Marianna Martines at the keyboard: music, agency, and self-fashioning



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To my father, the previous Dr. Engel, ז״ל.[1]

[1] My father would probably point out that he actually was Dipl.-Ing. Mag. Dr. Engel – and then joke about Austrians collecting academic titles like badges of pseudo-aristocracy ever since the Nobility Abolition Act of 1919.

I declare that this thesis is an original report of my research, has been written by me, and has not been submitted for any previous degree.

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Abstract

This thesis explores Marianna Martines as a composer-performer, with a particular focus on her keyboard repertoire. It provides a situational map that places her within the socio-musical context of 18th-century Vienna, culminating in a somatic epistemology for engaging with her keyboard works. Venturing beyond traditional theoretical analysis, this thesis highlights socio-political, performative, and embodied aspects of her music, revealing how she self-fashioned her artistic identity and exercised personal agency, particularly within her salons. Doing so engages with the question of what it means for a pianist to 'speak' through their music.

Martines's impact on Viennese musical life, including her influence on her contemporaries, underscores her lasting significance. Historical biases mistakenly judged women by androcentric standards that often did not apply to their lived realities. This thesis examines how gender and class shaped Martines's career choices, and particularly the curation of a *publicly private* persona: her outwardly displayed status as a private person, and non-professional dilettante, while repeatedly finding herself in the public eye.

The thesis contextualises Martines within the broader socio-political context of Enlightenment Vienna, including 18th-century anxieties over marriage and gender roles, frequently commented on by contemporary writers. Among the latter was a semi-anonymous author, known only by her initials T.R.v.N., who published a feminist manifesto that challenged gender inequalities, particularly women's limited agency in establishing intimate relationships. These documents imply the profound implications Martines's unmarried status had for her financial security and social freedom, particularly due to her family's striving for social mobility and their resulting strict adherence to upper-class conventions.

Beyond *galant* schemata, analysing Martines's keyboard works for their somatic qualities, this thesis reveals how she balanced sociability with virtuosity. She found greatest possible freedom of expression within rigidly defined norms, subtly subverting expectations and pushing boundaries, while maintaining decorum through her mentor Metastasio's ideal of *sprezzatura*.

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Pursuing a doctoral degree inevitably puts one's nerves and endurance to the test – especially when half that degree happens during a world-wide pandemic. However, the past years were overshadowed by significant personal challenges, after losing three family members – and during these years I also happened to write my DPhil thesis. I feel incredibly fortunate to have so many people to thank for their love and support – whether in coping with grief, pursuing my

degree, or both. Firstly, I want to remember my father, Dr. Michael Engel (1961-2021), who passed away unexpectedly after the first year of my DPhil, and to whom this thesis is dedicated. He taught by example the merit of pursuing a degree out of passion for the subject. I am grateful to him for never giving me the idea that there was anything I could not do if I put my mind to it. Further, Roswitha Haiderer (1962-2021) and Wolfgang Sommerfeld (1934-2024), whose loving presence in my life ever since early childhood left me with memories that I cherish deeply. My heartfelt thanks go out to my family and friends who supported me throughout, especially my dear brother Philipp Engel, my mother Brigitta Engel, my aunt Ingrid Brunner, and my uncle Wolfgang Engel. I also want to acknowledge Annemarie Sommerfeld, whose resilience is awe inspiring, and Ulli Krispl, unmatched in her compassion. My wholehearted gratitude extends to my cousin Kitty Prucha and Bill Wolfe whose kindness and generosity in offering hospitality and help have meant so much, as well as Namrata Ramesh and Nabeela Kajee, who are sisters to me in every sense that matters. I am indebted to Jo Weir for giving me the tools to deal with grief and trauma. My thanks go to Steve Aldis, who guided me through earning two black belts in WT Taekwondo during my time at Oxford; also Miguel Mocho and Sabira Yameen who helped me stay sane during stressful times by organising our catch-ups around intense martial art workouts. Moreover, I am grateful to Azhar Tyabji and Khushru Irani for their thoughtful friendship and excellent humour; and to Michael Bednall and Nikolai Teich for helping me understand my own story of grief.

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Abbreviations

AmZ	Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
AT-OeSTA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien
AVA	Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (department within AT-OeSTA), Wien
A-WGM	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien
AWMZ	Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung
b(b).	bar(s)
BCSP	Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Napoli
BGM	Biblioteca Gianni Milner, Venezia
BLKÖ	Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
col.	column
ed(s).	editor(s)
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (department within AT-OeSTA), Wien
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
MM	Marianna Martines
ONB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
transl.	translator
WaMZ	Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung
WBR	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Wien
WD	Wienerisches Diarium
WStLA	Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Wien
ZeW	Zeitung für die elegante Welt

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I. Biography and Historiography

I.i Introduction

Thesis Overview

What does it mean to engage with the music of a composer like Marianna Martines (1744-1812) – and what implications may this have for the modern researcher and performer – where a multiplicity of charged topics and fields of investigation converge, including questions of gender and class, as they relate to historical narratives and historiographic processes, necessitating different methodological approaches and non-conforming epistemologies, including the debate of what constitutes a meaningful 'analysis' of music, specifically keyboard repertoire? This thesis provides a holistic approach to answering these questions by situationally mapping relevant elements of 'human, nonhuman, discursive, historical, symbolic, cultural, political, and other'[2] natures, taking into account gendered and classed dynamics of 18th-century Vienna, and thus interrogating why it mattered that Martines was a *woman* composer.[3] This is in line with and expands upon Becker's theory of *Art* [/Music] *Worlds*, that acknowledges the 'social organisational' aspect of *music worlds*, rather than reducing the scope of investigation to traditional discourses of autonomous art represented by 'great works of genius.'[4] Engaging in this fashion with Martines and acknowledging my own background as a concert pianist, along with a post-positivist approach that seeks to select 'the method to be applied in a particular study […] based on the research question being addressed,'[5] particular attention shall be given to Martines's keyboard works. These represent

[2] Adele E. Clarke. 2005. *Situational Analysis. Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn*. San Francisco: Sage, p. xxxv. In this approach, the 'situation per se becomes the ultimate unit of analysis, and understanding its elements and their relations is the primary goal' (p. xxii).

[3] This thesis will use the term 'woman composer' instead of 'female composer,' since what is relevant in this context is that Martines experienced life as a woman; implementing binary biological male/female markers would not add to the present conversation.

[4] Howard Becker. 1982, 2008. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. xxv.

[5] Barbara M. Wildemuth. 1993.'Post-Positivist Research: Two Examples of Methodological Pluralism' in: *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, *Symposium on Qualitaive Research: Theory, Methods, and* Applications Vol. 63 No. 4, pp. 450-468., here p. 451.

the musician in her dual role as composer-performer – perhaps more reliably than her vocal repertoire (at least some of which was dedicated and intended for other individuals[6]) – having presumably all been written with Martines herself in mind as first intended player. While Martines 'at the keyboard' encompasses a plethora of possible topics of investigation, this thesis focusses predominately on the social situatedness of the composer and how habitus and the embodiment of gendered norms and conventions present themselves through tracing her identity both in surviving keyboard compositions and other relevant sources. This socio-musical framing will be further elaborated in the positionality section below and is a guiding principle throughout the thesis. Appropriately limiting the scope of the thesis means that certain aspects of 'Martines at the keyboard,' such as her own improvisation practices, 18th-century *partimenti* playing, and historical music education will be mentioned only tangentially. However, they will be vital to explore in future research to provide a more complete picture.

Chapter I will provide a brief outline of Martines's biography, as well as a discussion of positionality shaped by sociological scholarship, feminist theories, and performance-centred epistemology: in this exploration my role as a musician trained in the Western classical tradition who has performed much of this repertoire is a fundamental factor. Special attention will be given to Martines's family background, living situation, and musical development, including an in-depth discussion of her eldest brother Joseph, whose career progression is indicative of the family's overall striving for social mobility. Chapter I.ii focuses on existing scholarship and publications throughout the centuries. Modern scholarship on Martines, as well as non-academic writings, will be discussed in order to explore dominant narratives – not all of which are true – pertaining to the composer. The chapter will conclude with a detailed elaboration on historical sources, particularly focusing on early collectors and copyists who

[6] Martines did sing a lot of her vocal music and was praised as a singer by contemporaries – as will be discussed in this thesis (see below).

engaged with Martines, as well as 19th-century encyclopaedists who wrote about her. This section ultimately seeks to gauge how interest (or lack thereof) in her life and music developed and influenced subsequent writing of music history.

Chapter II delves into the socio-political backdrop of Enlightenment Vienna: why did it matter that Martines was, for one, a woman and, secondly, unmarried? The first half of the chapter deliberates on what it meant to be a woman in this context, as well as discussing (arguably) the most influential woman of the time, Empress Maria Theresia, in whose sphere of influence Martines found herself. In this section, other eminent women who were active in society, the arts, and music are introduced to give meaningful examples of Martines's contemporaries. Chapter II.ii discusses with great nuance the culture, social practices, and legal realities around marriage in 18th-century Vienna, demonstrating the severe backlash and limitations imposed on single women at the time. Through this exploration, we can evaluate how her single status may have impacted and restricted Martines in her social life, making it ever more important to maintain her status as a private (i.e. non-professional) person and so-called dilettante. This section discusses gender roles inscribed in legal text, as well as contemporary voices that vehemently objected to the status quo – particularly noteworthy is an essay by the author T.R.v.N., an example of hitherto unexplored first wave feminist writing.[7]

Appreciating Martines's need to appear *publicly private*, Chapter III.i discusses the importance of the salon as a social institution, and Martines's salon as a space for personal agency. It also speaks to one of Martines's very few public appearances as a composer, specifically as a composer of *sacral* music – namely the performance of her oratorio *Isacco* – and provides examples of how Martines's music directly influenced her contemporaries, including Mozart.

[7] T.R.v.N. 1782. 'Der Sachwalter des Schönen Geschlechtes' in: P. M. Schmid (ed.). *Der Sachwalter des Schönen Geschlechtes. Oder Versuch eines Beweises, daß es der Ehre, dem Glücke, dem Vergnügen und den Rechten des weiblichen Geschlechtes höchst nachtheilig, so lange zu warten, bis ein Freyer kommt, und daß es so schicklich als nothwendig sey, daß Frauenzimmer selbst auf das Freyen ausgehen.* Vienna, pp. 5-58

Expanding on the idea of self-fashioning, Chapter III.ii discusses notions of likeness and identity in the one extant portrait of Martines in which she has been formally identified, though the painter it has been attributed to, the chapter argues, has likely been misidentified.

Chapter IV returns to concrete examples of Martines's composition and keyboard oeuvre. As existing scholarship on Martines has largely discussed her music as being of *galant* style, Chapter IV.i will deliberate potential benefits and pitfalls of labelling Martines as a *galant* composer. Further, it provides an extensive discussion of 18th-century embellishment and ornamentation practices, which need to be understood and taken into consideration when playing Martines's music, especially the keyboard repertoire. To contextualise the embodiment of social expectations pertaining to class and gender, as well as Martines's apparent pushing and testing of boundaries, Chapter IV.ii provides a detailed discussion of historical body culture in Vienna at the time, which was both classed and gendered. Performing Martines's music allows for a unique insight into Martines's musical preferences and abilities, and her *habitus* in relation to the respective field in which she operated.[8] Somatic information inscribed in the score speaks to Martines's self-fashioning of her seemingly antithetical identity as *dilettante-virtuoso*.

The appendix will provide several text and music sources that are relevant to this thesis. The text sources include encyclopaedic entries (and their English translation, if originally in another language) on Martines. These are placed in the appendix, as they would be too lengthy to include as quotes in the main body of the thesis. Since some of the lexica are not readily available for anyone without institutional access, the texts are included here to facilitate further research. Similarly, transcriptions of 18th century documents and letters pertaining to Martines and her siblings are included to allow others to engage with these sources without having to

[8] See Diana L. Miller. 2016. 'Gender, Field, and Habitus: How Gendered Dispositions Reproduce Fields of Cultural Production' in: *Sociological Forum* Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 330-353.

overcome archival gatekeeping. Another long text source is T.R.v.N.'s early feminist essay on marriage in Vienna and my English translation. The objective in providing these is to encourage and enable further scholarly engagement with T.R.v.N. and early feminist voices in Enlightenment Vienna. The music sources in the appendix include some of the keyboard works (not by Martines) mentioned in the text, as well as vocal-orchestral scores of Martines that are discussed in greater detail in the main body. For instance, some examples in the main text only show individual voices, such as Sceglier fra mille un core, hence why the appendix includes the full orchestral score. Again, these music examples are included for reference, and because much of this music does not currently exist in modern, well-edited print editions. The appendix does not include full transcriptions of Martines's keyboard works. As mentioned below, some of these are currently being prepared for publication, edited by the author of the thesis.

Research Positionality, Background, and Chapter Outline

This chapter will provide an introduction, not only to Martines (starting with a short biography and ending with an overview of musical accomplishments), but also to her eldest brother Joseph. Next to her siblings, Martines's artistic-intellectual mentor, Pietro Metastasio, shall also be considered among those who significantly shaped her life. However, a key goal of this thesis is to understand Martines beyond her – albeit important – connection to Metastasio and other previously established aspects of her biography, looking instead at her wider network of acquaintances and social settings that dictate *habitual* gendered expectations.[9] For, 'what we "are" and what we "seem" are both constituted in society.'[10] Situating Martines within the social and physical spaces she inhabited will aid in better understanding her life and work

[9] Ibid.
[10] Kaspar D. Naegele. 1956. 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, by E. Goffman' in: *American Sociological Review* Vol. 21 No. 5, pp. 631–632, here p. 632.

through relational processes and a socio-historical lens. There are only a few letters surviving that contain Martines's own voice, where her character reveals itself in a very direct way. Beyond that, it is vital to examine her socio-familial and local circumstances to gain deeper understanding of who she was.

Conceiving of Martines's social background, her brother Joseph cuts an especially important figure. His biography has not hitherto been discussed in detail in Martines scholarship, beyond his milestone achievements. However, his position in Viennese society, his career progression, and what we can understand of his personality are incredibly valuable in positioning the Martines family. Two of Martines's siblings, Joseph and Antonia, were perhaps the people closest to her for the longest amount of time. Letters of Martines suggest that the siblings were indeed close to each other,[11] as does Metastasio's will, in which he suggests the lasting happiness of the three siblings, Marianna, Antonia, and Joseph, hinges on their continued cohabitation:

> Although I think my following suggestion is superfluous, I do not neglect to recommend to the aforementioned two sisters to continue to cohabitate and live with my heir, and their elder brother, Joseph Martinez, lending him that affectionate company and assistance which they have given him up till now, and taking advantage of his advice […] if they should consider changing their status, I strongly urge them, with the utmost care, not to take such a step on which the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of their lives may depend […].[12]

In exploring Martines's immediate family and community, I follow the sociological framing of social action as being 'shaped, constrained, and redirected by the social context,'[13]

[11] See e.g. Godt 2010, pp. 236f.
[12] Abate Conte d'Ayala (ed.). 1795. *Opere postume del Sig. Ab. Pietro Metastasio* Vol. 3, Vienna, p. 358. Full Codicil – see Appendix 1. All translations mine, unless stated otherwise.
[13] James S. Coleman. 1988. 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital' in: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 No. 1, pp. S95-S120, here S95.

understanding social capital as 'the relations among persons.'[14] While there are few records of Antonia, Joseph's contributions to Viennese intellectual life can be traced with some detail.

Short Biography

The following is an outline of Martines's biography and family background. Since previous research on Martines has already established the main timeline and milestones of her life, it is not the goal of this thesis to rehearse them in detail. Rather, this biographical sketch aims to provide the reader with a basic understanding of life events and circumstances that are pertinent to this dissertation. An in-depth biography is provided in the 2010 monograph by Godt.[15] Another source from which this thesis draws is Fremar's 1983 doctoral dissertation,[16] as well as some other smaller-scale publications relating to Martines. For many of the following discussions, I will supplement with primary sources, particularly when those sources have hitherto gone unmentioned in existing scholarship.

Marianna Martines was born on 4 May 1744 to Maria Theresia and Nicolò Martinez.[17] Among her (surviving) older siblings were Joseph (~1729-1788), Franz Paul (1732-somewhere between 1748/1774), Dionysius Carl (1734-1782), and Johann Michael/ Johann Baptist (1735-1795). About two years after Marianna, her sister Antonia was born. Their father Nicolò had come to Vienna from Naples to serve the papal nuncio, while the background of his 'German' (i.e. Austrian) wife is currently unknown. After a few years in Vienna, they moved in with the newly appointed Court Poet Pietro Metastasio. In 1749 Joseph was appointed adjunct for

[14] Ibid., pp. S100f.
[15] Irving Godt, John A. Rice (ed.). 2010. *Marianna Martines. A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*. University of Rochester Press.
[16] Karen Lynn Fremar. 1983. The Life and Selected Works of Marianna Martines (1744-1812). PhD Diss. University of Kansas.
[17] Biographical overview after Irving Godt. 1998, 'Marianna in Vienna: A Martines Chronology,' in: *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 16 No 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 136-158; and Godt 2010.

'Oriental Languages' at the Imperial Court Library. That same year Joseph Haydn, then 17 years old, was kicked out of the boys' choir of St Stephen's Cathedral by the conductor Georg von Reutter, and presumably took up residence in *Michaelerhaus* shortly after, where Metastasio and the Martines family lived. In 1750 Johann Baptist entered the *Ingenieurakademie*, after serving as a page at the nunciature. A couple of years later Joseph started tutoring the archduke and archduchesses of the imperial family. About a year later in 1753 – Metastasio had likely already begun with Martines's education – Nicolò Porpora came to Vienna and also moved into *Michaelerhaus*, where he became Martines's singing teacher. Haydn was employed to give her music lessons and accompany her voice lessons. In 1755 Dionysius started studying mining engineering in Nagybaien and in 1758 Johann Baptist was commissioned as Ensign in the infantry regiment of Anton Colloredo, promoted to Second Lieutenant a year later.

In 1761 Padre Martini and Metastasio started what would become a 10-year correspondence, which Metastasio used to introduce the friar to Martines's compositions. At that point Martines is known to have already written several sacral works, including motets and masses. In 1764 Nicolò Martines died and the following year Metastasio (one must assume) confronted with mortality after his friend's passing,[18] drew up his will and made Joseph his main heir. He also left sums of money to the two sisters, and bequeathed his instruments and library to Marianna. In 1762 and 1765 Johann Ulrich Haffner published two keyboard sonatas by Martines in his *Raccolta musicale*.[19] That same year Martines also wrote a set of 24 chamber cantatas and a *Regina coeli* for 8.[20]

[18] Burney points out that Metastasio had 'an aversion to the talking about […] infirmities of his friends, or the calamities, or death.' (Charles Burney. 1775. *The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces* Vol. 1, London: Becket, p. 364).
[19] Johann Ulrich Haffner (ed.). [ca. 1765]. *Raccolta Musicale Contenente VI Sonate per il Cembalo Solo d'altretanti celebri compositori italiani* Vol. 4-5. Nürnberg.
[20] A-WGM, I 8133.

In 1768 Saverio Mattei and Metastasio began their 12-year correspondence, resulting in Martines being asked to set Mattei's *Miserere* into music. She also wrote her G major keyboard sonata, and a couple of chamber cantatas. In 1770 Mattei had the *Miserere* performed in Naples. That same year Johann Baptist was promoted to *Ober Lieutenant*, and Carl Borromeus commenced work at the Bohemian and Austrian Court Chancery, where he would become *Conzipist* two years later. Martines set another text by Mattei to music – her *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*, which Mattei performed the following year.

In 1772 Charles Burney visited Vienna and sought Metastasio's acquaintance – in the process he met Martines who made a lasting impression on him. That year Martines wrote her G major keyboard concerto. In 1773 Padre Martini nominated Martines for membership in the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*. On 27 May, eighteen members unanimously elected her as *Accademica filarmonica onorata*. After the election, Martines wrote an autobiographical sketch which she sent to Martini and sat for a portrait which was also sent to Bologna. Meanwhile, Joseph was tasked with translating the *Codex Theresianus* into Italian. A year later, in 1774, the four (surviving) brothers were ennobled – the family became part of the so-called *Ritterstand*[21] (the fees associated with the ennobling were paid with Joseph's earnings from his *Codex* translation). Also in 1774, Martines wrote *Dixit Dominus* for the *Accademia Filarmonica*. In 1775 Maria Theresia, Martines's mother, died and Martines composed her *Litania* in G, a particularly carefully crafted work.[22]

During the following years, the only surviving records are several compositions. In 1780 Metastasio added a codicil to his will, raising the inheritance for Marianna and Antonia. In 1781 Martines wrote the oratorio *Isacco, figura del redentore*,[23] after a libretto by Metastasio.

[21] AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 573.1, 1774-01-23.
[22] A-WGM, I 1687. Whether the composition was in response to the bereavement is not confirmed.
[23] SBB, Mus.ms. 13680.

