedische, spanische und andere Volksweisen*. Vorwort und Revisionsbericht von Georg Schünemann, Vols. ii–vii. Leipzig, 1941; Willi Hess, "Beethovens kontinentale Volksliedbearbeitungen," in Hess, *Beethoven-Studien*. Bonn, 1972, pp. 183–91.

Piano and Flute on folk songs op. 107, No. 7.[31] "Ïkhav kozak za Dunai," probably an example of "wandering songs," was mostly described as Russian, though the inscription *Air cosaque* is added in the Variations op. 107 No. 7. Fishman, however, noted two details indicating the Lvov-Pratch collection as a most plausible source. Both Beethoven's variation and Pratch's arrangements in the Collection have common elements: the A minor key and certain details in the texture of the accompaniment.[32]

Conclusion

A specific feature of Beethoven's image, as reflected in eighteenth-century St. Petersburg, was the fact that it emerged *outside* of the Russian capital. It was in the Petersburgian aristocratic milieu in Vienna that the personality of the great musician played such a significant role in official and cultural life, and was perceived by Russians in its socio-cultural context. There, their direct socializing with the great composer stoked their relationship with Beethoven's music and their avid interest in it. Beethoven's unique appearance, and his unusual social characteristics, impressed the Russian aristocrats. With his hypnotic presence, Beethoven attracted tremendous attention in this society.

The Russian and Austrian capitals shared extensive diplomatic, business, and personal contacts, hence many representatives of St. Petersburg's *Beau Monde* were drawn into the orbit of active interest in Beethoven's personality. Of course, perceptions of his character varied. For example, the young musician Elizabeth von Kisow who grew up in Klüpfel's house, recalled that many "handsome Russian officers" regularly visited Klüpfel's home, and in comparison with them, Beethoven simply "did not look well." Klüpfel's house, of course, was only one among many salons of the Russian Mission.

Peterburgians visiting the Viennese salons of their compatriots were mesmerized by the extravagance of the composer's appearance. Unsurprisingly, the aristocrats bestowed aesthetic value on Beethoven's "unusual" and extraordinary traits, which they projected onto his music. This relationship is evident in the early phases of the "Beethoven myth," significantly contributing to its crystallization. It was the foundation for the basic features of "Beethoven's portrait" in St. Petersburg, as they developed in the early nineteenth century. Beethoven's portrait possessed mythologized, idealized, and breath-catching "psychologicality." It reflected the public readiness to pursue and see in his music a direct realization of an "extraordinary" life story, and the intentions of an "exclusive"

[31] *Das Werk Beethovens*, pp. 297, 659–69; Fishman's Preface to *Beethoven's Letters*, pp. 6–8; *Pis'ma Bethovena* [Beethoven's Letters] (pp. 51, 247); Vladimir Stasov, "Avtografy muzykantov v Imperatorskoy Publichnoy biblioteke [Musician's autographs in the Imperial Public Library]," in Vladimir Stasov, *Stat'i o muzyke* [Articles on music], 5 vols. Vol. 1. Moscow: Muzyka, 1974, pp. 139–40; Arkady Klimovitsky, "Chernovaya notnaya tetrad' Bethovena," [Beethoven's draft note book] in *Pamyatniki Kul'tury, Novye Otkrytiya, 1983* [Culture monuments, new discoveries]. Leningrad, 1985, p. 287; Nathan Fishman, *Etyudy i ocherki po bethoveniane* [Etudes and Essays on Beethoveniana]. Moscow: Muzyka, 1982, p. 115.
[32] Fishman, Preface, p. 6.

personality. This portrait also comprised sources of the great significance of his life as a whole, associated with St. Petersburg in one way or another. The premiere of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* in 1824 was the first culmination of Russian reverence for the great composer.

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