It was performed by the *Tonkünstler-Societät* in 1782. The date of her other oratorio, *Sant'Elena al Calvario* is uncertain. That same year Metastasio died promting Martines to write to Farinelli, informing him of Metastasio's passing. The following year she wrote a chamber cantata, *Il nido degli amori*.[24]

In 1785, Michael Kelly attended Martines's salon, noting that Mozart was a frequent visitor. Joseph Martines was by this stage Director of the Imperial Library. In 1786, Martines wrote *Orgoglioso fiumicello*,[25] a chamber cantata, her last known (dated) composition. In 1788, the eldest brother Joseph died. A year later, in 1789, Hester Lynch Piozzi met the Martines sisters, especially engrossed in their recollections of Metastasio. In 1795, Johann Baptist died. The following year, Schönfeld wrote of Martines in his *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst* as one of Vienna's musical luminaries, particularly emphasising her weekly Saturday evening *Akademien* (salons).[26] In 1797, Carl Borromeus died. At this point Marianna and Antonia were still living together, and moved several times, eventually to the corner of *Seilerstätte* and *Weihburggasse*. Within two days, in early December 1812, first Antonia and then Marianna died. Marianna's official cause of death was *Lungenbrand* ('tuberculosis'), Antonia's was likely the same.

Malevolence and propriety

A critically underexplored, but no less significant, aspect of Martines's life is her unmarried status. Here, it will only be discussed as it pertains to my positionality and approach to this research.[27] To understand Martines's biography, it is vital to appreciate the impact of her being unmarried; together with a series of other, intersecting aspects – such as her family's belonging

[24] A-WGM, III 3041.
[25] WBR, AC15810583.
[26] Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, Otto Biba (ed.). 1796, 1976 (reprint). *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*. Munich: Katzbichler.
[27] See Chapter II for more.

to, and successfully establishing themselves within, the upper-middle class, eventually rising to nobility. Martines lived in a society built on the hegemonic idea that a successful performance of one's gender – especially as a woman – must necessarily include marriage. Not marrying, as will be discussed later, was seen as somewhat of a threat to social order. Particularly in late 18th-century Vienna, the epidemic of unmarried young people was perceived, as evidenced by contemporary commentary, as a huge problem.[28]

Building on West and Zimmerman, I approach this research by acknowledging that gender is something people *do* (and always have done) albeit in different ways, depending on local and temporal context. 'Doing gender furnishes the interactional scaffolding of social structure, along with built-in mechanism of social control.'[29] Gender is also one of the central characteristics of *habitus* that derives from a specific social group or field.[30] Moreover, in my positionality, I recognise that there is a certain universality to the fear that social order might be upset by single (independent) women. Beauvoir points to the latent antagonism towards, and ultimately fear of, independent women that exists across times and cultures:

> Woman is her husband's prey, his property. […] In the patriarchal regime, man became woman's master; and the same characteristics that are frightening in animals or untamed elements become precious qualities for the owner who knows how to subdue them. […] If feminine virginity has not been consecrated to a god, it is easily then thought to imply marriage with the devil. Virgins that men have not subjugated, old women who have escaped their power, are more easily looked upon as witches than other women; as woman's destiny is to be doomed to another, if she does not submit to a man's yoke, she is available for the devil's.[31]

[28] Ibid.
[29] Candace West, Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. 'Doing Gender' in: *Gender & Sociology* Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 125-151, here p. 147.
[30] See chapter IV.ii.
[31] Simone de Beauvoir. Constance Borde (transl.). 2014. *The Second Sex*. London: Vintage Books, pp. 94f.

Chapter II.ii of this thesis will take a closer look at specific examples of 18th-century gendered values, stereotypes, fears, and ideals, and how they relate to Martines. Looking at a composer who, by being a woman, belongs to a marginalised group in (music) history, adapted approaches to research are required. Acknowledging the differences presented by the research subject, I want to challenge 'epistemic normativity' and 'disciplinary complicity'[32] that perpetuate narratives of failure and mediocrity around women's work in music.

For this thesis, it is important to identify: how gender and class prejudices manifested; in what ways they affected women in 18th-century Europe, specifically Vienna; and how gender was constructed and practiced in this specific context. This acknowledges that, 'gender is not a static attribute – it is a dynamic process that must be investigated as such.'[33] Seeking to situate Martines in her socio-historical context, it is important to remember that 'power plays an ineliminable role in knowledge,'[34] which is 'always socially situated.'[35] In historical investigations in particular archives take on a role of heightened importance as 'cultural artefacts of fact production.'[36] The (metaphorical) archive on Martines – surviving documents pertaining to her – are sparse, yet do exist due to the fact she was well connected and belonged to Vienna's upper-middle class. Beyond that, research must infer from contextual information. Situating Martines within the socio-political sphere of Enlightenment Vienna allows us to gauge much that would be left unsaid if one was solely looking at the handful of documents in her own hand, or specifically pertaining to her.

[32] Sharon Crasnow. 2009. 'Is Standpoint Theory a Resource for Feminist Epistemology? An Introduction' in: *Hypatia* Vol. 24 No. 4, pp. 189-192, here p. 190.
[33] Rebecca Wickes, Michael Emmison. 2007. 'They are all 'doing gender' but are they are all passing? A case study of the appropriation of a sociological concept' in: The Sociological Review Vol. 55 No. 2, pp. 311-330, here p. 326.
[34] Crasnow 2009, p. 190.
[35] Anna Bull. 2019. *Class, Control, and Classical Music.* Oxford University Press, p. xxv.
[36] Ann Laura Stoler. 2002. 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance' in: *Archival Science* Vol. 2 No. 1-2, pp. 87-109, here p. 87.

Returning to marriage as a social convention: judging by surviving commentary and documents, failure to partake in the custom of marriage (or otherwise subordination to [a] man) is equated with failing to 'achieve' womanhood or 'properly' perform one's gender. Such non-women were subject to mockery and ridicule.[37] On the other hand, behaving too 'femininely,' as it was defined within the specific temporal and local context, was also met with ridicule and vitriol.[38] Hence, it is the task of feminist writers and scholars to re-envision and question these archetypes, resulting in an 'enlarging of meanings that surround the types, in corrective readings, and perhaps in the addition of contemporary significance to the traditional values associated with the archetypes.'[39]

Sometimes, the lack of traditionally feminine qualities and characteristics would be viewed as man-like. Though, instead of earning women more respect, like their male counterparts, their perceived attempt at likening themselves to men was seen as overreaching – an endeavour bound to fail. Such a 'malevolent female is one who usurps her role from the masculine domain,'[40] and is subsequently condemned for acting outside the socially accepted norms for her gender – like a 'proper' woman. This, according to historical patriarchal belief systems, is 'an unhealthy psychological condition because the female's consciousness does not "naturally" know how to be male.'[41] Streeruwitz encapsulated this tension in her 1997 poetry lectures, tying it to histories of social entanglement and control through Christianity:

[37] See Chapter II.ii; stereotypes around unmarried individuals – see Katrin Baumgarten. 1997. *Hagestolz und Alte Jungfer: Entwicklung, Instrumentalisierung und Fortleben von Klischees und Stereotypen über Unverheiratetgebliebene*. Münster, New York: Waxmann.
[38] See Chapter III.ii.
[39] Sarah Appleton Aguiar. 2001. *The Bitch Is Back. Wicked Women in Literature*. Southern Illinois University Press, p. 22.
[40] Ibid., p. 7.
[41] Ibid., p. 18.

> Der kirchlich gesteuerte Blick ist weiterhin staatstragend. Der Blick Gottes, den jeder Mann zu simulieren vermag, fand und findet weiterhin seinen Ausdruck. Auch in der Kunst.
>
> Jeder Frau stehen diese Blicke ebenfalls weiterhin zur Nachahmung zu Verfügung. Es gehört zur Logik patriarchal begründeter Systeme, daß man sich über solches aber lustig macht. Mann mokiert sich über Frauen, die so funktionieren wie Männer.

> The church-controlled gaze[42] remains foundational to the state. The gaze of God, which every man is capable of simulating, has found and continues to find its expression—also in art.
>
> Women, too, continue to have these gazes available for imitation. It is part of the logic of patriarchally founded systems that such imitation is ridiculed. Men mock women who function the way men do.[43]

Streeruwitz poetically echoes Foucault's concept of the gaze, where '"*the* gaze" is not "*a* gaze" or *one among many* perspectives.' Rather, it emerges from a 'site of power and authority, always already appropriating the right to look and to see, attempting to do so hegemonically, and thereby invisibling/silencing other perspectives/gazes.'[44] This metaphorical gaze, of course, also incorporates language, which creates intersectionally delineated imbalances.[45] Access to language – the ability, or I would also argue the opportunity, to express oneself truthfully and authentically – has been impeded by what Crasnow called 'hermeneutical injustice.'[46] Here, too, Streeruwitz identifies gendered inequalities at play, stating that it is a lie to say language could express everything, for it is only in silence that all forms of information

[42] Marlene Streeruwitz. 1997, 2013. *Sein. Und Schein. Und Erscheinen. Tübinger Poetikvorlesungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. Streeruwitz elaborated earlier in her lecture that the male gaze developed towards turning to the conscious self, simulating the divine gaze. Women, on the other hand, have at their disposal a non-gaze (Nicht-Blick), being increasingly pushed towards blindness, which leaves her only the mediate access via the male gaze to the divine gaze.
[43] Ibid., p. 23.
[44] Clarke 2005, p. 58.
[45] Intersectionality as a site 'where intersecting oppressions meet' – see Patricia Hill Collins. 2008. *Black Feminist Thought. Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge Classics, p. 128.
[46] Crasnow 2009, p. 191.

can exist.[47] One is reminded of the 'silences in the archive'[48] that are created through hermeneutical inequalities, as well as socio-historic processes that shape fundamental beliefs around gender and class-based (to name a few) values.

This thesis aims to strike a balance between acknowledging the heteronormative (and mononormative) expectations present in the 18th century, while also maintaining that this prescriptive heterosexuality (and its inherently narrow definitions of what makes a 'proper' woman) was a product of society rather than a reflection of who Martines was. Due to the lack of archival documents and the fundamentally different understanding of the time, there is little to be gained from hypothesising about Martines's sexuality – which would not be necessarily tied to her marital status in any case. However, her single status in a marriage-obsessed society warrants special mention.

In acknowledging my positionality which includes a reliance on a queer lens to discern marginalised individuals,[49] Martines's biography and traces of her identity, as they emerge from the archive, should be understood in connection with her position in society, her socio-economical security (or lack thereof) as an unmarried woman, and the resulting over-correction and 'masking' of her *Otherness*[50] through above-average politeness, humility, and expert-level sociability (as was frequently commented on by contemporaries).[51] While Martines's sexuality is not subject of investigation, the 'non-normativity' of Martines's single existence, which placed her in a marginalised position, is important to note. Queer theory, as it informs my positionality, is relevant insofar it allows me to socially situate Martines. While this thesis does not label Martines 'queer,' it also does not frame her life story and view her single status as a

[47] Streeruwitz 1997, p. 45.
[48] Michel-Rolph Trouillot. 1995, 2015. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
[49] N.B.: A queer lens is not limited to and does not automatically refer to discussions of sexuality.
[50] Capitalisation after de Beauvoir.
[51] See following chapters.

failed heterosexual narrative arc. Rather, it looks at the performance of a normatively defined gender that is 'ostensibl[y] stable,' which is 'as much a concern of the present as it was in the 18th century,'[52] though naturally specificities representing the ideal embodiment of gender are specific to a time and place. This positionality also borrows from Heyam's methodological approach to historical scholarship that highlights and seeks to rectify the inequality between the demanded 'burden of proof' in these matters (in their book, these discussions happen in the context of cis vs. trans, but the argument holds true across related parameters):

> […] historians tend to interpret people from the past as, effectively, cis until proven otherwise. Though we might not admit it (or even realise it consciously), this approach also enables historians to avoid the horror of (gasp) accidentally mislabelling a straight, cis person from the past as queer […] Our sense of what we need to be cautious about has been insidiously shaped by homophobia and transphobia.[53]

To the best of my ability, I refrain from colouring Martines's biography and narratives through unquestioned assumption of heteronormativity. Instead, I aim to differentiate between socio-historical expectations around performing gender within the heterosexual matrix that requires compulsory heterosexuality,[54] and the acknowledgement that Martines's aberration from the desired norm (namely, her single status) marked her as *Other* for 18th-century sensibilities. My positionality frames queerness as a 'way of relating to the world that challenges norms,' where queer embodiment 'does not fit into normative ideals,' building on the acknowledgment that 'identities come into being through symbols and social structures,'[55] and that 'queer unfolds

[52] Jeremy Chow. 2021. 'Eighteenth-century queer studies, revisited' in: *Literature Compass* Vol. 18 No. 7, p. 3 of 11, https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12643.
[53] Kit Heyam. 2022. *Before we were Trans. A New History of Gender*. New York: Seal Press, p. 16.
[54] See Vrushali Patil. 2018. 'The Heterosexual Matrix as Imperial Effect' in: *Sociological Theory* 2018, Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 1-26.
[55] Simon Clay, Emma Quilty. 2025. 'Ecstatic Desires: Queerness and the Witch's Body' in: *The Witch Studies Reader*. Duke University Press, pp. 118-130, here p. 120.

from specific points, from the lifeworlds of those who do not or cannot inhabit the contours of heterosexual space.'[56] It is interesting to discover the many ways in which Martines on the one hand adhered (despite her one 'shortcoming') to gendered-binary expectations in order to emphasise the 'womanly propriety' that was deemed a requirement for her class and social status, while at the same time steering clear of being associated with negative stereotypes of upper-class women.[57]

Learning to do gender[58]

An almost certainly fictional, but nonetheless interesting, story can be found in a 19th-century article that mentions Martines's hairdresser. This specific piece of writing appears to have been quite popular, as it was printed multiple times in the 1850s[59] and again in 1909.[60] While it does not try particularly hard to convey historical accuracy – the main theme of the text is Haydn's first quartet and the young composer's early career struggles, shrouded in romanticised fabulations – it does not take much stretching of the imagination to accept at least the core of the story, as it pertains to Martines, as *not untrue*: Martines made use of the services of hairdressers.

This detail may seem so obvious as to be irrelevant, yet it is worth spending some time considering this seemingly mundane fact. Her surviving portrait has her wearing an elaborate coiffure, as was fashionable for upper-class women. If not self-evident already, the portrait serves as proof that Martines made use of the services of a hairdresser, and was aware of and

[56] Sara Ahmed. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke University Press, p. 172.
[57] See Chapter III.ii.
[58] West, Zimmerman 1987.
[59] i.a. in*: Wiener Conversationsblatt* (2 Feb. 1855), *Neuigkeiten* (6 & 10 Feb. 1855), *Kremser Wochenblatt* (7 May 1859), …
[60] *Badener Zeitung* (8 Dec. 1909).

adhered to certain fashion trends. The services of a good hairdresser were among the usual expenditures of any well-to-do household at the time. The 18th century saw a fashion trend, spreading from France across Europe, towards lavishly extravagant hairstyles that required the services of not just a run-of-the-mill hairdresser but a *Haarkünstler* ('hair artist'). Many of them came to enjoy a certain level of fame and gave rise to stereotyped references and depictions of their flamboyant demeanour. Pezzl highlights the importance – particularly also for men – to pay attention to one's appearance, to make sure one chooses fashionable clothes that display a man's 'outside as pretty and tasteful as their inside [is shown] through science, literature, philosophy, witt and whim.'[61] For, according to Pezzl, fashion is among the 'first, most important, and most valuable parts of our luxury.'[62] Vienna followed 'Paris when it [came] to matters of fashion.'[63] The French vogue may have also been heightened by the Archduchess Maria Antonia – later Marie-Antoinette – adapting to French styles. Here, scholars pointed out how the princess's hair specifically 'played a central performative role in her corporeal inscription of her identity' and how it 'became a site of her attempt to assert personal agency[…].'[64]

The 19th-century article about Martines's hairdresser recounts that a certain *Haarkünstler* by the name of Wenzel enjoyed particular popularity in Vienna during the second half of the 18th century. He was based in *Leopoldstadt* No. 10 and counted among his clients the *haute-volée* of Vienna, including van Swieten, Metastasio, and also 'Fräulein von Martinez.'[65] Martines's actual hairdresser may or may not have been called Wenzel,[66] and may or may not

[61] Pezzl 1787, *Skizze* Vol. 4, p. 589.
[62] Pezzl 1787, *Skizze* Vol. 4, p. 591.
[63] Johann Pezzl. 1787. *Skizze von Wien* Vol. 4. Vienna, Leipzig: Krauss, p. 587.
[64] Desmond Hosford. 2004. 'The Queen's Hair: Marie-Antoinette, Politics, and DNA' in: *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 38 No. 1, pp. 183-200, here p. 196.
[65] Friedrich Steinebach. 1855. 'Haydn's erstes Quartett' in: *Wiener Conversationsblatt* (2 Feb. 1855), p. 111.
[66] None of the directories (like the various editions of Gerold's *Auskunftsbuch*) and Viennese newpapers of the time (digitalised at anno.onb.ac.at), listed a hairdresser by that name in Leopoldstadt, during the second half of the 18th century.

have been based in *Leopoldstadt*. Regardless, it is plausible that she would have used the same hairdresser as Metastasio, while living together in one household. Metastasio himself, being very established among Vienna's elite, would have been able to hire one of the sought after, skilled coiffeurs. Hester Piozzi's travel diaries confirm that Metastasio did indeed pay particular attention to his appearance, including his wig. Piozzi recounts hearing anecdotes from Martines herself about Metastasio's wig preferences, writing:

> Such were the sentiments, and such the conduct of this great poet, of whom it is of little consequence to tell, that he never changed the fashion of his wig, the cut or colour of his coat, so that his portrait taken not very long ago looks like those of Boileau or Moliere at the head of their works.[67]

Metastasio's mannerisms suggest that he was deliberate and meticulous about not only the way he conducted himself, but also how he appeared to others, choosing a conservative look uninfluenced by the whims of fleeting fashion trends. Martines, thus, saw modelled before her the importance of such things like one's dress and appearance, that would be wrongly labelled as being of 'little consequence,' as Piozzi put it. Through Metastasio, Martines had access to services that aided in her display of social and performative capital that was valued by the upper echelons of society. There was an art to being and looking like 'a woman' in the 18th century. Contemporary sources comment on this, describing – as in the source below – women's bodies as a site where all the arts converge:

> Betrachten sie, sprach ich, ein geputztes Frauenzimmer von der Fußsole bis auf den Scheitel: sie werden alle Künste an ihr finden. Der Haarkünstler, der Schneider, der Zeichner, der Goldschmidt, der Schuster, der Fabrikante, der Emaillirer, die

[67] Hester Lynch Piozzi. 1789. *Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany.* Vol 2. London: Strahan, Cadell, p. 307.

> Spitzenmacherin und noch viele andere Hände müssen sich vereinigen, um dieses schöne Gebäude und Wohnhaus einer zärtlich geschaffenen Seele auszuschmücken.
>
> Consider, I said, a woman who is dressed up from head to foot, you will find all the arts represented on her. The hair artist, the tailor, the draftsman, the goldsmith, the shoemaker, the manufacturer, the enameller, the lace maker, and many other hands must unite to adorn this beautiful building and home of a tender-created soul.[68]

Metastasio's education of the Martines siblings would have included (implicit) advice on how to appear and conduct themselves in society. Hair and fashion was part of that. Vienna in particular seemed to place great value on appearance, regardless of gender. 'The attire of both sexes always follows the laws of the latest fashion: it possesses all the advantages and absurdities of this capricious goddess.'[69] Martines's uncanny ability to seamlessly fit in as a member of upper-(middle) class Vienna, in style and appearance, despite not being born into a Viennese aristocratic family, is more likely owed to Metastasio than to her Italian ex-military father and his German wife.

Martines, as will be demonstrated in this thesis, shrewdly maintained a socially acceptable exterior in order to protect her social standing and reputation, which otherwise would have been threatened, among others, by her single status and pursuit of music. Her maintaining a tight family unit and cohabitation with her siblings, including her eldest brother Joseph, replaced a spousal relationship but also heightened feelings of familial obligation towards them. Instead of managing her own (/her husband's) household, Martines went on to run her brother's household. In addition to her family's striving for social mobility, continued single

[68] Joh. Justinus Gebauers (print.). 1764. 'Vom Frauenzimmerputze' in: *Der Glückselige. Eine moralische Wochenschrift* Vol. 3, Halle, pp. 337-352, here p. 339. The chapter goes on to claim that women's 'urge' to adorn themselves is due to their 'dominant propensity' of trying to appeal to men. This, so the author, is a positive, though, as it lets flourish the arts and the commerce in society.

[69] Johann Pezzl. 1786. *Skizze von Wien* Vol. 1. Vienna, Leipzig: Krauss, p. 77. 'Der Anzug beider Geschlechter ist immer nach den Geseztafeln der neuesten Mode: er hat alle Vorzüge und Abgeschmaktheiten dieser launischen Göttinn.'

status is likely one of the reasons Martines invested great effort in being otherwise irreproachable in all her social interactions. It could also explain why she never 'transgressed' into the public sphere in her pursuit of music performance, like other upper-class women who toyed with this boundary despite general consensus that nobility should avoid brandishing themselves in the public arena.[70]

This thesis aims to re-envision and revise Martines's person and biographical narrative as it emerges from the archive.[71] It seeks to acknowledge that, 'history involves both the social process and the narratives about the process.'[72] The undertaking of retracing history can benefit from the methodological approaches of other fields, including (as already mentioned sociology, archival studies, and feminist theory, but also) literature. History and literature are similar insofar as both contain stories that have been curated and shaped by people – literature through authors; and history in the form of archives as sites of knowledge production.[73] These people were naturally guided by (unconscious) biases as to what is and is not worth telling and preserving. Thus the archive, like literature, can be re-read and re-interpreted to provide a counterweight where certain prejudices and marginalising practices have been particularly prevalent. As Rich wrote:

> Re-vision – the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction – is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival. Until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched we cannot know ourselves. And this drive to self-knowledge, for woman, is more than a search for identity: it is part of her refusal of the self-destructiveness of male-dominated society. A radical critique of literature, feminist in its impulse, would take the work first of all as a clue to how we live, how we have been living,

[70] See Chapters II.ii. and III.i.
[71] See e.g. Maria Tamboukou. 2018. 'Rethinking the subject in feminist research: narrative personae and stories of "the real"' in: *Textual Practice* Vol. 32 No. 6, pp. 939-955.
[72] Trouillot 1995, p. 22.
[73] See e.g. Stoler 2002.

> how we have been led to imagine ourselves, how our language has trapped as well as liberated us; and how we can begin to see – and therefore live – afresh.[74]

Re-envisioning women's histories is a powerful way to not only do justice by these historically marginalised individuals, but also to understand oneself and reclaim diverse legacies in a world that has, for too long, accepted unnaturally homogenously-constructed and male-dominated narratives as historical truths. We should also remember, as has been said before: 'History is what one makes of it. It has never stopped changing […].'[75]

Family Life

The parents of Martines, Nicolò and Maria Theresia Martines, settled in Vienna presumably during the late 1720s or early 30s. Godt narrows their arrival to between 1729 and 1732, since there are no christening records in Vienna for Joseph; but the next child, Franz Paul, was christened in 1732 in the *Schottenkirche* (Scots Church). Godt implements a similar strategy to track the family's residential area within the city of Vienna. While the next son, Dionysius Carl, was still christened in the *Schottenkirche* in 1734, the following child, Johann Michael, had his christening in the *Michaelerkirche* in 1735: meaning that the family moved to that church's parish some time during the interim year.[76]

Little is known about Maria Theresia Martines – not even her maiden name. Marianna Martines's autobiographical essay only mentions in passing her mother being German (which may well mean Austrian), when describing her father Nicolò's journey to Vienna:

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[74] Adrienne Rich. 1972. 'When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision' in: *College English* Vol 34 No. 1 (Oct. 1972), pp. 18-30, here p. 18.
[75] Paul Veyne, Catherine Porter (transl.). 1997. 'Foucault Revolutionizes History' in: Arnold I. Davidson. *Foucault and his Interlocutors*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 146-182, here p. 182.
[76] Godt 2010, p. 11.

> Passò in Germania con uno di quei reggimenti che seguirono il partito di Carlo VI. dopo la guerra di Successione. Quì antepose i comodi cittadini alle agitazioni militari: si accompagnò a consorte tedesca di onestissimi natali, e costumi […].[77]

> He passed into Germany with one of those regiments that followed the line of Charles VI after the War of Succession. Here he preferred the civilian comforts over military turmoil: he consorted himself with a German wife of very honest birth and morals […].

There does not appear to be any evidence as to why the couple decided to settle in Vienna. One can only speculate that Italian connections and job prospects may have swayed them. Martines's autobiographical letter suggests as much when she writes: '[…] and having found the opportunity to place himself decently in the Apostolic Nunciature, in the role of chief chamberlain, he quietly spent the rest of his life there [in Vienna] under five nuncios.'[78]

The 1735 christening records of the fourth Martines son Johann Michael identified Nicolò as 'Gentilhuomo bey dem Pbstl. Nuntio'[79], meaning that he was working in an elevated position in the service of the papal nuncio by that time. Exactly when he took up his position in the nunciature is yet to be confirmed by concrete documents. According to Martines, he served under five nuncios: Domenico Silvio Passionei, Camillo Paolucci, Fabrizio Serbelloni, Ignazio Michele Crivelli, and Vitaliano Borromeo.[80] The first of them, Passionei, took office in 1731, which possibly narrows down the family's arrival in Vienna and Nicolò's start of work, if it coincided with Passionei's taking office. Eventually, the family moved into the *Michaelerhaus*,

[77] After Godt 2010, p. 218.
[78] Ibid., 'et avendo trovata l'occasione di collocarsi decentemente in questa Nunziatura Apostolica, in qualità di Maestro di Camera, vi passò tranquillamente tutto il resto della sua vita, sotto i cinque Nunzj.'
[79] Godt 2010, p. 11.
[80] Godt 2010, p. 218.

the building next to St Michael's church, and would remain there for a very long time. This is also the apartment in which their household joined with that of Metastasio.[81]

Nicolò Martines died when Marianna Martines was 20 years old. The *WD* printed a notice of his passing in the Saturday edition from 16 June 1764, writing:

> Den 12. Junii. In der Stadt.
>
> Titl. Hr. Niclas Martines, Kammermeist. beym Päpstl. Hrn. Nuntio, im alt. Michaeler=H., alt 75. J.

> 12 June [1764]. In the city.
>
> Titl. Hr. Niclas Martines, master of ceremony for the papal Nuncio, in the old Michaelerhaus, aged 75 years.[82]

From then on, it was Metastasio who stepped up as a paternal figure in the lives of the Martines siblings. The codicil to his will gives moving evidence to their mutual and enduring affection.[83]

Pietro Metastasio

Famously, Metastasio and the Martines family lived together in the *Michaelerhaus*. Godt writes that Metastasio 'must have rented an apartment much larger than he needed precisely so that the Martines family could live with him.'[84] Yet – as Godt also points out – Marianna Martines seems to have been of the opinion that Metastasio moved in with them, rather than the other way round. That seems to have been the common belief at the time. Retzer also frames it

[81] See below.
[82] *WD* (16 June 1764), [p. 5.].
Godt cites 7 June 1764 as Nicolò Martines's obit (see Godt 2010, Appendix One, p. 213).
[83] See Appendix 1.
[84] Godt 2010, p. 13.

similarly, saying Metastasio lived 'in the warm embrace' of the Martines family,[85] having moved into 'the house of the master of ceremony of the papal nuncio Mr. Nicolaus Martines.'[86] It is unclear how Metastasio and Nicolò Martines knew each other, though, it is worth pointing out that both Nicolò and Metastasio's father, Felice Trapassi, had a military background and a loose connection to the pope (Nicolò as papal nuncio and Felice as a former papal soldier).[87] None of the surviving documents of either Martines or Metastasio detail how they met, but one must assume they bonded before moving in together. Metastasio's will cites Nicolò as someone who assisted him faithfully for many years, thus, lowering the 'veil of privacy and discretion' over a relationship that was 'evidently intense and lifelong.'[88] Though Marianna Martines is most central to this discussion in the present day, we must remember that it was Nicolò who was Metastasio's primary connection – whatever the nature of their relationship.

Little is currently known of Metastasio's relationships in general, which may have been by design. Anecdotes, such as was captured on paper by Piozzi describing Metastasio refusing to eat in front of others, suggest he was an extremely private person.[89] His love life seemed equally shrouded in mystery – which may very well have been intentional, given his religious affiliation and standing:

> Parimenti ben poco si sa intorno ai suoi amori. Tutti hanno detto e ripetuto a iosa, come il gentile aspetto di cui volle dotarlo natura, e le insinuanti maniere, valessero a procurargli inestimabili fortune e simpatie; ma nessuno ha saputo dirci qualcosa di sicuro intorno all aqualità delle relazioni avuote da esso colle tre Marianne, le quali furono le tre Grazie del Metastasio, cioè la povera Marianna Bulgarelli, detta la Romanina, la principessa Marianna Pignatelli, vedova d'Althan, e Marianna

[85] Joseph von Retzer. 1782. *Metastasio, eine Skizze für seinen künftigen Biographen*. Vienna: Joh. Thom. Edl. V. Trattnern, p. 4: 'im Schoße der Familie'.
[86] Retzer 1782, p. 16.
[87] Daniel Heartz. 2003. *Music in European Capitals. The Galant Style 1720-1780*. New York, London: Norton, p. 24: mention of Felice trapassi, who was a papal soldier and ran a small grocery in Rome.
[88] Godt 2010, p. 13.
[89] Piozzi 1789, p. 308.

> Martinez, ultimo fiore che valse a consolare il tramonto di quella placida e gaudiosa vita.

> Likewise, very little is known about his loves. Everyone has said and repeated over and over again, how the gentle appearance with which nature wanted to endow him, and the insinuating manners, were able to procure him inestimable fortunes and sympathies; but no one has been able to tell us anything for sure about the quality of the relationships he had with the three Mariannes, who were the three Graces of Metastasio, that is, the poor Marianna Bulgarelli, called the Romanina, the princess Marianna Pignatelli, widow of Althan,[90] and Marianna Martinez, the last flower that served to console the sunset of that placid and joyful life.[91]

The reason for Metastasio's move to Vienna was his appointment as court poet by Emperor Charles VI.[92] Metastasio the librettist was, in many ways, the most important figure for 18th-century opera – more so than any composer. A large part of Italian operas written between 1730 and 1770 used his libretti and he was seen by many as the heir to the literary tradition of Petrarch, Tasso, and Guarini.[93] His libretti were so popular that they were even performed without music.[94] Some critiqued Metastasio for writing just 'trifling *galanteries*'[95] without sufficient depth. However, this is a fundamental misconception and misunderstanding of his approach to writing.

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[90] Regarding rumours of Metastasio's alleged relationship with the widowed Maria Anna Gräfin von Althan, Wurzbach refuses to give credence to them, stating that 'she was a friend and patron to Apostolo Zeno, Metastasio, Garelli, of Abbot Gottfried Bessel, Bernhard and Hieronymus Pez. Combined with her rare advantages of the mind, she possessed a great heart in equal measure and was a true mother to the poor. Regarding speculations that she was secretly betrothed to Metastasio after the death of her husband (1722), there is nothing to suggest that these views were anything more than speculations.' (Wurzbach. 1856. *BLKÖ* Vol. 1, p. 18).

[91] Pietro Metastasio, Camillo Antona-Traversi (ed.). 1886. *Lettere disperse e inedite. Con un'app. di scritti intorno allo stesso*. Roma: Molino, pp. 437f.

[92] Ernst Joseph Görlich. 1968. 'Pietro Metastasio' in: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (ed.). *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* Vol. 23 No. 1, pp. 276-278, here p. 277, states Metastasio arrived in 1730; other sources cite his date of arrival as 1729 (source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Pietro_Bonaventura_Metastasio - accessed 2024-10-30).

[93] Raymond Monelle. 1976. 'The Rehabilitation of Metastasio' in: *Music & Letters* Vol 57 No 3 (Jul. 1976), pp. 268-291, here p. 269.

[94] Francesca Menchelli-Buttini. 2007. 'Literary Motifs in Metastasio's and Jomelli's Ciro Riconosciuto' in: Melania Bucciarelli, Berta Joncus (eds.). *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*. Boydelll & Brewer, pp. 250-274, here p. 251.

[95] Monelle 1976, p. 268.

The idea of *sprezzatura* was central to Metastasio's work. The concept, based on Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*[96] was, as D'Angelo put it, the act of 'concealing the effort of art.'[97] He was known to have laboured over every word, only to create something that appeared effortlessly easy and simple. Heartz writes about Giacomo Casanova visiting Vienna in 1752 and allegedly conversing with Metastasio about the difficult task of writing 'simple' lines; adding, 'the lines which seemed most effortless to amateurs cost him the most labor.'[98] Heartz also quotes Goldoni, who wrote about the simple elegance of Metastasio's writing:

> Metastasio brought to a peak that perfection of which lyric tragedy was capable. His style is pure and elegant, his verses flowing and harmonious. An admirable clarity in the sentiment, an apparent facility that hid the painful work of precision, a touching energy in the language of the passions, his portraits, his tableaux, his smiling descriptions, his sweet morale, his insinuating philosophy, his analyses of the human heart, his learning, applied sparingly, and with art, his arias, or better said his incomparable madrigals, sometimes in the taste of Pindar, sometimes in that of Anacreon, all these, I say have rendered him worthy of admiration and have merited him the immortal crown conferred by Italians, which foreigners as well have not refused to grant him.[99]

On top of this ability to imbue use of language with seemingly effortless ease, the construction of Metastasio's characters made his libretti even more unique. Compared to Lorenzo Da Ponte's libretti, for example, Metastasio's characters – both men and women – were more self-reflective. His female characters were more self-confident; male protagonists unencumbered by severe vices (though, sometimes unable 'to live up to' the ideal of virtue, a central struggle in many of Metastasio's male characters). In Metastasio's work, true heroism lay in being 'equal to himself, [maintaining] his poise and self-control, and [preserving] a fairly rigid stance

[96] Baldassare Castiglione. 1593. *Il Cortegiano*. Venetia: Minima Compagnia.
[97] Paolo D'Angelo, Sarin Marchetti (transl.). 2018. *Sprezzatura. Concelaing the Effort of Art from Aristotle to Duchamp*. New York: Columbia University Press.
[98] Heartz. 2003, p. 28.
[99] Heartz 2003, p. 27.

before opposition.'[100] Robinson adds that Metastasio's protagonists were often seen as 'more effeminate than manly, […] more interested in their psychological problems than in anything else.'[101]

Because of Metastasio's popularity and his appointment as court poet, the Martines family came to operate within the periphery of the monarchs' sphere of activity. This was not necessarily accidental: it seems that on certain occasions Metastasio very deliberately advocated on their behalf. Joseph von Retzer recounts an anecdote – which was presumably not an isolated incident, and which depicts the earlier stages of the Martines family's social mobility:

> Da er nach dem Tode seines mächtigen Gönners Kaisers Franz I. I Voti pubblici herausgab, erhielt er eine mit Diamanten besetzte Tabatiere, worauf der Monarchinn Portrait mit Brillanten umfaßt war, begleitet von einem sehr gnädigen Billete, dessen Schluß die Anweisung einer jährlichen Pension von 1200 fl. enthielt, die er nebst seinem Gehalt genissen solle.
> Als Metastasio, der eben unpäßlich war, Ihr durch seinen Freund von Martines die Verse auf Schönbrunn überreichen ließ, so gab Sie dem Ueberbringer einen brillantenen Ring mit Ihrem Namen und schickte durch ihn dem Metastasio auch eine goldene Dose, worauf Ihr verzogener Namen mit Brillanten ausgezeichnet war, und worinn ein kleines Handbillet lag, in welchem Sie sich über die noch fortdaurende Gesundheit ihres alten Lehrmeisters erfreuet.

> Since [Metastasio] published *I Voti pubblici* after the death of his powerful patron emperor Franz I, he received a snuff box encrusted with diamonds, on which the portrait of the monarch [Maria Theresia] was set with diamonds, accompanied by a very gracious note, the content of which was the instruction of an annual pension of 1200 florins, which he should enjoy in addition to his salary.
> When Metastasio, who was currently indisposed, had his friend von Martines present the verses at Schönbrunn to her, she gave the deliverer a diamond ring with her name on it and also sent through him a golden box to Metastasio, whereupon her name was decorated with diamonds and inside was a small handwritten note in which she rejoiced over the continued health of her old teacher.[102]

[100] Michael F. Robinson. 1972. *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 47.
[101] Robinson 1972, p. 47.
[102] Retzer. 1782, pp. 18f.

This anecdote is, like most of its kind, probably neither entirely made-up nor entirely accurate, but in essence true. *I Voti pubblici* was published in 1766, after Francis I had died in 1765. Since Nicolò – as the primary 'friend' of Metastasio – had died two years prior, in 1764, it would have been Joseph Martins who likely took care of this errand for Metastasio. At that point, the Martines family had not yet been ennobled, so it would not have been 'von' Martines who brought the manuscript to the Empress. At the time, the Martines siblings would have already been somewhat on the radar of the imperial court through their various professional occupations, studies, and accomplishments. Yet, they had not achieved the social rank that would come with later knighthood, when Marianna ran highly established musical academies and Joseph had been promoted to Director of the Imperial Library. Prior to the Martines's establishing themselves in Vienna's social circle, Metastasio's proximity to the court and the Martines siblings' vicarious benefit was important for their consistent upward mobility in society.

Hypothesising about Martines's awareness of acting according to her class status – or the class status she aspired to – is supported by her intimate familiarity with della Casa's book of polite social conduct, the *Galateo*.[103] Among others, della Casa spoke to aesthetic ideals and the importance of beauty and unity in all aspects of life – including demeanour and conversation. Especially interesting to this discussion is della Casa's assertion that one should act according to one's class status, which must have resonated with Martines's own story of social mobility:

> […] if you should see some lady of quality, richly dressed, washing her kitchen furniture at the brook in the public street; though she herself were evidently in a different style, yet she would displease you in this respect, that she presented to the imagination the idea of an inconsistent character: for she herself would really be the

[103] She mentions the book in her autobiographical letter – see Appendix 1.

> same noble and elegant lady; but the work she was engaged in would be more proper for some dirty drab of Plebeian rank: not that the fight would be any ways offensive to any of the senses, or contrary to any natural instinct or desire; but its being contrary to the custom of the world, and an action inconsistent with the quality of the person, would, of itself, disgust you.
>
> It is, therefore, very proper to guard against these unsuitable and uncouth practices, with equal or even greater care than against those which I have already mentioned; since it is much less difficult to know when we offend in those actions which are the objects of our senses, than in those which are judged of by the intellectual faculty.[104]

Residential Addresses

The Martines family lived and operated for the majority of their lives in the heart of Vienna, with all addresses located within three to five minutes' walk by modern estimations (see Image 1, Image 2). No. 1 on the Steinhausen map indicates the location of the monastery of the Scots Church, no. 2 is the location of the nunciature, and no. 3 is St Michael's church, next to the *Michaelerhaus* where Marianna was born and raised. Another landmark to point out is the imperial palace, just south-west of the *Michaelerplatz* and only partially visible on the map. Additionally, the street going north-west from *Michaelerplatz* and eventually leading past the *Schottenstift* is the *Herrengasse*, where several of the Martines siblings, including Marianna, moved later in life.

[104] Giovanni De La Casa, unknown (transl.). 1774. *Galateo*. London: J. Dodsley, pp. 163f.

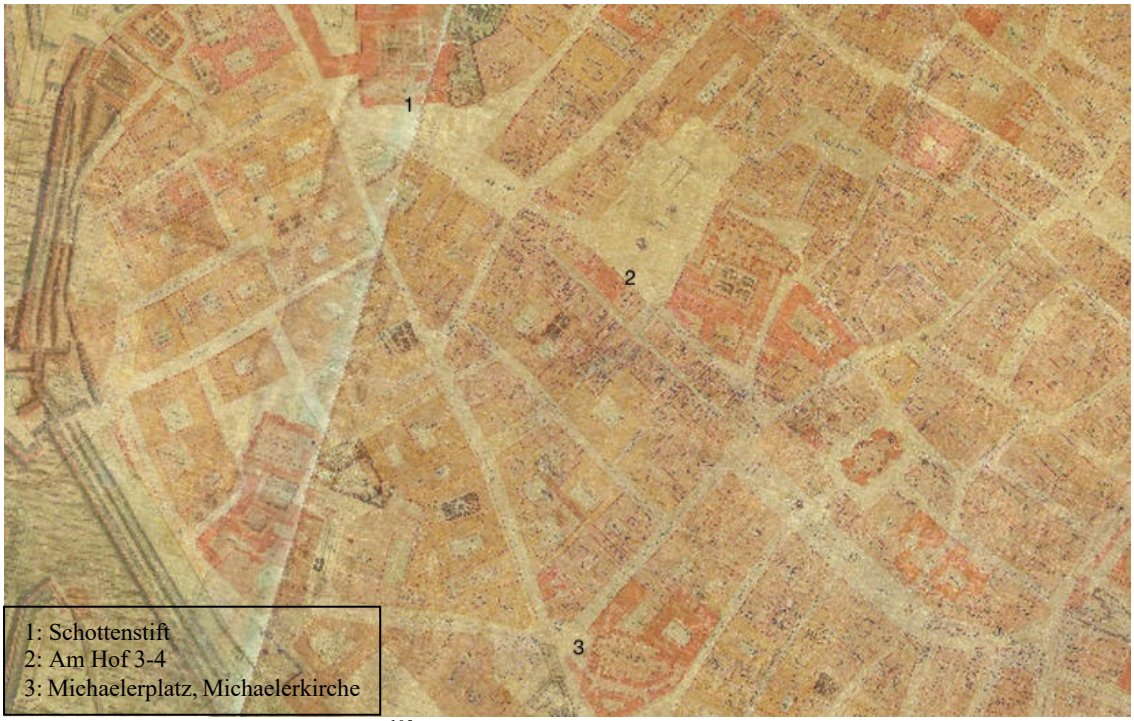


Image 1: Map of Vienna, Steinhausen 1710.[105]



Image 2: Map of Vienna, Huber 1778, with street names.[106]

Marianna Martines's final address was in the Weihburggasse, *Conscriptionsnummer*[107] 804 – today Weihburggasse 23/ Seilerstätte 12 – visible in the bottom-right corner of the Huber map

[105] Source: https://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/kulturgut/plaene/steinhausen.html (accessed 2025-01-15).
[106] Source: https://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/kulturgut/plaene/huber.html (accessed 2025-04-02).
[107] In 1770 it was decreed to assign 'Conscription Numbers' to all buildings in Vienna (/Lower Austria), which coincided with a population census in preparation for a new (military) recruitment system. Source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/H%C3%A4usernummerierung (accessed 2024-12-10).

(Image 2). This parcel of land had belonged to Franciscan monks who were forced to relinquish part of their monastery due to an edict passed under the reign of Joseph II, in order for new apartment buildings to be erected. The house where Martines and her sister Antonia spent their last years was erected in 1787 and was four stories high. The current building at Weihburggasse 23 is, however, a different one: it was built in 1963.[108]

Though these addresses are all within easy walking distance of each other by modern standards, that does not translate directly to 18th-century realities. Walking around on the street was not something the Viennese did frequently if they could avoid it. Only those whose professions required them to traverse the city did so – and they paid the consequences, as Pezzl pointed out:

> Das Klima von Wien ist höchst unbeständig. Der Ort ist den Nord= und Ostwinden ausgesezt; die Luft ist sehr scharf, und mehr troken als feucht. Wenn es die ganze Nacht durch geregnet hat, so steigen doch gegen Mittag die Staubwolken schon wieder empor.
>
> Dieser unaufhörliche Staubregen ist eine der grossen Plagen von Wien. Es ist seiner ausgetrokneter Kalk= und Kiesstaub, der die Augen angreift, und alle Arten von Lungenkrankheiten in Menge verursacht. Bediente, Läufer, Friseurs, Kutscher, Soldaten, die sich viel auf den Gassen herum treiben müssen, sterben häufig an Lungenentzündungen, Lungensucht, Abzehrung, Brustkatarrhen etc.
>
> Ein Fremder, der diesen Staub nicht mit eignen Augen gesehen hat, kann sich schwerlich einen Begriff davon machen. Die Menge der Wagenräder und Pferdefüsse jagt in allen Gassen und zu allen Stunden schon eine Menge davon in die Höhe; erhebt sich der Wind ein bischen mehr als gewöhnlich, so sind Stadt und Vorstädte, und besonders die Esplanade davon überschwemmt. Geht man an einem Sonntag nach einem schönen warmen Tag um 8 Uhr Abends aus dem Hause, so wandelt man wie im Nebel: man sieht die Laternen durch den Staub nur dunkel flimmern; und tritt man vor das Thor, so schwebt eine düstre Staubwolke unbeweglich über der ganzen Esplanade. In fünf Minuten hat man Schuhe, Kleider und Hut mit Staub überzogen. Sechszehntausend Wagenräder mit den dazu

[108] The original building was destroyed during World War II when in April 1945, after Soviet forces had already entered the inner city of Vienna, a 'fanatical National Socialist' set his apartment on fire and then, together with his wife, committed suicide by jumping out of a window. Source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Weihburggasse_23 (accessed 2024-12-10).

gehörigen Pferden, und ein Heer von mehr als zweimalhunderttausend Fußgängern, haben ganz Wien in Nebel gehüllt.

The climate of Vienna is highly unstable. The town is exposed to north and east winds; the air is very sharp, and more dry than humid. Even if it has rained all night, the clouds of dust rise again around midday.

The incessant rain of dust is one of the great plagues of Vienna. It is the dry lime and gravel dust that attacks the eyes and causes a great number of all kinds of lung diseases. Servants, runners, hairdressers, coachmen, soldiers, who have to spend a lot of time walking in the streets, often die of pneumonia, tuberculosis, phthisis, chest catarrh etc.

A stranger who has not seen this dust with his own eyes can hardly imagine it. The plethora of wagon wheels and horse feet whirl up a large amount of it in all the streets at all hours; if the wind picks up a little more than usual, the city and suburbs, and especially the esplanade, are submerged. If you leave the house at 8 o'clock on a Sunday after a beautiful, warm day, you feel like you're walking in a fog: you can only see the lanterns flickering darkly through the dust; and if you step in front of the gate, a dark cloud of dust floats motionless over the entire esplanade. Within five minutes, one's shoes, clothes and hat are covered in dust. Sixteen thousand wagon wheels with their horses, and an army of more than two hundred thousand pedestrians, covered the whole of Vienna in mist.[109]

Although walking around the city was not a frequent occurrence, there were certain areas where pedestrians sauntered more comfortably.[110] One such space was the *Graben*, a square that was smaller than other public squares in the city; more like a 'long and broad street.'[111] It is perpendicular to one end of the *Kohlmarkt*, the opposite end of which opens into *Michaelerplatz*. Pezzl likens the *Graben* to Venice's *Piazza San Marco* and calls the *Graben* and *Kohlmarkt* the 'playground of the public gallantry.'[112] However, the *Graben*, while more accessible to pedestrians, had a certain reputation,[113] which would have precluded women, particularly upper-class women, from traversing it freely on their own:

[109] Pezzl 1786. *Skizze* Vol. 1, pp. 16-18.
[110] Also see Chapter IV.ii.
[111] Johann Pezzl. 1788. *Skizze von Wien* Vol. 5. Vienna: Krauss, p. 716.
[112] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 139. 'Tummelplatz der öffentlichen Galanterie.'
[113] Also see Joseph Richter. 1780. *Taschenbuch für Grabennymphen*. Vienna.

[Der Graben] wird den ganzen Tag über nicht von Menschen leer. Wer eine überflüßige halbe Stunde hat, wo er gern etwas Bewegung machen möchte, spaziert ein paarmal den Graben auf und nieder. Von 11 bis 1 Uhr Mittags besonders, und Abends in der Dämmerung, wimmelt es hier zu allen Jahrszeiten von Mannsleuten. Da über den Graben der Weg nach der Burg, nach dem Theater, nach der Michaeler=Kirche aufwärts, und nach der Stephans=Kirche abwärts führt, so sieht man hier stets vornehme und schön geputzte Leute beiderlei Geschlechts in Wagen, zu Pferde und zu Fuß vorüber gehen, auch ist man sicher, täglich, ja beinahe stündlich, einige seiner Bekannten zu treffen. […]

Der schon gewohnte allgemeine Zusammenfluß von Menschen auf diesem Plaz, macht, daß die gutwilligen Mädchen ihn vorzüglich besuchen, um dort ihre Netze auszuwerfen: darum sind die Worte Graben=Nymphe, Graben=Mädchen und Lustmädchen von Einerlei Bedeutung.

[The Graben] does not empty of people throughout the day. Whoever has a spare half an hour in which they would like to stretch their legs, may walk up and down the Graben a few times. Throughout the year, from 11am to 1pm noon especially, and in the evening at dusk, it is teeming with men. Since paths to the Burg, the theatre, to St Michael's church and St Stephen's church lead via the Graben, one can always see distinguished and beautifully dressed people of both sexes in carriages, on horseback and on foot pass by, and one can be sure to run into some of one's acquaintances every day, or indeed almost every hour. […]

The usual general confluence of people in this place means that particularly the eager girls visit it to cast their nets there: that is why the words Graben=nymph, Graben=girl, and pleasure=girl [i.e. prostitute] have the same meaning.[114]

The Nunciature

During Nicolò Martines's time, the nunciature of Vienna was located *Am Hof*. It was a 'handsome building with three coats of arms hanging on the front.'[115] Two buildings had been combined into one, namely *Am Hof* No.s 3 and 4, or 320 and 321 as they were labelled in the

[114] Pezzl 1788, *Skizze* Vol. 5, pp. 717f.

[115] Johann Pezzl, 1787. *Skizze* Vol. 4, p. 542.
Pezzl, appears very critical of the institution of the papal nuncio, chiding them for transgressing beyond what they should be allowed to do as political representatives, quasi-ambassadors, of their region. This is in keeping with the pro-enlightenment tone of other works of his, like *Faustin*, a 'philosophic-satirical enlightenment novel' (see Klaus Zeyringer. 1990. '„Geistvolle Satire" und/oder „grobschlächtiges Konglomerat tendenziöser Anekdoten"? Zu Voltaires Candide und Johann Pezzls Faustin' in: *Arcadia* Vol. 25 No. 2, pp. 144-159, here p. 144).

1770s *Conscriptionsnummer*. The house *Stadt 321* had previously been the *Pankrazkapelle* (St Pancras chapel), which belonged to the *Schottenstift* from 1263 onwards. In 1575 it was remodelled into a residential building. Due to several legal disputes, ownership of the chapel-building changed multiple times, eventually lying with Michael Graf Althan,[116] who gifted the house to the pope in 1630 so it could be used by the nuncio of Vienna. In 1683 it was remodelled again to be combined with the adjoining building. Later, in 1767/68, under Pope Clemens XIII, the building was completely remodelled and a private chapel, 'Zu Mariä Schmerzen'[117] was added. Only during the early 20th century did the nunciature move to its current address, at Theresianumgasse 31.[118]

The *Hof* was one of the largest squares in old Vienna, which for the most part consisted of narrow streets, due to the massive builds and irregular layouts in which houses had been erected. Pezzl describes the *Hof* as 'a square, that does honour to a handsome city like Vienna,' elaborating that it is 'the most spacious of all, forms almost a perfect square, is surrounded by impressive buildings, and has an ore monument alongside two fountains.'[119] It was a popular spot for taking a stroll during summer evenings, when there would usually be members of the regiment band playing 'Turkish' music, which always attracted an audience from the promenaders.[120]

[116] Incidentally, this count Althan was presumably the grandfather of the husband of Maria Anna Pignatelli, one of Metastasio's 'Mariannas'. Wurzbach remembers her as having 'great influence on the encouragement and support of the arts and sciences in Vienna.' (Wurzbach 1856, *BLKÖ* Vol 1, p. 18.)
[117] 'To Mary's Sorrows'.
[118] Sources: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Nuntiaturgeb%C3%A4ude, https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Pankrazkapelle, and https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Am_Hof_3-4 (accessed 2024-09-29)
[119] Pezzl. 1788. *Skizze* Vol. 5, p. 715.
[120] Pezzl 1788, *Skizze* Vol. 5, pp. 718f.

Michaelerhaus

Johann Michael's christening records indicate the Martines family's address of residence as the *Michaelerhaus*, the building next to St Michael's church (No. 3 in Image 1), where they lived on the third floor together with Pietro Metastasio. Godt points out that the living arrangement – a Roman priest, an Italian soldier with his German wife, and a growing number of children – would have been uncommon in the 18th century. While some speculate the exact nature of Marianna's relationship with the poet, Godt maintains that the single most important relationship of this joint household was that between Nicolò Martines and Metastasio, and that 'the men of the family' – and there were many of them – 'are perhaps more likely than Marianna to have attracted the poet's attentions.'[121]

Though Godt's suggestions are merely hypothetical, some speculation is warranted. In a similar vein, it should be noted that one of Metastasio's most evocative and moving sonnets, *Sogni e favole io fingo e pure in carte* (Table 1), was written around the time of their household merger, in 1733. The linking of artistic output and major life events has long been an established practice, and the last few lines of the sonnet in particular point towards some kind of internal struggle that the poet may have been experiencing:

[121] Godt 2010, p. 33.

Table 1: Metastasio Sonnet, Sogni e favole.[122]

Ma forse, allor che non m'inganna l'arte,	But perhaps, when art does not deceive me,
Più saggio io sono? È l'agitato ingegno	Am I any wiser then?
Forse allor più tranquillo? O forse parte	Is my troubled mind more at peace?
Da più salda cagion l'amor lo sdegno?	Or does love or disdain arise from a firmer cause?
Ah che non sol quelle ch'io canto, o scrivo,	Ah, not only that which I sing or write
Favole son; ma quanto temo, o spero,	are stories; but also what I fear, or hope for.
Tutto è menzogna, e delirando io vivo!	All is a lie, and I live being delirious!
Sogno della mia vita è il corso intero.	The whole course of my life is dream.
Deh tu, Signor, quando a destrami arrivo,	Oh you, Lord, when I will come to wake up,
Fa ch'io trovi riposo in sen del Vero.	Let it be that I find rest in Truth's bosom.

Besides the Martines family and Metastasio, the *Michaelerhaus* was also home to the Dowager Princess Esterházy; as well as composer Nicola Porpora; tenor and later choir director of St Michael's church Johann Michael Spangler; and Joseph Haydn, who lived in an attic room.[123] Attic rooms were the most affordable accommodations in Vienna, as Pezzl reported:

> In den höchsten Regionen der Stadt, in den Dachstuben und unter den Dachböden, nisten die ärmern Gattungen der Schneider Kopisten, Vergolder, Notenschreiber, Bildschnizer, Maler etc. die zu ihren Arbeiten vieles und beständiges Licht nöthig haben.
>
> In the highest floors of the city, in the attics and under the garrets, nest the poorer classes of tailors, copyists, gilders, music writers, picture engravers, painters, etc. who constantly need a lot of light for their work.[124]

The possibly fortuitous, but certainly fortunate, accumulation of neighbours is recognised in Martines scholarship as having had a strong positive impact on her education and development as a musician.

[122] Source of Italian text (translations slightly altered): https://italianpoetry.it/poems/sogni-e-favole-io-fingo-e-pure-in-carte/ (accessed 2024-10-30).
[123] Godt 2010, pp. 20f.
[124] Johann Pezzl. 1786. *Skizze von Wien* Vol. 2. Vienna: Krauss, p. 275.

Joseph, the eldest Martines brother

Joseph was not only the eldest of the Martines brothers, but – as far as archival sources suggest – also the most important familial connection of Marianna's life. We can assume that their sister Antonia was at least as important to Marianna, if not more, but as no documentation of Antonia's life has survived archive-based historical production, it is Joseph who shall be discussed in this biographical sketch.[125] Marianna lived with Joseph and Antonia throughout her life; and with Karl (/Carl) Martines also for an extended period of time. In 1772, Karl's address was still listed as the old *Michaelerhaus*. His address was included in a schematism of court officials and employees.[126]

While all the Martines brothers had somwhat successful careers (they seemed to progress consistently), it was Joseph who cultivated a close relationship with the Habsburg monarchs by tutoring the Empress's children and working in the Imperial Library. He was instrumental in attaining the *Ritterstand* for the entire Martines family in 1774, meaning that all of the Martines siblings were ennobled, now belonging to Austrian lower-ranking nobility and adding 'von' in front of their last name. The *Österreichisches Adels-Lexikon* (Austrian Nobility Lexicon) lists the Martines brothers and their occupation at the time of their elevation into knighthood:

> Martines, Joseph, k. k. Rath und Hofbibliotheks-Custos, dann dessen drey Brüder Dionysius, Oberberg-Verwalter zu Przibram, Johann Baptist, Oberlieutenant bey Anton Colloredo Infanterie und Carl, Concipist der Böhmisch-Oesterreichischen Hofkanzelley, im Jahre 1774.

> Martines, Joseph, imperial-royal councillor and court library custodian, then his three brothers Dionysius, mining manager at Příbram, Johann Baptist, first

[125] Antonia will be discussed in some more detail in Chapter II.ii.
[126] Unknown. 1772. *Kayserlich- und Königlicher, wie auch Erz-herzoglicher, dann dero Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien Staats- und Standes-Calender auf das gnaden-reiche Jahr Jesu Christi M. DCC. LXXII. Mit einem Schematismo gezieret*. Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, p. 20.

> lieutenant of Anton Colloredo's infantry, and Carl, clerk of the Bohemian-Austrian court chancellery, in 1774.[127]

The Martines family's upward mobility and seeking social status is an important aspect to consider when trying to understand any of the siblings' biographies. Joseph's own career progression and conduct were influenced by the family's trajectory, as was Marianna's pursuit of musical accolades – as a *non*-professional musician – that would enhance her socio-cultural capital in Vienna. It was the two sisters and the eldest and youngest brothers that formed the tight-knit core of the Vienna-based Martines family. Johann Baptist moved with his infantry, and Dionysius was in Bohemia following a successful mining career. The latter was the only Martines sibling who we know for certain got married and had children.[128]

Imperial Library

Joseph moved through the ranks of the Imperial Library (Image 3) in Vienna, beginning his court career in 1749. He is included as such in the 1754 schematic of court authorities, administrative bodies, etc. as the only person in the role of 'Bibliothecae Adjunctus in Orientalischen Sprachen' ('adjunct for oriental languages').[129] Sources suggest that this position was created especially for Joseph Martines. Mosel writes:

> Kollar rückte den 12. März 1749 an Spanagel's Stelle zum zweiten Custos vor, und Joseph v. Martines, ein in den morgenländischen Sprachen sowohl, als in der englischen, französischen, italienischen und spanischen wohlbewanderter Mann, wurde am 11. September, und zwar – wie das hierwegen an van Swieten erlassene Decret lautet, – in der, bis dahin nicht üblich gewesenen Eigenschaft eines

[127] Johann George Megerle von Mühlfeld. 1822. *Österreichisches Adels-Lexikon des Achtzehnten u. Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Vienna: Mörschner und Jasper, p. 130.
[128] Godt 2010, p. 16.
[129] Unknown. 1754. *Kayserlich- und Königlicher, Wie auch Erz-Herzoglicher, Dann Dero Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien Staats- und Standes-Calender, Auf das Gnaden-reiche Jahr Jesu Christi M. DCC. LIV. Mit einem Schematismo gezieret*. Vienna: Leopold Johann Karliwoda, p. 366.
'Library adjunct in oriental languages'. The Same volume lists Joseph Martines also as 'Instructor in the Italian Language' (p. 391) among the royal household of the heir to the throne, Joseph (II).

> „Adjunctus Bibliothecae Caesareae Regiae in denen orientalischen Sprachen“ angestellt.
>
> Kollar advanced to Spanagel's position of second curator on 12 March 1749, and on 11 September Joseph v. Martines, a man well-versed in oriental languages as well as in English, French, Italian, and Spanish, was employed, as the decree issued to van Swieten reads, in the previously unestablished capacity of "adjunct of the Imperial Royal Library in oriental language".[130]

After a relatively long career stagnation Joseph was made *custos* (curator) in 1771. The lack of promotion in the interim appears to have been involuntary on Joseph's part. Indeed, his letter applying for a promotion in 1758 suggests that he sought quite fervently to advance his career. Upon the death of Nicolaus Forlosia, the first *custos*, Joseph Martines applied for a promotion. However, it was Franz Adam Kolar who progressed to the position of first *custos* and Johann Gottfried Quandt was hired as second *custos*. Joseph's application had contained an urgent plea detailing the need to support his ailing parents and several siblings, as well as highlighting the many years he had spent learning and developing his skills for this very position, which would leave him a novice in a new field should he have to change his career path. Joseph Martines wrote:

> […] Oltre ciò è da riflettere che quando il povero supplicante non sia promosso, si trova aver perduto sette anni da lui faticosamente impiegati per rendersi abile a quel mestiere al quale la Clementissima sua Sovrana lo avea destinato: e si troverà novizio in ogni altra carriera a 30 anni dell'età sua: quando avrebbe gran bisogno del frutto degli studj suoi per sostentare la povera sua famiglia, cioè un Padre inabile e cadente; una madre inferma e quattre tra fratelli e sorelle tutti bisognosi del suo soccorso.
>
> Beyond this it is to be considered that when the poor applicant is not promoted, he finds himself having wasted seven years laboriously employed, to make himself skilled at the trade to which her most gracious Sovereign had destined him: And he will find himself novice in any other career at 30 years of his age: when he would have great need for the fruit of his efforts to support his poor family, that is, an

[130] Ignaz von Mosel. 1835. *Geschichte der kaiserl. Königl. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Vienna, p. 149.

incapacitated and frail father; a sick mother and four brothers and sisters all in need of his help.



Image 3: Imperial Library ca. 1780,[131] a little over 200m from Michaelerhaus.

Van Swieten wrote to Count Uhlefeld about the new appointment, mentioning Martines but not sounding particularly enthused about his application. In fact, he discredited some of the points Joseph Martines had made in his application, downplaying many of the accomplishments that Martines had listed.

> J'aij lu la liste des merites de Martinez, sur lesquels il ij a quelque chose a rabattre: je crois, que V: E: en recevra encore d'autres. Les considerations sur tout cela seront un peu longues pour l'ecrire, je demandera apres a vostre Excellence une audience pour expliquer de bouche les informations, que j'aura recueilli. […]
>
> I have read the list of Martinez's merits, on which there is something to be discounted: I believe that Your Excellency will receive still others. The

[131] Source: Schütz, Carl. Wien 1, Josefsplatz. 1780, https://data.onb.ac.at/rep/BAG_9587861 (accessed 2024-12-05).

considerations on all this will be a little long to write, I will later ask your Excellency for an audience to explain orally the information that I have collected.[132]

Van Swieten added a rather underwhelming performance review of Martines in his letter to Uhlefeld, explaining in great detail the shortcomings and unreliable nature of the young scholar. His critique included the following:[133]

Giuseppe Martines
[…] he alleges five reasons for having the vacant place which I will briefly go through.
i.
His diligent and laborious service for seven years in all kinds of work, even when he was not in his department. On this point it should be noted that he does not propose the fact as it is.
Martines, son of a gentleman of the nunciature, who was poorly provided with the goods of fortune, had studied, but could not live. The Marquis de Poal, [and] the late Field Marshal Konigsegg, badgered me to place him in the library, but there was no vacant place, and I showed these lords that it was not at all appropriate to take a supernumerary. Her majesty, through the plea of these lords, granted 250 florins per year out of pure grace, not as a salary for the work he did, but to put him in a condition to live, while he continued his studies. At the same time, he had permission to frequent the library earlier to improve his skills rather than to work there, so I never insisted on that in the beginning. It seems that he has very poorly named Her Majesty's grace a salary. […]
I cannot say that he satisfied me with his assiduity, because he often came too late, left too early, etc. I gave him admonitions, but without much fruit: as I did not need his work, I kept silent on this matter. But I asked Kolar to communicate to him his insights on oriental languages, which he did. […]
It is therefore clear that diligence and labour of service amount to very little. I even began to notice that Martines, proud of the protection he had acquired, took little notice of a few remonstrations, which I made to him from time to time for his rare and very short appearances at the library. So I let things go their way.
2
He says to command eleven languages, at least to understand them all. […]
The truth is, if he continues to apply himself well, for a long time, he may achieve something. So far there are only flowers, but the fruit is still far away.
3.
This point contains one of the strongest boasting I have seen in a long time. A young man, again, spending a lot of time giving lessons in the Italian language, applying himself to learning languages, boasts of having an extraordinary knowledge of the

[132] AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Hofakten des Ministeriums des Inneren 11-10 'Neubesetzung der Stelle nach verstorbenen Kustos Nikolaus Forlosia' p. 6, URL: https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=2891249 (accessed 2024-12-04).
[133] Full transcription and translation of van Swieten's letter – see Appendix 1.

> authors, their credit, their merit, the variety of editions, etc.: and this in all kinds of sciences. […]
> 4
> […] I have always believed that we spoil the effect of our praises when we sing it ourselves.
> 5
> I must do him justice, as I have never heard his conduct blamed, which I regard as irreproachable.
> So, I believe I can say in all truth that Martines has talents, that we can hope, that it will bear fruit one day, and that then he might be useful.
> A lot of flexibility, a declared penchant for intrigue, and insinuating oneself everywhere to obtain very respectable recommendations, an outrageous good opinion of oneself, a little ingratitude, a good dose of pride enter into the make-up of this individual.
> One can hope that age and experience will make him more cautious, and less biased towards his own merits.[134]

Reading between the lines of this overtly hostile letter, van Swieten may have felt threatened by Joseph Martines – it is unclear whether this was due to Martines's connections and benefactors or his professional talents, which van Swieten seems unable to completely deny (though not for lack of trying). His judgment of Martines may have also been clouded by a xenophobically-coloured prejudice against Italians. The previous *custos*, Forlosia – whose death caused the reappointment and application process – was also Italian and van Swieten seemed rather dissatisfied with his work ethic, too:

> […] Forlosia, en bon Italien, devoit dormer l'apres diner ou bien mourir de pure fatigue. Je connoissois la paresse naturelle de cette nation, et je voijois bien que contraint de venir il feroix rien qui vaille. C'est pour cela, que j'aij laissè dormir Forlosia a son aise, considerant en mesme tems, qi'il commencoit deija a veillir un peu. […]
> J'aij bien pensè a la salutaire admonition, que sa Majeste a bien voulu me donner, d'estre tousjours en garde contre les Italiens. Je ne l'oubliera plus.

> […] Forlosia, like a good Italian, had to sleep after dinner or else would well die of pure fatigue. I knew the natural laziness of this nation, and I saw clearly that forced to come he would do nothing of value. This is why I let Forlosia sleep peacefully, considering at the same time that he was already starting to get a little older. […]

[134] AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos, pp. 14ff.

> I thought well of the expedient admonition which her Majesty was kind enough to give me, to always be on guard against the Italians. I won't forget it again.[135]

Van Swieten's sentiment speaks to a broader issue of prejudice that permeated Austrian society. The anti-Italian attitude, and matter-of-factness with which it was expressed by van Swieten, suggest latent bigotry negatively affecting career prospects and progress of Joseph Martines and the rest of his family. Some of the Viennese court would have been negatively biased towards them simply for being Italian, questioning their work ethic, reliability, and trustworthiness. Further contents of van Swieten's letter reveal more of his personal agenda. His goal in hiring a new *custos* was not only to discredit Martines and avoid another Italian high-ranking library official, but to also find someone who would be able to aid in the librarians' responsibility to censor books; a responsibility which seemed to overwhelm van Swieten, when left alone with it:

> Il a plu a sa majestè de charger la bibliotheque de la censure des livres, qui regardent la medicine, la philosophie, l'histoire, les belles lettres, et toute la rapsodie des romans, vers, pieces de theatre etc.
> Cetter comission est extremement onereuse, et je parle sur cela par experience, aijant eu ce travail sur les bras pendant sept ans.
> Les deux custodes devoient m'aider mais Forlosia ou possedoit pas la matiere, ou scavoit pas les langues, et de plus estoit d'une scrupuleusitè outrée, dont il se servoit de tems en tems pour fimir son travail. S'il trouvoit le mot d'amour a la premiere page un livre, il le condamnoit tout net, et me le rendoit, et je fus obligè de le lire moij mesme, sur tout les livres Italiens et Espagnols que Kolar n'entendoit pas facilement. De plus, Forlosia ne pouvoit lire aucun livre allemand.
> Cependant la veillesse approche, des infirmitès peuvent me surprendre: la prudence demande, que je pense a trouver des gens qui me peuvent soulager en cas de besoin: le nouveau custode est destinè pour une partie de ce travail, et par consequent doit avoir un jugement solide, et posseder la langue angloise sur tout.
> Oserois je confier la lecture des livres obscenes, des livres qui sous des titres specieux tendent a sapper tous les fondemens de la religion, a un jeune homme sans m'exposer d'estre la cause de son malheur? J'aimerois mieux de succomber sur un travail demesurè.

[135] AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos, pp. 9f.

> It pleased his majesty to charge the library with the censorship of books relating to medicine, philosophy, history, fine literature, and all the rhapsody of novels, verses, plays, etc.
> This commission is extremely expensive, and I speak on this from experience, having had this job on my hands for seven years.
> The two custodians were to help me but Forlosia either did not have the subject matter, or did not know the languages, and what's more, he had an excessive scrupulousness, which he used from time to time to finish his work. If he found the word love on the first page of a book, he condemned it outright, and gave it back to me, and I was obliged to read it myself, on top of all the Italian and Spanish books that Kolar did not understand easily.
> Furthermore, Forlosia could not read any German books.
> However, old age is approaching, infirmities may surprise me: foresight requires that I think of finding people who can relieve me in case of need: the new custodian is intended partly of this work, and therefore must have a solid judgment, and have mastery over the English language above all.
> Would I dare entrust the reading of obscene books, books which under deceptive titles tend to undermine all the foundations of religion, to a young man without exposing myself to being the cause of his misfortune? I would rather succumb to excessive work.[136]

In his letter, van Swieten requests a meeting with Uhlefeld, stating that it would be too much to write all aspects to consider in the new appointment of a curator (although finding ample space to discredit Martines, who was one of the applicants). The exact content of the meeting is unknown. However, the outcome of the hiring process suggests van Swieten's preferences lay with Quandt – if only for the reason that he was neither Martines nor Italian. Additionally, Quandt also received a separate letter of supporter written by Count Zinzendorf on 12 April 1758, which reads:

> Je scai que vous ne vous decidés pas legerement, et que votre maxime est, que la personne doit etre faite pour la place, et non la place pour la personne. Je n'entreprendrais donc pas de vous parler Monsieur sans connoissance de cause d'un certain M^{r}. Quant, qui me prie de vous le recommander pour etre gardien dela Biblioteque. C'est un garcon qui a des moeurs, qui a fait des etudes à Leipzig, possedant la litterature Allemande, connoissant la francaise, qui a passe plusieurs anneés à Paris, […].

[136] AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos, pp. 12f.

> I know that you do not make up your mind lightly, and that your maxim is that the person must be made for the place, and not the place for the person. I would therefore not undertake to speak to you, Sir, without knowing the facts about a certain Mr. Quant [sic], who asked me to recommend him to you to be guardian of the Library. He is a chap who has morals, who studied in Leipzig, who knows German literature, knows French, who spent several years in Paris, […].[137]

Lacking the CV-bolstering benefit of having studied abroad, and having no references quite as powerful as that of Zinzendorf, as well as having made somewhat of an enemy in van Swieten, Martines had to wait until 1771 to be finally promoted to *custos*. The 1772 *Schematismo* lists him as one of three curators, together with Franz Adam Kollar and Johann Gottfried Quandt.[138] Upon Quandt's death in 1777, Martines advanced to his position.[139] In 1781 Martines received the third-highest salary at the Imperial Library, set at 1400 florins, only surpassed by the Prefect van Swieten and Director von Kollar.[140] Eventually, in 1783, Martines became Director of the Imperial Library: the *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen* printed a short notice on 1 October 1783, saying that 'Herr von Martines, second custodian of the Imperial Library, received the position of the late councillor Kollar.'[141] Kollar had died in July 1783.[142]

Career progression

Joseph Martines tutored Empress Maria Theresia's children in history, geography, and geometry (to Archduchesses Josepha, Maria Anna, and Elisabeth), as well as Italian (to Archduke Joseph, who eventually became Emperor Joseph II). Johann Georg Meusel recounts an anecdote, allegedly told to him by Joseph Martines, that the future Emperor Joseph often

[137] AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos.
[138] Unknown 1772, *Schematismo*, p. 452.
[139] Mosel 1835, p. 164.
[140] Ibid., p. 177.
[141] Carl Wilhelm Ettinger (ed.). 1783. *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitung* Vol. 79, 1 Oct. 1783., p. 648
'Der Hr. von Martines, zweyter Custos der kailser. Bibliothek, hat die Stelle des seel. Hofraths Kollar erhalten.'
[142] Mosel 1835, p. 183.

asked Martines to secretly bring him books. Later on, the Archduke often spent half days at the Imperial Library, and even as Emperor was extremely eager to read and learn.[143] Martines appears to have made his teaching at the court a priority, above his responsibilities at the library – further adding to van Swietens distain for him:

> Five years ago he found himself introduced at the court to teach the Italian language to Their Royal Highness: he informed me that he was admitted. I told him, that no reason could prevent him from serving his Majesty in this way, since he had contracted no obligation with the work of the library, but I warned him at the same time, that this will never be put down to count as a merit to one day hold a place in the library, since this commission diverted him entirely from this work.
>
> He replied that he would still visit the library as much as he could. But the time he had to give to his lessons, above all, at Schönbrunn in the summer when the work of the library is most necessary, meant that I did not count on it at all.[144]

Despite van Swieten's less than stellar review in the 1750s, Martines distinguished himself early on through his knowledge of a large number of languages, as well as his ability to teach languages and other subjects at the court. Further, he greatly contributed to the Imperial Library by cataloguing the library's books and manuscripts, as well as developing an organisational system for the library's coin collection.[145] A 1799 publication by Bartholomaeo Paulinus gives special mention to some of the more difficult identifications of coin inscriptions that Martines made, including an attribution of a coin to Jehangir ('Gehanghir'), the 17th-century Mughal monarch.[146]

Martines's work at the library and unique knowledge made him an asset. Joseph's knowledge of 'oriental' languages was convenient, for at the time these languages were greatly valorised.

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[143] Johann Georg Meusel. 1816. *Vermischte Nachrichten und Bemerkungen historischen und litterarischen Inhalts*. Erlangen: Palm und Ernst Enke, p. 42.
[144] AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos – see Appendix 1.
[145] Godt, Reis 2010, pp. 14f; and
AT-OeSTA/HHStA Neubesetzung Kustos.
[146] Sancto Bartholomaeo Paulinus. 1799. *Musaei Caesarei Vindobonensis Numi Zodiacales Animaduersionibus Illustrati*. Vienna: Joh. Georg Benzii, p. 8.

Hebrew, for instance, gained importance. In 1752 Maria Theresia enshrined the study of this language in her *theologische Studienordnung* ('theological study regulations') and included it in the university's curriculum.[147] The Imperial Library was, compared to the university, a trailblazer, already dealing with a much greater number of 'oriental' languages. Wilhelm A. Neumann gives special mention to both Adam Franz Kollar, who knew Hebrew and Turkish, and Joseph von Martines, who was known among his contemporaries as an 'orientalist.'[148] Joseph's abilities and professional connections secured him a seat at the proverbial table during politically important events related to his area of expertise. For example, on 28 July 1774 he attended an official visit of a Turkish emissary:

> Wien, den 23. Julii.
>
> Vorgestern, als den 21. dieses, ist der Ottomannische Herr Abgesandte, Soleiman Effendi, mit einem Theile seines Gefolges, zu Pferde in die Stadt herein gekommen, um den Kayserl. Büchersaal, das Naturalien- und Medaillen-Cabinet, wie auch den Redoutensaal zu besehen. In dem Büchersaale, wo Herr von Kollar, Director und wirklicher Hofrath, und Herr von Martines, zugegen gewesen, hat der Herr Abgesandte sich mit den Türkischen, Arabischen und Persischen Büchern besonders unterhalten, und selbe sehr bewundert. […] Die Türkische Medaillen gefielen dem Herrn Gesandten nicht minder, als alle übrigen Seltenheiten.

> Vienna, 23 July
>
> The day before yesterday, that is the 21. of this [month], the Ottoman emissary, Soleiman Effendi, came with part of his envoy, on horseback into the city, to visit the Imperial Library, the natural items and the medal cabinet, as well as the redoubt hall. In the library, where Mr von Kollar, director and real councillor, and Mr von Martines were present, the emissary particularly enjoyed himself with the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian books, and admired them very much. […] The Turkish medals pleased the emissary no less than all the other rarities.[149]

[147] Wilhelm Anton Neumann. 1899. *Über die Orientalischen Sprachstudien seit dem XIII. Jahrhunderte mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Wien. Inaugurationsrede*. Vienna, p. 88.
[148] Neumann 1899, pp. 92f.
[149] Joseph Anton Moy (ed.). 1774. *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung von Staats-, gelehrten, historisch- u. ökonomischen Neuigkeiten* No. 179, p. 1.

Joseph Martines was increasingly involved and integrated in intellectual and artistic life in Vienna, including as an honorary member of the *k. k. Akademie der Bildenden Künste* ('Imperial-Royal Academy of Visual Arts'). He and Franz von Kollar joined the Academy in June 1773, and were lauded for 'increasing the number of academic books with impressive art-related volumes.'[150] Though it is Marianna Martines who, historiographically, has been framed as the most important of the Martines siblings, one must remember that her brother Joseph was at least as, if not more, established in general society during their lifetime. His connections to the Habsburg court, as well as his accomplishments and distinguished achievements in his career at the Imperial Library place him firmly among Vienna's intellectual and politically-connected elite. Godt briefly speculates about the bearing this may have had on Marianna:

> Joseph Martines's position and steady advancement imposed obligations on the whole Martines family. Marianna must have felt the social responsibilities of her family's status and probably had to present herself on formal occasions as a lady connected with the court.[151]

Similarly, Cypess recognises the burden of social expectation that was put on women in music in the 18th century.'[152] However, we must explore the matter in more depth to demonstrate the insurmountable weight of responsibility this posed – not only for Marianna Martines herself but, due to her family relationships and living situation, for her entire family in Vienna.

Joseph's career progression and professional reputation are representative of the Martines family's social mobility. Even more importantly, his continuous striving and active pursuit of climbing the ranks at the Imperial Library suggest the value he placed (along with the rest of

[150] Anton Weinkopf. 1783. *Beschreibung der Kaiserl. Königl. Akademie der bildenden Künste*. Vienna: Kurzbeck, p. 31: 'Hr. Adam Franz v. Kollar, k k. wirkl. Hofrath und Bibliothekdirektor; und Hr. Joseph von Martines, k. k. Rath, und Bibliothekkustos. Den 3. Brachmonats, 1773. Sie vermehren auf allerhöchste Begnehmigung den akad. Büchervorrath mit ansehnlichen in die Künste einschlagenden Dupleten aus dem k. k. Bücherschatze.'
[151] Godt 2010, p. 34.
[152] Rebecca Cypess. 2022. *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment*. The University of Chicago Press, p. 198.

the Martines family) on continuous societal and economic advancement and good social standing with the court. The 'lack of good fortune,' which van Swieten alluded to in his otherwise scathing review of Joseph in 1758, likely spurred Joseph and his siblings in their pursuit of quasi-meritocratic success. Indeed, Martines often pointed out how her own achievements were owed to diligent study, aligning with Michael Kelly's account of Martines being 'reckoned a deep blue.'[153] Cypess attests that Martines very consciously seemed to present herself and her abilities and achievements as the result of being well-studied.[154] Exceedingly positive comments about personal character can be found for both Marianna and Joseph Martines. This suggests that their conduct went beyond the expected norm of social graces, and may point towards a deliberate honing of interpersonal skills.

Though it is not entirely clear to what exactly van Swieten's comment on 'lack of good fortune' referred to, it is likely connected to the Martines family's financial situation at the very least, along with lack of successful marriage prospects for the sisters and the health conditions of their parents (and possibly other siblings).[155] While the exact cause of van Swieten's pity remains speculation, something was going on in the Martines household, which had Empress Maria Theresia inclined to give Joseph Martines a 'salary' (or charitable stipend, if van Swieten is to be believed).[156] Accordingly, Joseph and his siblings were driven to manage their own fortune by excelling in the game of sociability.

> Den 7. Mai 1788 starb der Director und Hofrath von Martines, wegen seiner Kenntnisse und seines persönlichen Charakters von seinen Vorgesetzten und sämmtlichen Beamten aufrichtig beklagt.

[153] Kelly after Fremar 1983, p. 36. See Chapter II.ii.
[154] Cypess 2022, p. 157, 195.
[155] Joseph mentioned his ailing mother and father when he applied to the curatorial post in 1758.
[156] See footnote 134.

> The director and court councillor von Martines died on 7 May 1788, sincerely bemoaned by his superiors and all officials because of his expertise and personal character.[157]

Marianna Martines's musical development

Under the guidance of Metastasio, Martines received a thorough and high-level musical education.[158] Her studies during childhood – and into adulthood – focussed on contemporary composers like Hasse, Jomelli, and Galuppi, as well as old Italian 'masters' such as Händel, Lotti and Caldara, of whose music she owned copies.[159] Accordingly, her compositional output was dominated by sacred music for voices and instruments, and she was praised for her counterpoint writing.[160] Among the earliest of these compositions is a mass that must have been composed some time before she was 16 years old. On 29 September 1761 one of her masses was performed in the *Michaelerkirche*. The next day the *WD* printed a brief review:

> Gestern wurde in der K.K. Hof=pfarrkirche der P. P. Michaelern das Titular=fest des Heil. Erz=Engels Michael mit einem Hoch=amt begangen, wozu die Music von der Mademoiselle Martinez, einer erst 16. Jahr alten Virtuosin alhier componiret, und wegen ihrer Vortreflichkeit von allen Kunst=verständigen bewundert worden.
>
> Yesterday, in the imperial-royal court-parish church of the Patres of St Michael the nominal celebration of the arch-angel Michael was observed with a High Mass, for which the music was composed by Mademoiselle Martinez, an only 16 year old virtuoso, admired by all who are adept in the arts for her excellence.[161]

At that point, she had composed three of her four (surviving) masses. The most recent one, Mass No. 3 in C, dates from 10 August 1761 and is the most likely contender for this

[157] Mosel 1835, p. 194.
[158] See Autobiographical letter, Appendix 1.
[159] Godt 2010, p. 35.
[160] See e.g. Burney 1775, p. 314.
[161] *WD* (30 September 1761), p. 5.

performance, not least since the archive of the *Michaelerkirche* still owns the orchestral parts.[162] This was, as far as can be gleaned from surviving documents, the first public performance of music by Martines. Though Martines wrote a lot of vocal and orchestral repertoire, the keyboard was central in her conception of and approach to music, for one because she was a highly skilled keyboardist, and also because the *Clavier* was generally central to the compositional process, as Mattheson attests:

> Vor allen Dingen soll man sich das Clavier, als ein Haupt-Instrument, bestens lassen empfohlen seyn, und solches täglich bey der Hand haben: es ist das besondere Componisten-Werckzeug […].
>
> Above all, one should take the Clavier to heart and regard it as a principal instrument, keeping it close at hand every day: it is the composer's special tool.[163]

Martines received keyboard lessons, according to her own testimony, as student of the young Joseph Haydn.[164] Godt notes that her way of composing, at least in early works like the Mass No. 1, demonstrated (what he called) 'inexperience.' Martines wrote parallel sevenths between soprano and alto on two occasions in a fugue – a voice-leading manoeuvre that would have been unconventional for the 'stile antico' but is not uncommon in keyboard repertoire.[165] Whether or not this should be labelled 'inexperience' is subjective, but it points towards Martines's way of thinking about music, methods of composing, and conceptions of sounds and sonorities.

It would be wrong, though, to posit Martines as purely a keyboardist. Quite the opposite: as mentioned above, keyboard-focused composers were notably absent from her main study, save for Galuppi. She also received singing lessons at least as much as she did keyboard, and

[162] Godt 2010, p. 256.
[163] Johann Mattheson. 1739. *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*. Hamburg: Christian Gerold, p. 106.
[164] Godt 2010, p. 10.
[165] Godt 2010 p. 39.
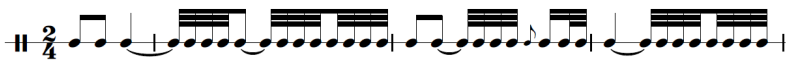
composition too. Nicola Porpora, the 'patriarch of melody'[166] and teacher of Farinelli, was one of Martines's main vocal and composition instructors, next to Giuseppe Bonno.[167] Indeed, Martines's developed vocal-*cantabile* style is as distinctly noticeable in her voice repertoire, as in her instrumental music. The examples below (Example 4 and Example 5) show similar embellishments used by Martines both in vocal and keyboard repertoire.[168] This blending of correlated styles and influences was not uncommon in the 18th century, mainly due to dominant educational methods:

> […] the training of singers and of composers often differed little in the eighteenth century, since singers needed to know how to realize *partimenti* at the keyboard and to improvise embellishments, while composers needed to be able to write effectively for the voice.[169]

In Martines's music, one sees noticeable parallels with various genres she engaged with. For example, ornaments in keyboard pieces bear similarities to coloratura passages in her vocal repertoire. Earlier vocal works in particular show similar methods of melodic virtuosity. Example 4 is an excerpt of Martines's 1762 concert aria 'Sceglier fra mille un core,'[170] set to a section of Metastasio's libretto *Temistocle*.[171] This passage with *lento* marking demonstrates a popular rhythmic element in Martines's writing: using tied notes to precede a virtuosic passage. Unlike many other classical arias, the second note under the tie is the same value as the notes of the subsequent run (Example 1), and the 'runs' themselves are rhythmically very varied. The result is a passage that neither starts on a strong beat nor is it a simple syncopation, creating

[166] Referred to as such in the article 'Joseph Haydn' in: *Das Vaterland* (29 May 1887) p. 4.
[167] Schmid after Godt 2010, p. 32.
[168] For a more in-depth discussion of embellishments see Chapter IV.i.
[169] Godt 2010, p. 32.
[170] This aria is not listed in Godt's otherwise extensive and well-researched list of works published in the appendix of Godt 2010, pp. 256-264.
[171] Comparing *Sceglier fra mille un core* (1762), Example 4, and the later *Isacco* aria (1781/82), Example 21f, provides an interesting insight into Martines's compositional development. The earlier aria has a Da Capo marking after the B section, whereas the repeat in the *Isacco* aria was written out. Further, her choices regarding virtuosic material, particularly in the coloraturas, suggests a development or change of musical preferences.

the sensation of exuberant verve and pulsing thrusts of energy. This rhythmic drive and forward motion appears to be a central concern for these passages, so much so that some sections even dispense with strictly counting note values that fit into a bar (Example 3, Example 5); the intended gesture is clear, regardless of engraving rules (which, in any case, were not as fixed back then as they are now).



Example 1: Rhythmical structure of Martines's coloratura in Example 4, bb. 117f.

On the other hand, contemporaries of Martines, including Mozart, often favoured emphasising 'straight' beats with their coloraturas, placing rhythmical accents on the start of a run.[172] This is demonstrated in early works by Mozart (Example 7, Example 8, Example 9 from *Mitridate* and *Il sogno di Scipione*, written in 1770 and 1771 – around the same time as Martines's examples).

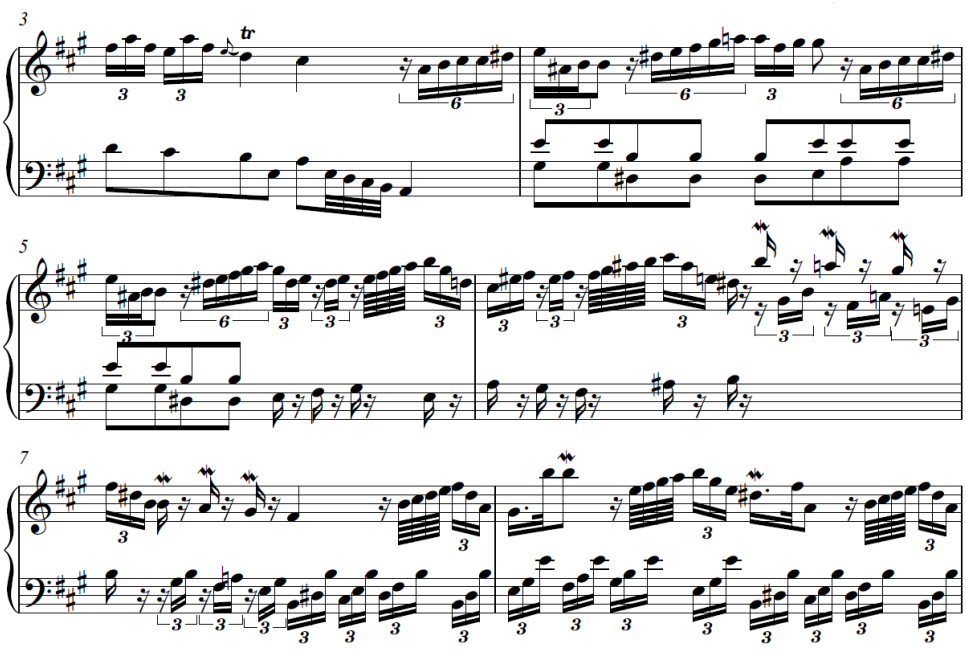
Similar rhythmic patterns that pull away from 'straight' beats are found in Martines's keyboard repertoire, for example in the slow second movement of her A major concerto (Example 5), or in her G major concerto. The latter is slightly different in that it stems from the fast opening *allegro* movement (Example 6). Instead of a tied note, several right hand runs start with a demisemiquaver rest, the downbear provided by the bass, imitating the arrow-shot effect that Mattheson associates with *tirata* (though a typical *tirata* would not extend beyond an octave range).[173]

A multitude of runs preceded by tied notes, dotted notes, or starting with a very short rest, imbue the following up-tempo embellishments with rhythmic malleability (Example 5, bb. 33-38), accenting the tied note rather than the first of the coloratura run. A fantastic example of rhythmic variety and independence between hands is seen in the *allegro* movement of her

[172] This is obviously not to say that other composers, including Mozart, never started coloratura passages with a tied note, but there emerges a clear trend in compositional preferences.
[173] Mattheson 1739, p. 117. See Chapter IV.i.

A major keyboard sonata (Example 2), and the slow movement of her G major sonata. The *andante* of the latter example demonstrates coloratura-like runs in the right hand, with quasi-secco accompagniment in the left (Example 3). Martines's slow movements echo what Quantz wrote about the adagio – particularly the 'singing' adagio, which was to be played 'not too slow,' providing 'infinite scope […] for the most expressive subtleties of dynamics and rhythm.'[174]
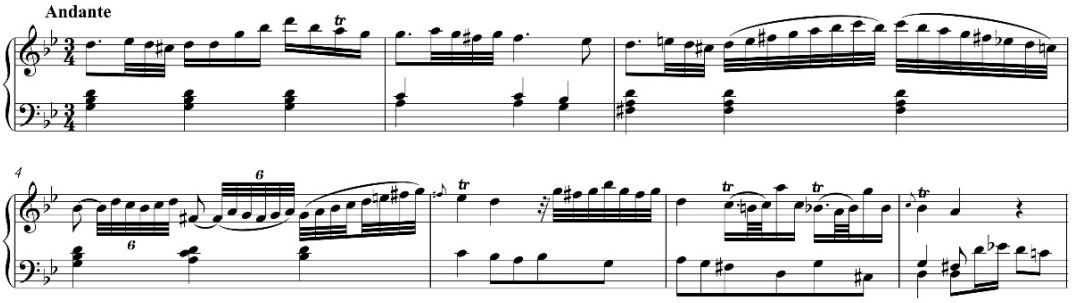
Perhaps the most closely related to Martines's style – at least regarding keyboard pieces – are Galuppi's sonatas (Example 10); though they do not compare to Martines's elaborate quasi-improvisatory style. Galuppi's compositions appear much more 'purist' in their keyboard style, leaning heavily on *galant* elements (including Lombard rhythm) whereas Martines blurs lines between vocal and keyboard idioms, generally playing with a more malleable sense of metre.
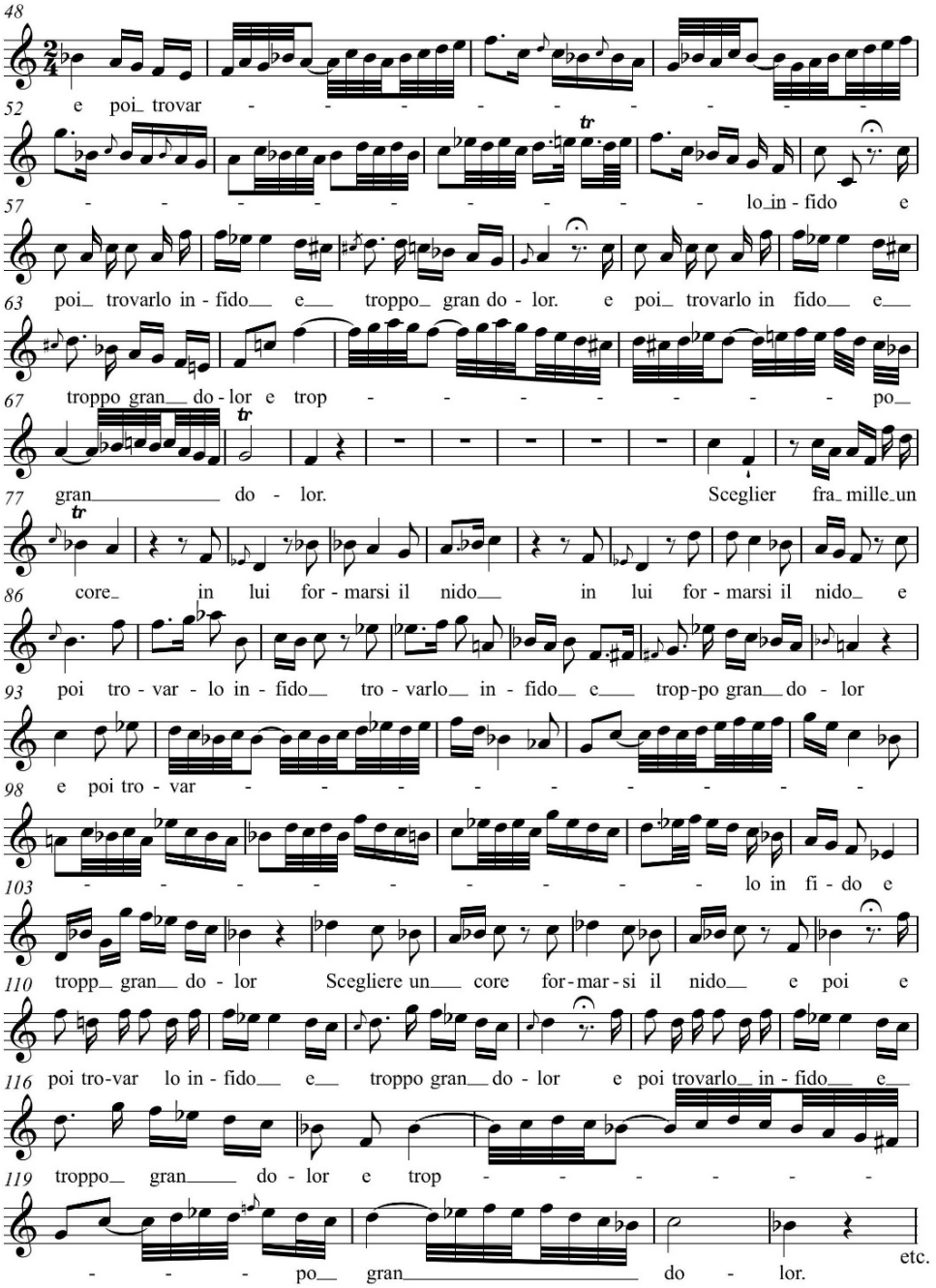


Example 2: Martines, Sonata A major, I. mvt, bb. 3-8.[175]

[174] David Ledbetter. 2001. 'On the manner of playing the Adagio: neglected features of a genre' in: *Early Music* Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 15-29, here p. 15f.

[175] All excerpts of A major Sonata transcribed from Haffner *Raccolta* Vol. V.

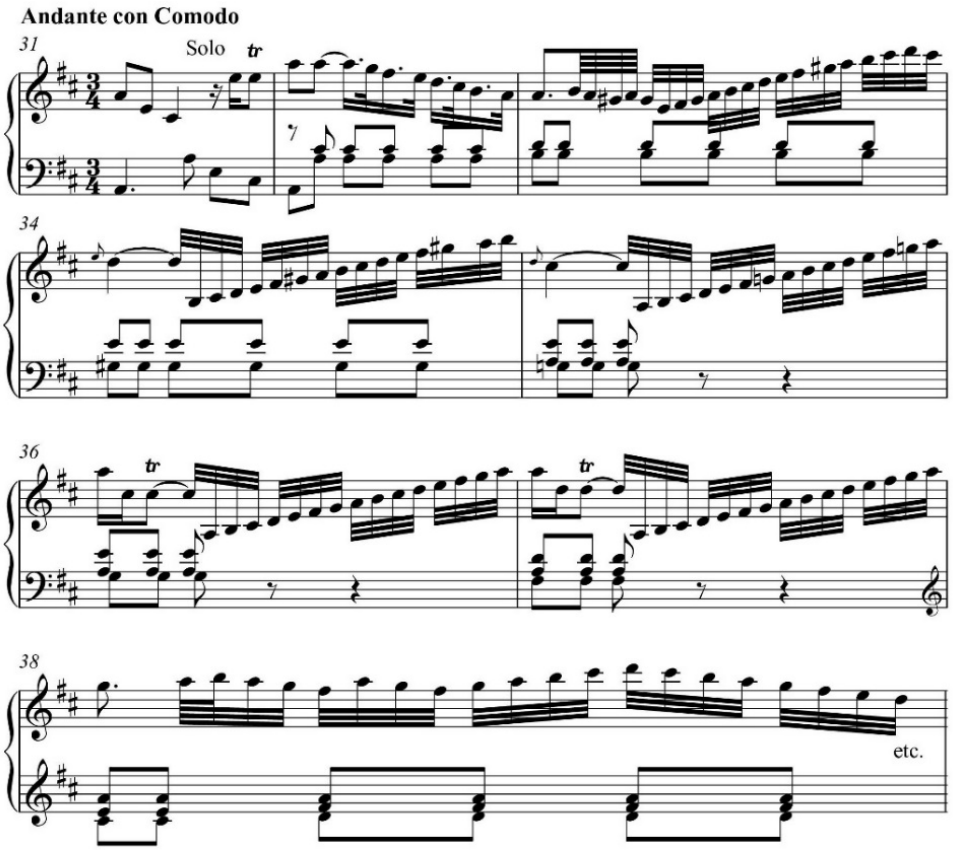


Example 3: Martines, Sonata G major, II. mvt., bb. 1-7.[176]
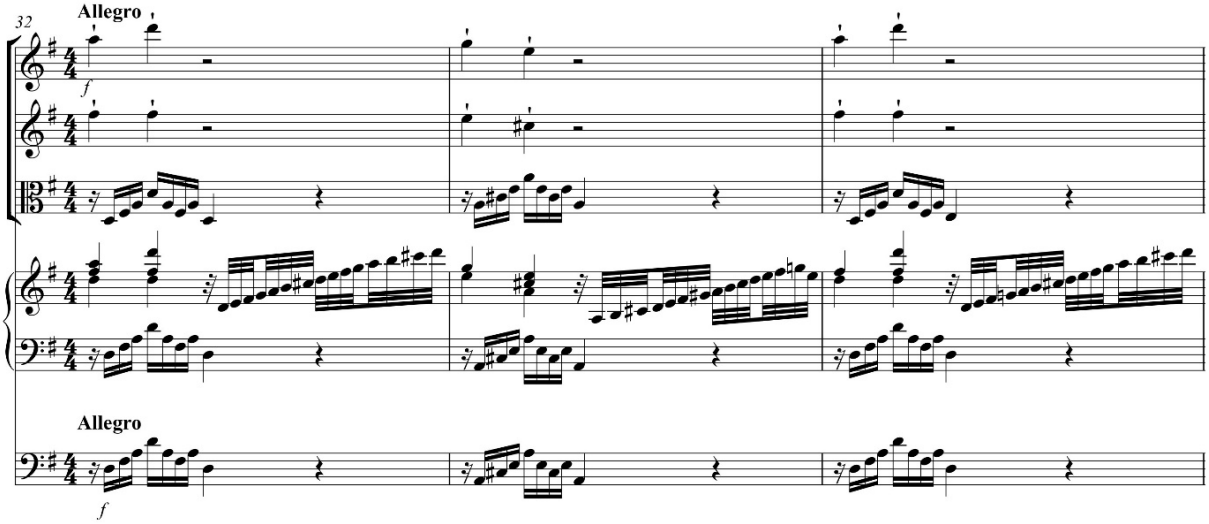


Example 4: Martines, Concert Aria, Sceglier fra mille un core*, bb. 48-122.*[177]

[176] All excerpts of G major sonata transcribed from SLUB, Mus.3450-T-1.
[177] Aria (1762) transcribed from BnF, D-7413 (1). Full transcription – see Appendix 2.

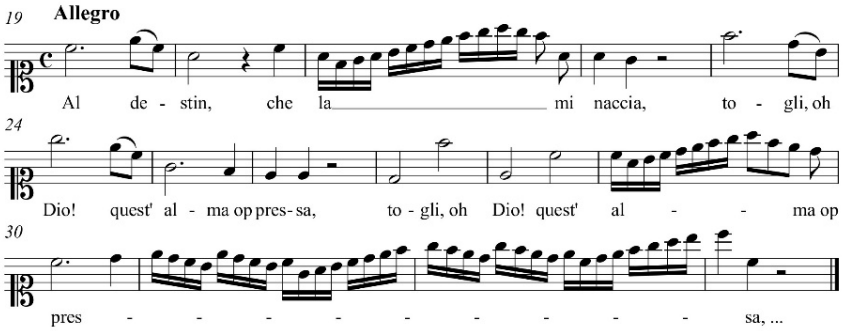


Example 5: Martines, Concerto A major, II. mvt, bb.31-38.[178]

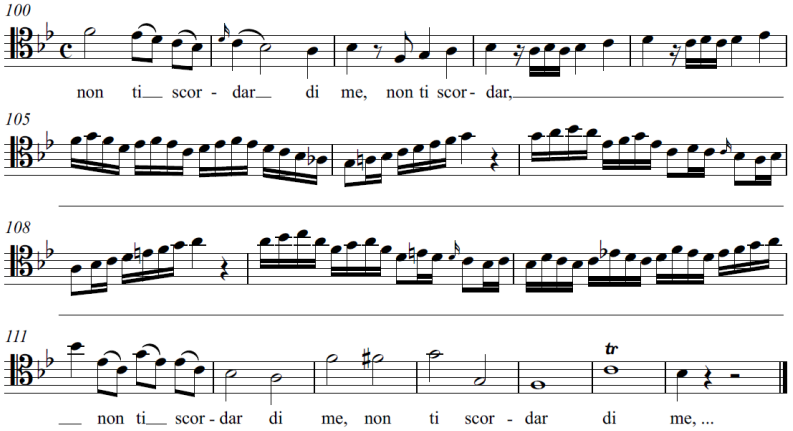


Example 6: Martines, Concerto G major, I. mvt., bb. 32-34.[179]
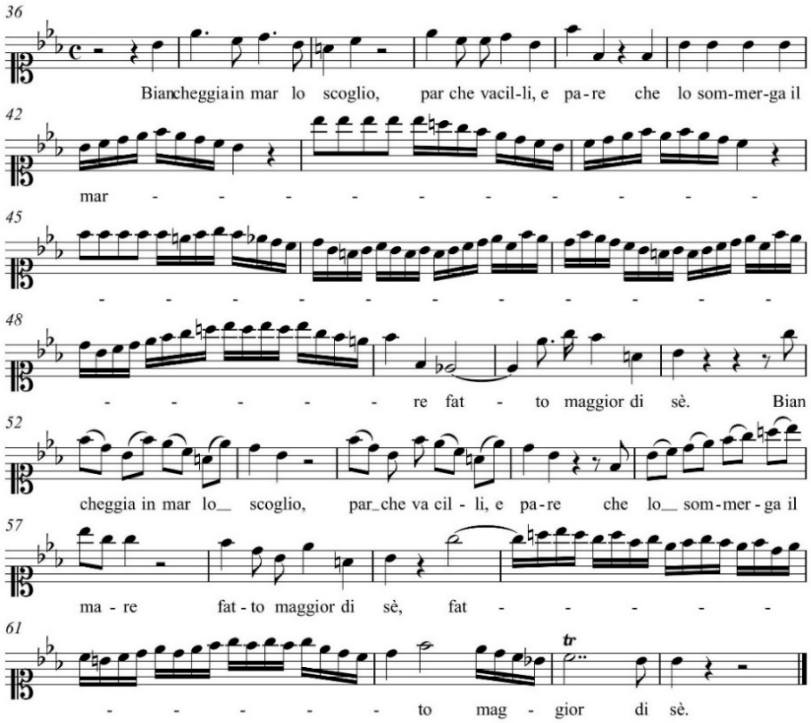
[178] All excerpts of A major Concerto transcribed from A-WGM, VII 12980.
[179] All excerpts of G major Concerto (1772) transcribed from A-WGM, VII 7543.



Example 7: *Mozart,* Mitridate*, Aria 1 Aspasia, bb. 19-33.*[180]
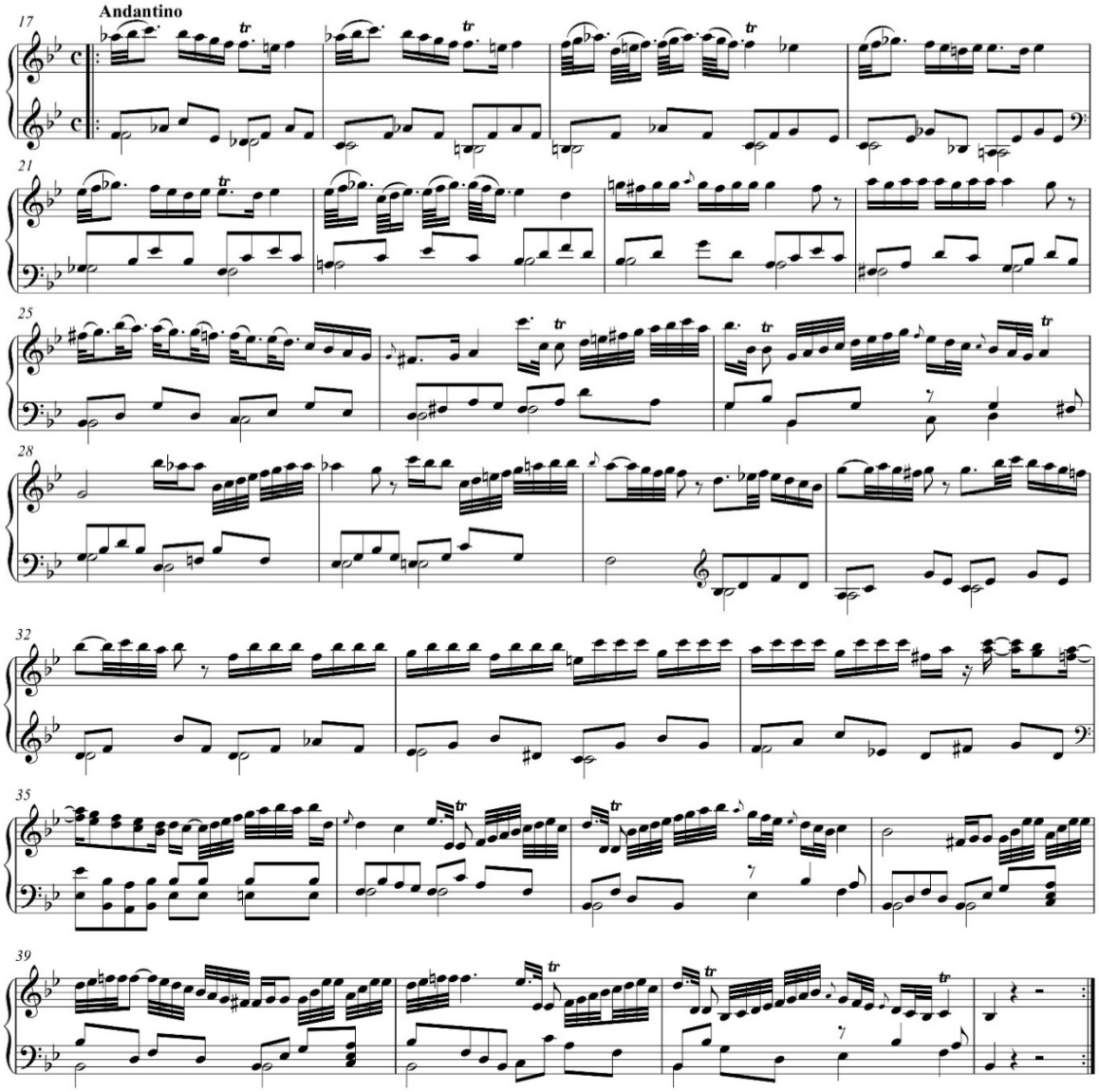


Example 8: Mozart, Il sogno di Scipione*, Aria 5 Publio, bb. 100-117.*[181]



Example 9: Mozart, Il sogno di Scipione*, Aria 9 Costanza, bb. 36-64.*[182]

[180] Transcribed from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe Serie 5 Opern Partitur, No. 5 Mitridate Re di Ponto*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 13.
[181] Transcribed from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe Serie 5 Opern Partitur, No. 7 Il Sogno di Scipione*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 52.
[182] Transcribed from ibid., pp. 84f.



Example 10: Galuppi, Sonata B major, I. mvt., bb. 17-42.[183]

Accolades and achievements

Martines was praised by her contemporaries for her compositions and musical abilities. Not least, Metastasio allegedly nicknamed her Saint Cecilia due to her unparalleled singing voice.[184] Giambattista Mancini called Martines a 'rare genius of music' and recounted his experience of hearing young Martines perform:

[183] Transcribed from SBB, Mus.ms. 6997.
[184] See e.g. Fink, Schilling 1837, pp. 571f.

> Contesta nelle forme le più autentiche gli elogi dovuti a questo celebre maestro, la nobile Sig.ra Marianna Martinez di Vienna. Questa incomparabile donzella, tratta da un genio superiore par la Musica, n'ha ricevuti gli elementi e la perfezione dal prelodato Sig. Bonno. Tali furono, e così rapidi i di lei progressi, che in breve tempo divenne l'oggetto dell'ammirazione di tutt'i più famosi maestri di Musica. Le di lei composizioni sono state richieste a gara, ed applaudite in Napoli, in Bologna, ed in molte delle più rinomate Città dell'Italia.
>
> Io stesso l'ho sentita ne'suoi più teneri anni cantare, e sonare il Cembalo con una maestria sorprendente, accompagnando le sue produzioni, cantate ed espresse con tanta forza di metro musicale, che lo stesso Sig. Abbate Metastasio ne risentiva quell'emozione, che ha saputo egli eccitare nel cuore umano colle inarrivibili sue Poesie Drammatiche. Quindi il celebratissimo Padre Martini, tra le altre unanimi acclamazioni, si pregiò d'annoverare alla nostra Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, questa, che, sebbene dilettante, può a giusto titolo chiamarsi gran maestra, e raro genio della Musica.

> The praise due to this famous master [Bonno] champions in its most authentic forms the noble Sig.ra Marianna Martinez of Vienna. This incomparable maiden, who draws from a superior genius for music, received its groundwork and perfection from the highly praised Sig. Bonno. Such and so rapid was her progress that in a short time she became the object of admiration of all the most famous masters of music. Her compositions have been sought after and applauded in Naples, Bologna, and many of the most renowned cities in Italy.
>
> I myself heard her in her most tender years singing and playing the harpsichord with surprising mastery, accompanying her works, sung and expressed with such strength of musical meter, that Sig. Abbate Metastasio himself felt that emotion, which he knew how to excite in the human heart with his unparalleled Dramatic Poems. Therefore, the highly celebrated Padre Martini, among other unanimous accolades, took honour in including in our Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna this one, who, although an amateur, can rightly be called a grand master and a rare genius of music.[185]

Mancini's laudatory review of Martines is found in a chapter on the art of singing recitative and acting on stage.[186] He accused contemporary singers of complacency, when making excuses why they cannot sing recitatives. The singers' main argument appears to have been that contemporary composers, in their view, did not write music that lent itself to declamatory

[185] Giovanni Battista Mancini. 1777. *Riflessioni Pratiche Sul Canto Figurato di Giambattista Mancini*. Terza Edizione. Milan, pp. 229f.
[186] Mancini 1777, pp. 227-247.
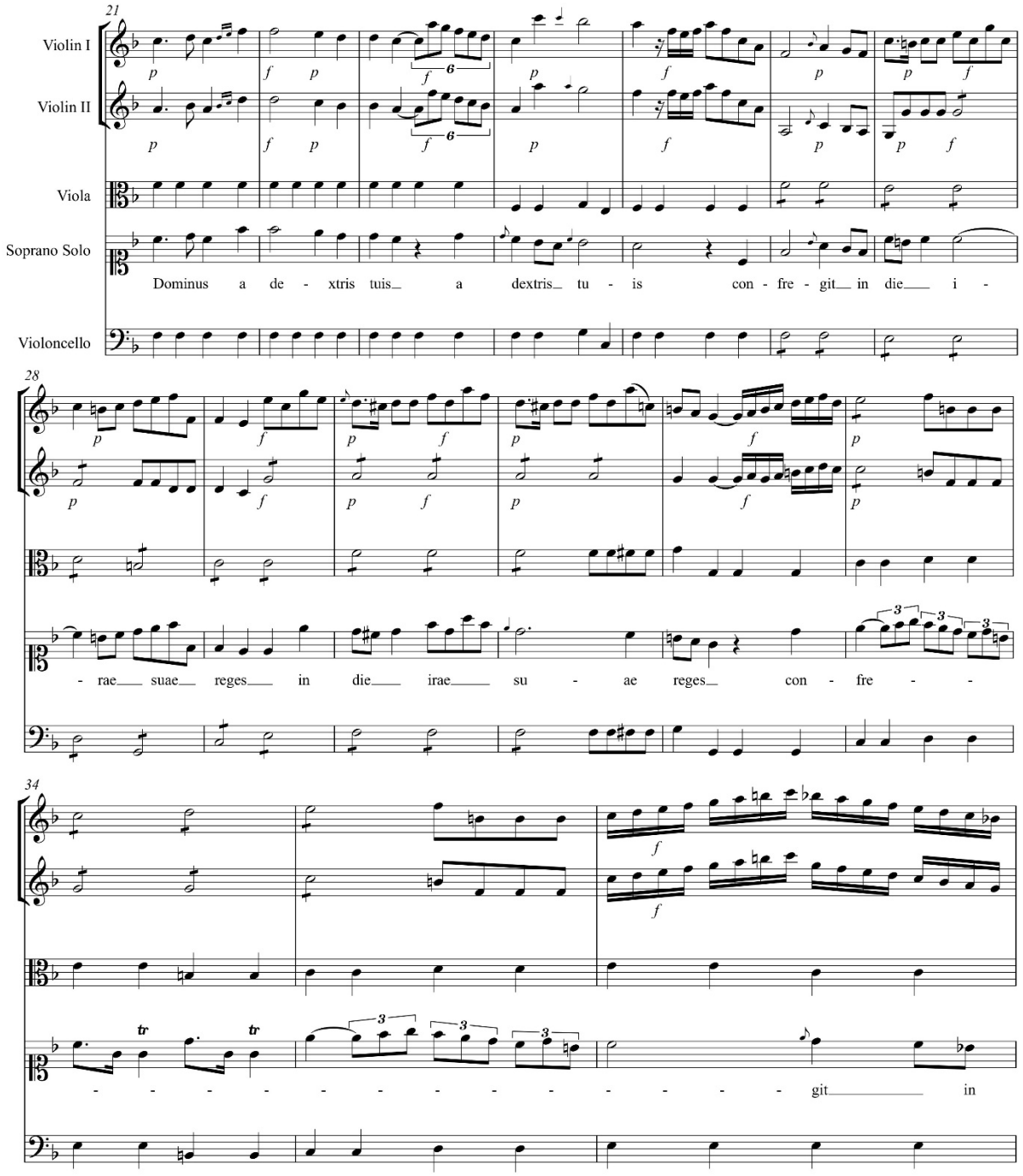
style. Mancini cited a myriad of composers to disprove this argument – one of them Giuseppe Bonno. While Mancini's list only includes those commonly known, 'famous men' of music, he goes out of his way to add a lengthy footnote on Martines, evidently feeling that his list of composers who excel in writing for voice would be incomplete without at least some mention of her.
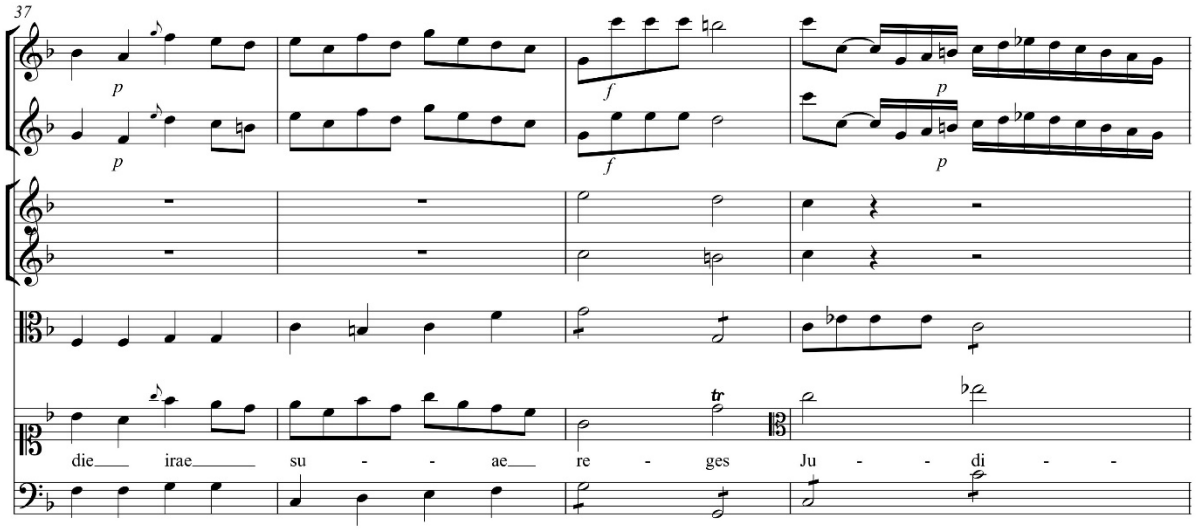
Towards the end of his note on Martines, Mancini mentions her admission to the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*. This is generally considered to be Martines's most ground-breaking achievement, as she was the first woman to be accepted into this learned society. With the support of Padre Martini, who was among the highest-ranking members of the *Accademia* for a while, Martines was admitted. Martini put the question of her admission on the agenda for the *Accademia's* meeting on 27 May 1773 and it was passed unanimously. To demonstrate her abilities as a composer, Martini presented one of her compositions. Godt speculates that it was likely her Italian Psalm *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus* for choir, soloists and orchestra.[187] After her admission, Martines set Psalm 109 to music, *Dixit Dominus*, as the *Accademia's* rules dictated. Godt posits that this composition 'must surely stand as her masterpiece.'[188]

Martines's *Dixit Dominus* resonates with gravitas. The solo vocal parts are distinct from many of her surviving concert arias, because, while there are still lengthy coloratura sections, vocalists can display their sparkling abilities with more than singing a lot of fast notes. Martines toys with vocal limits and pushes the singers' abilities, including large leaps in vocal lines, playing with vocal registers, and requiring both technical and musical mastery from the performers. The soprano solo in 'Dominus a dextris tuis: confregit in die irae suae reges' (Example 11) includes successive octave jumps in opposite directions (bb. 28f), traversing

[187] Godt 2010, p. 137.
[188] Godt 2010, p. 141.

from e^1 to a^2 with rapid speed (bb. 29f) before interspersing a succession of ever-increasing intervals with ornamental trills (bb. 34f).





Example 11: Martines, Dixit Dominus, *Dominus a dextris tuis: confregit in die irae, bb. 21-40.*[189]

I.ii Historiography and Scholarship

Outline

When investigating a composer like Marianna Martines, one must inevitably question why someone who was very highly regarded during their time and celebrated for their compositions and artistic engagements was almost completely written out of music history, until very recently. Naturally, part of this is the way music history has been written, delineated by idolised individuals whose works are celebrated akin to divine creation. To remedy this skewed perspective, it is worth saying a few words about the process of analysis.[190] Another approach to answering this question is to trace encyclopaedic writings and scholarship across the centuries, since Martines's time. This section will discuss existing sources surrounding Martines. To begin, I will give an account of modern-day academic scholarship on Martines. This is not an exhaustive list of all mentions of her, but rather focusses on the most in-depth and influential publications that have informed and shaped our understanding of Martines's life and music today. A detailed (albeit incomplete) list of notable mentions of her until 1990 can

[189] Transcribed from SBB, Mus.ms.autogr. Martines, M. 1 M.
[190] See below.

be found in Stevenson's article about Martines.[191] This section also notes but does not go into detail on the increasing number of artistic-scholarly writings, such as DMA theses, that chose Martines as a focus.

Further, I will engage with non-academic publications relevant to Martines study. Among these are books written in a non-academic, quasi 'popular culture' style, along with prefaces of music editions, CD booklets, concert announcements, concert reviews, and programme notes. These publications are vital in building an understanding of Martines's present-day reception, particularly outside the Academy. These texts make up the most widely disseminated sources of information on Martines for those with an interest in the composer (which is a relatively small group). The vast majority will do their 'research' by reading programme notes, which are often based on prefaces to musical scores that musicians blindly trust to be well-researched and true.[192] The various pieces of misinformation and misrepresentation sometimes found in these writings, partially based on mistakes found in academic publications but some entirely fabricated, inform modern-day narratives surrounding Martines. To understand the shaping of contemporary general perception of Martines, it will be necessary to wade through these murky waters.

A very influential element of 'Martines reception' is Caroline Pichler's mention of the composer in her *Denkwürdigkeiten.*[193] This portrayal shaped later scholarship, commencing about 50 years after Pichler published her books. In the second half of this section, I will turn my attention to the original sources of the 18th and 19th centuries. Some historic accounts have already informed modern-day scholarship, such as Martines's letters and journal entries by

[191] Robert Stevenson (ed.). 1990. 'Marianna Martines. Pupil of Haydn and Friend of Mozart' n: *Inter-American Music Review* Vol. 11 No. 1., pp. 25-38.
[192] In combining scholarship and performance, I seek to bridge this gap, joining an ever-growing number of researchers who are also high-level performers.
[193] Caroline Pichler. 1844. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben, 1769 bis 1798* Vol. 1. Vienna: A. Pichler's sel. Witwe; and Caroline Pichler. 1844. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben, 1798 bis 1813* Vol. 2. Vienna: A. Pichler's sel. Witwe.

Metastasio, Burney, Kelly, and others. However, it will be useful to study these sources once again, to re-contextualise and reinterpret them. Additionally, there are mentions of Martines, which have been mostly or completely ignored in scholarship thus far – and that paint a more nuanced picture of Martines and her family(-centred) life.[194] Historic sources are roughly divided into accounts and mentions of her during her life, and early 19th-century engagement with Martines after she passed away. The latter present conflicting accounts that both discredit the composer – for example, Pichler's *Denkwürdigkeiten* – while also suggesting a keen interest in Martines's music from notable encyclopaedists, music scholars, and collectors of the time, particularly during the first half of the 19th century.

Both categories – historic and modern-day sources – include musical scores by Martines. These scores consist mainly of manuscripts (autographs and copies), as well as a few printed publications. Only one printed edition was released during Martines's life: Haffner's *Raccolta*[195] includes two of her keyboard sonatas. The same two sonatas were later reprinted by Ernst Pauer in the 1870s and 80s as part of his *Alte Meister* series.[196] Present-day publications of Martines's music are mainly – and unfortunately – interesting for two reasons: the sometimes wild fabulations found in their prefaces; and the plethora of musical typographical errors they hold. Although, from a performer's perspective, one must be grateful that there exist modern and easily-readable (typeset) editions, the apparent lack of investment in their creation speaks volumes about the value placed on Martines's music, compared to some of her male contemporaries (who have had multiple meticulously-researched, critical editions of their complete works published).

[194] See above, sub-chapter on Joseph Martines.
[195] Johann Ulrich Haffner (ed.). 1760-62. *Raccolta Musicale Contenente VI Sonate per il Cembalo Solo d'altretanti celebri compositori italiani.* Vol. IV-V. Nürnberg: Haffner.
[196] Ernst Pauer (ed.). 1871-87. *Alte Meister. Sammlung wertvoller Klavierstücke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts.* Vol. I-VI. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Scholarship after 1980

Modern scholarship on Martines has predominantly focused on biographical studies. Fremar[197] was among the first in the 20th century to engage with Martines's biography and select works in depth. Further, there are mentions of Martines in Gordy's 1987 DMA dissertation[198] and Nopp's 1996 publication *Frau und Musik*,[199] as well as short encyclopaedic entries, like in Bertil van Boer's *Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period*.[200] The next major publication about Martines was Godt's monograph.[201] Additional studies are either individual articles or book chapters, summarising previously established details and adding Martines to the ranks of other women composers, comparing and contrasting. A recent example, which presents a more in-depth account, is the chapter on Martines in Cypess's book *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment,*[202] which specifically addresses some of the social constraints put on Martines as a woman composer in 18th-century Vienna. Cypess particularly highlights the collaborative effort between Metastasio and Martines in the set-up of their salon and Martines's musical academies.[203]

Through increased interest and investment in historical women composers during the past few decades, several DMA and Master's dissertations have recently been written that concern themselves more specifically with Martines's music, such as Taff (2022)[204] and Soree (2022)[205]. Martines's keyboard repertoire has not been the centre of attention in many academic

[197] Fremar 1983.
[198] Laura Gordy. 1987. Women creating music 1750-1850: Marianna Martinez, Maria Theresia von Paradis, Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, and Clara Wieck Schumann. Diss. University of Alabama.
[199] Regina Nopp. 1996. *Frau und Musik: Komponistinnen zur Zeit der Wiener Klassik*. Linz: Trauner.
[200] Bertil van Boer. 2012. *Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period*. Lanham, Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, p. 309.
[201] Godt 2010.
[202] Cypess 2022.
[203] Cypess 2022, pp. 169f.
[204] Joseph J. Taff. 2022. The Masses of Marianna von Martines: An Analysis and Appraisal of Martines's Galant Ecclesiastical Style. DMA Diss. University of Cincinnati.
[205] Nadia Bohachewsky Soree. 2022. Playing with Expectations: Marianna Martines (1744-1812). Brilliance, and the Harpsichord Sonata in G. DMA Diss. University of North Texas.

texts; neither has the vast vocal-orchestral repertoire been sufficiently explored. One of the most detailed scholarly analysis-based explorations of Martines's keyboard music is L. Poundie Burstein's 2020 study of Martines's A major keyboard sonata,[206] along with their chapter on the same sonata, titled 'Grace and Genius' in a 2018 publication.[207] Here, Burstein emphasises Martines's command of contemporary compositional practices, which she playfully and skilfully implements in service of musical expressiveness.

Both Godt and Fremar include discussions of some of Martines's keyboard repertoire in their books. Godt tangentially brushes the topic, stating that her keyboard pieces *all* use sonata form and are deeply grounded in *galant* style.[208] They seem to not spark his interest all that much beyond these observations, merely noting:

> […] her reliance – some might say excessive reliance – on sonata form at the expense of other forms that she might have introduced into her instrumental music. In the concertos as well, sonata form predominates; they contain not a single rondo or set of variations. In the finales of two concertos, those in G and A, Martines even directed that the two parts of the binary structure (after the orchestral introduction) be repeated.[209]

In the wake of publications such as those by Burstein,[210] Hepokoski & Darcy,[211] and other more nuanced engagements with either Martines specifically, or to what is broadly referred as 'sonata form,' one may challenge Godt's dismissal of Martines's creativity in her use of formal

[206] L. Poundie Burstein. 2020. *Journeys Through Galant Expositions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 237-242.
[207] L. Poundie Burstein. 2018. 'Marianna Martines, Sonata in A Major, I (1765)' in: Laurel Parsons, Brenda Ravenscroft (eds.). *Analytical Essays on Music by Women Composers: Secular & Sacred Music to 1900*. Oxford University Press, pp. 129-146.
[208] See Godt 2010, pp. 30f and 161f.
[209] Ibid. pp. 163f.
[210] See footnote 207.
[211] James Hepokoski, Warren Darcy. 2006. *Elements of Sonata Theory. Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata.* Oxford University Press.

genres for her keyboard repertoire. The 'Mostly Mozart'[212] and Beethoven-based archetype of *the* sonata form was not yet established when Martines wrote her sonatas and concertos. Her formal structures, harmonic developments and contrasts, and use of thematic material testifies to a highly creative and effective method of composition. As Horton pointed out in their 2011 article on concerto first-movement form (in a discussion surrounding the composer John Field), 'historical assessments are invariably reinforced by the well-worn tactic of justifying marginalization through formal critique,'[213] and 'critique of form is habitually grounded […]in normative models: perceptions of structural inadequacy invoke the authority of an ideal type, which is validated through reference to a benchmark repertory.'[214]

On analysing Martines

Scholarly approaches to Martines's music have treated her keyboard repertoire with the same approach that a lot of early-classical composers received. Pre-Beethoven, and non-Mozart or -Haydn sonatas have most commonly been judged by retrospectively applied formal and compositional standards that are used to evaluate the quality of music. This undertaking is an inherently flawed quest, as it seems to rely on the (one could argue, false) premise that musical taste is quantifiable in music-analytical and theoretical increments. As Huber conceded: 'Neither are we, as contemporary composers, called to create »masterpieces«, nor are we, as analysts, destined to propagate »masters«.'[215] Any composition not written by those who have

[212] William Drabkin. 2007. 'Mostly Mozart. Review. Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata by James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy' in: *The Musical Times* Vol. 148 No 1901, pp. 89-100.
[213] Julian Horton. 2011. John Field and the alternative History of Concerto First-Movement Form. In: *Music & Letters* Vol. 92 No. 1, pp. 43-83; here p. 44.
[214] Ibid. p. 45.
[215] Annegret Huber. 2008. 'Meisterinnenwerke und Meisterwerkanalyse. Überlegungen zum Musikanalysieren in kulturwissenschaftlichen Kontexten' in: Annette Kreutziger-Herr, Katrin Losleben (eds.). *History/Herstory*. Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, pp. 125-139 – '[…] wir sind weder als KomponistInnen unserer Zeit dazu berufen, »Meisterwerke« zu erschaffen, noch als Analysierende dazu, »MeisterInnen« zu propagieren.'

been eulogised as the *triumvirate* of classical music are much more likely to fail these quality assessments: they are found inferior for not measuring up to expectations that had no bearing on the creation of their work and creative processes.

During the 19th century, individuals like Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann sought to create a musical legacy and historical narrative with themselves at the centre. Originating with Bach (who had been all but forgotten by the previous generation), and continuing with Mozart and Beethoven, these 19th-century composers created a fictional – but powerful – narrative of continuous musical legacy that culminated with them and their contemporaries, particularly pertaining to the Germanic tradition.[216] 'This exclusion of women […] is reproduced in nineteenth-century national cultures of memory and is thus reinforced.'[217] National identity is tied to memory culture and thus central to nation building. However, deconstructing the gender imbalance will not suffice to 'anchoring […] female remembrances into cultural memory.'[218] Notable scholars have pointed out that the legacy of 'genius' surrounding composers like Beethoven needs to be viewed critically, as it is socially constructed and accumulated over time. Beethoven's reputation was constructed both by his contemporaries and those that came after him: as DeNora put it, 'greatness emerges out of a kind of temporal conjuring trick.'[219]

The unconvincing legend of 'great heroes' that imagines music progressing in a linear manner from Bach to Beethoven to Brahms, and so on, is a misconception of a musical timeline delineated by monuments. The retrospective elevation of Bach, Beethoven, and others by historians and artists should be understood as a 'mythical fiction,' such that subsequent

[216] See e.g. Russell Stinson. 2020. *Bach's Legacy: The Music as Heard by Later Masters*. University of Oxford Press; Russell Stinson. 2023. *The Afterlife of Bach's Organ Works. Their Reception from the Nineteenth Century to the Present.* Oxford University Press.; R. Larry Todd. 1994. 'On Quotation in Schumann's Music' in: R. Larry Todd (ed.). 1994. *Schumann and his World*. Princeton University Press, pp. 80-112.
[217] Sylvia Schraut, Sylvia Paletschek. 2008. 'Remembrance and Gender: Making Gender Visible and Inscribing Women into Memory Culture' in: Sylvia Paletschek (ed.). *The gender of memory: cultures of remembrance in nineteenth- and twentieth century Europe*, p. 267-287, here p. 267.
[218] Ibid., p. 281.
[219] Tia DeNora. 1995. Beethoven and the Construction of Genius. Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792-1803. University of California Press, p. 5.

developments have 'no chance of asserting' themselves against this powerful narratives, except as a 'history of decline.'[220] While this does not negate the value of 'mainstream' repertoire, it demonstrates that aesthetic authority is the product of historical processes that sustain and renew value systems and definitions of quality. Thus, the narratives of 'genius' men, of which there are many in classical music, exist at the expense of alternative narratives and realities and one must echo Trouillot's question, 'how does a narrative pass as accepted history?'[221]

As a result, the core 'canon' of classical (era) music today only consists of a very small selection of 18th-century compositions that severely lack in diversity, and in many ways misrepresent past musical realities.[222] This extremely narrow perception of classical era music leads to what one may generously call 'entertaining' incidents, such as an advertisement reel for a concert of the 2024 Mozart Festival Salzburg. In this, a pianist announces a concert, promising the audience '*rarities*' of the 'Viennese Classic' – all of which turn out to be pieces by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.[223] Stepping outside the established canon and foregoing the pieces that have received music history's seal of approval as 'good music,' is still seen as a risk in the world of classical music performance; at best, it is a fringe interest that aims to appease political correctness. Popular opinion still relies on standards created by highly selective music historiography. This has in turn been shaped by centuries of androcentric and Euro-centric narratives, which suggest that musical genius is unattainable to those not 'blessed by nature' with these rare artistic gifts.[224] Appeasing our post-Beethoven taste is difficult since, for the

[220] Martin Zenck. 1997. 'Bach reception: some concepts and parameters' in: John Butt (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 218-225, here p. 221.
[221] Trouillot 1995, 2015, p. 6.
[222] See Donne UK. *Equality & Diversity in Global Repertoire, Orchestra Season 2023-2024*, https://donne-uk.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/DonneReport2024.pdf (accessed 2025-01-18).
[223] https://www.instagram.com/reel/C11qvFSIiBx/?igsh=amgzN25jNWlubWxj (accessed 2024-01-10), and https://mozarteum.at/static/b10f7145c3e22f7d2d01ba81f65c4fca/MOWO24_EP_29_Kromer_WEB.pdf (accessed 2024-05-10).
[224] Treydte points out that reviews on men in music are commonly talked about as having their artistic work resulting from an inherent, almost spiritual need, whereas women are likened to diligent worker bees.
See Elisabeth Treydte. 2017. 'Vom Wissen über Komponist*innen: Geschlchterverhältnisse in der «Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik»' in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1991-), Vol. 178 No. 1. Mainz: Schott Music, pp. 17-19.

most part, listeners, especially those who consider themselves educated in matters of classical music, are unaware of their tastes having been so intrinsically shaped for them. This explains why scholars, such as Fremar, suggested that Martines was faced with a stylistic 'problem.'[225]

It may be helpful to revisit Hepokoski and Darcy's approach to sonata analysis – so long as one keeps in mind their own selection bias, which is not representative of the actual musical landscape in 18th-century Europe. Their method centres on the experiences and expectations of contemporary listeners and composers. Looking at a composer like Martines, we must keep in mind the listeners and audience members for whom her music was intended, and to whom she may have sought to appeal.[226]

This method of sonata-form analysis strives to interpret the 'dialogue of [individual pieces] with the background set of norms'[227] established by the canon of pre-existing sonatas. Such a frame of reference will be vastly different when analysing early-classical sonatas, compared to Beethoven and early-Romantic composers. Hepokoski and Darcy's approach renders the process of writing a sonata-form movement a 'feat of engineering.'[228] By understanding the 'backdrop of normative procedures'[229] utilised in other works or by different composers, Hepokoski and Darcy hope to understand the series of decisions – more or less conscious, as these norms were probably internalised by most educated musicians of the time – made by the composer. Generally speaking, sonata form likely developed as a 'response to aspects of the world view of the Enlightenment'[230] and its ideals of discipline and balance.

[225] Fremar 1983, p. 45:'The lack of an integrated style between 1755 and 1775 presented an unstable environment for Martines to begin sonata writing. Because of the problem of style that faced composers of the early eighteenth century, they were reduced to cultivating a highly individual manner. This period of experimentation was stimulating to minor composers such as Marianna Martines.'
[226] For a galant approach to this question, see Chapter IV.
[227] Hepokoski, Darcy 2006, p. 11.
[228] Ibid., p. 15.
[229] Ibid., p. 9.
[230] Ibid., p. 15.

Where composers opted to forgo any seemingly normative options available to navigate different areas within the sonata structure, Hepokoski and Darcy speak of *deformations*. This term, not tainted by any negative connotations in this context, refers to any 'non-normative realisation of a musical action-space [… or] ad hoc moments'[231] that the composer may have opted for. They are generally perceived as aesthetically pleasing, in the sense that they are unexpected and rouse the listener's interest. Analysing occurrences of *deformations* and their importance to the lister, strengthens Hepokoski and Darcy's argument in favour of a 'dialogical' approach to analysis, situating individual compositions within a set of implied norms. Recreating or re-conceiving these norms of 18th-century composition is another vital part to their method. In a holistic analytic approach, *beyond* what Hepokoski and Darcy describe, it is arguably not only compositional norms that need to be considered in a dialogical approach, but also performance settings and social norms.[232] The idea that 'musical performance [consists of] no other social function than playing and listening to music, is a modern one'[233] – blurred lines between compositional procedures and social settings are particularly well exemplified by galant schemata.[234]
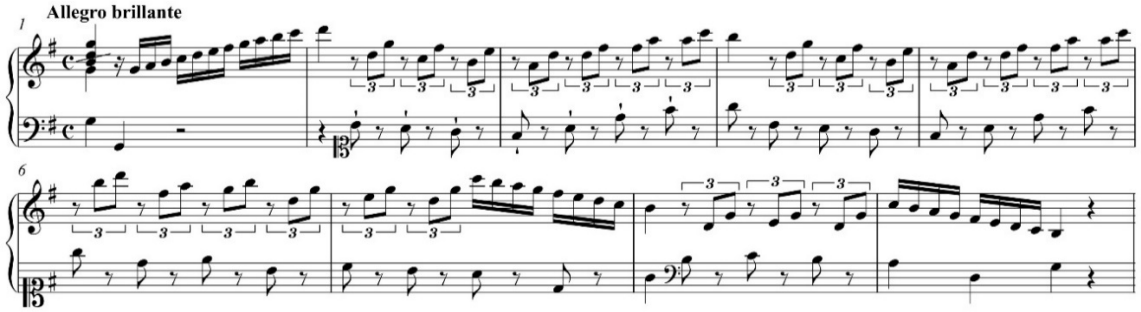
In recent decades, some scholars started to unravel narratives of failure concerning women composers. It is not useful to assume that women composers and others who were written out of music history were forever consciously striving to reach the unattainable standards of those now considered 'genius.' When someone like Martines wrote a piece of music, we must assume that she wrote what she wanted to write. Otherwise, why would she have written it? Hubert expressed this sentiment very fittingly, stating that 'women have composed [music] at all times – and they did so exactly the way they wanted, and not because they could not do any better.'[235]

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[231] Ibid., p. 11.
[232] See Chapter IV.ii.
[233] Christopher Small. 1998. *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening*. University Press of New England, p. 21.
[234] See Chapter IV.
[235] Huber 2008.

Yet, the classical music world – encompassing both academia and the concert stage – still has a long way to go before fully grasping this seemingly simple truth; which is partly owed to our modern-day dismissal of anyone who has not been 'approved as genius' by aesthetic authorities,[236] which has been centuries in the making.

One enticing aspect of Martines's music is the contrast between adhering to a limited selection of formal genres, while creating complex variety within seemingly rigid structures. She appears to have found great creativity within constraint.[237] A sense of freedom radiates from Martines's strict adherence to the formal 'confines' of the sonata while simultaneously imbuing the music with a sense of playful liberty. This sense of freedom, I argue, is one of the defining characteristics of her music. Both Fremar[238] and Godt[239] briefly discuss this piece in their respective writings.[240] While Fremar lays out the use of formal structures in the individual movements, Godt discusses the occurrence of galant schemata. However, one aspect overlooked by both is the playful nature of Martines's treatment of form.



Example 12: Martines, Sonata G major, I. mvt. bb. 1-9.
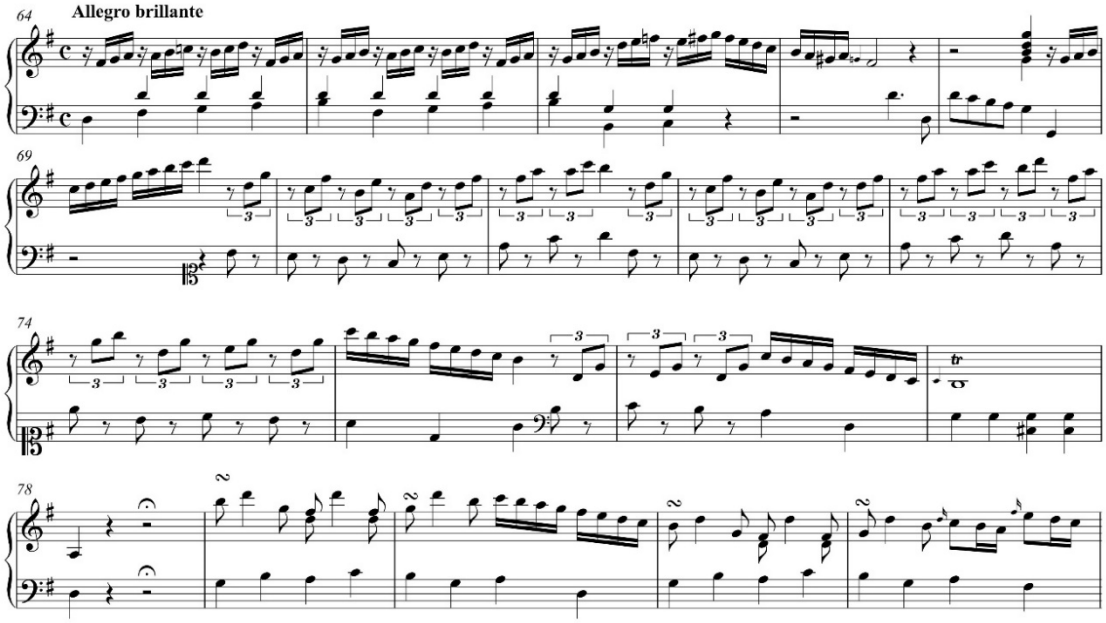
[236] Valerie Solanas, in a satirically exaggerated manner, rather aptly describes this quandary, stating: 'We know that "Great Art" is great because male authorities have told us so, and we can't claim otherwise, as only those with exquisite sensitivities far superior to ours can perceive and appreciate the greatness, the proof of their superior sensitivity being that they appreciate the slop that they appreciate.' (in: Valerie Solanas. 1967, 1971. *The S.C.U.M. Manifesto*. London: Olympia Press, p. 28.)

[237] For discussions of creativity in and development of constraint in music, see e.g. Julian Anderson, Christopher Dingle. 2020. *Dialogues on Listening, Composing and Culture*. Woodbridge: Boydell; Sophia R. Cohen. 1985. 'The Development of Constraints on Symbol-Meaning Structure in Notation: Evidence from Production, Interpretation, and Force-Choice Judgments' in: *Child Development* Vol. 56 No. 1, pp. 177-195; Rolf Inge Godøy. 2014. 'Ecological Constraints of Timescales, Production, and Perception in Temporal Experiences of Music' in: *Empirical Musicology Review* Vol. 9 No. 3/4, pp. 224-229.

[238] Fremar 1983, pp. 63f.

[239] Godt 2010, pp. 56f.

[240] A new critical edition, edited by the author of this thesis, is currently being prepared for print by Edition Bärenreiter.



Example 13: Martines, Sonata G major, I. mvt. bb. 64-82.
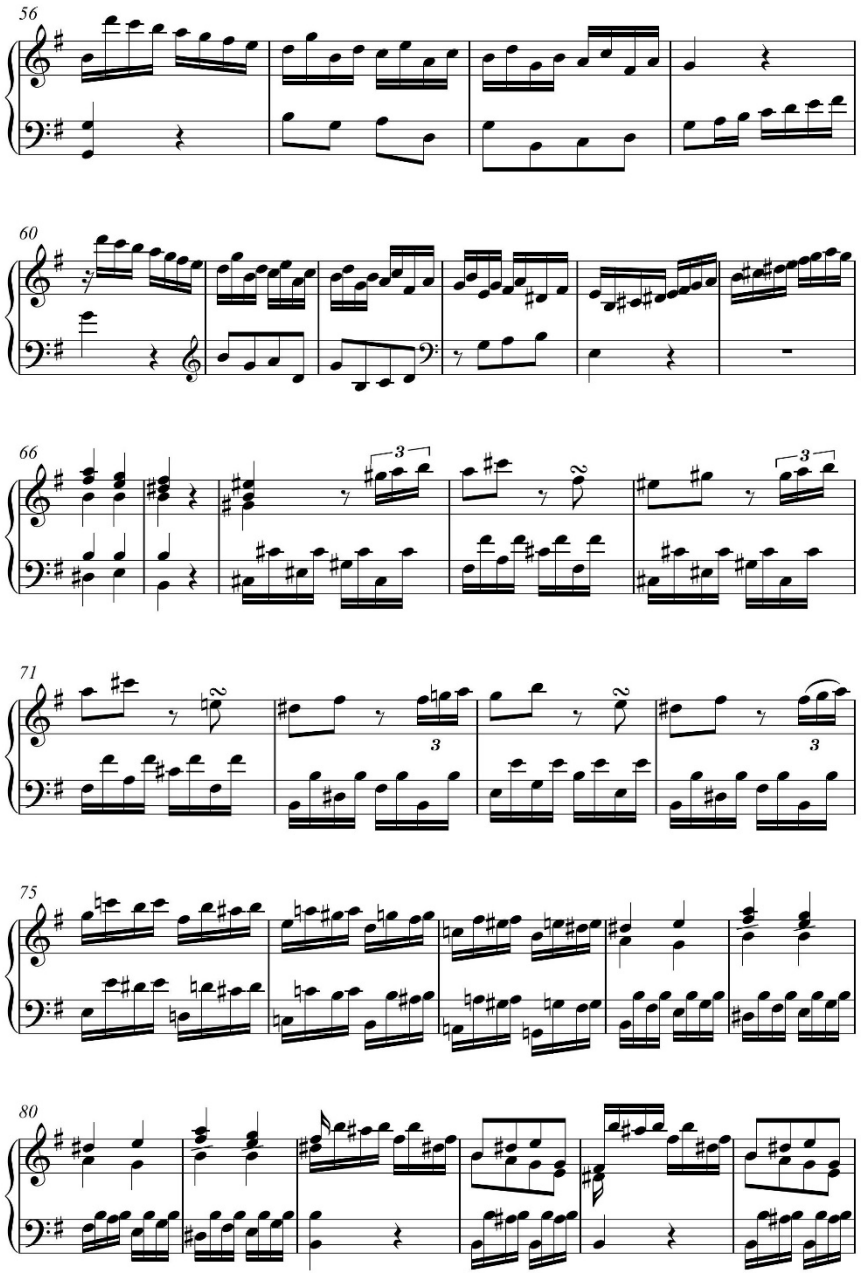
The recapitulation in the first movement of Martines's G major sonata subverts expectations by skipping over the thematically significant transition between the first and second theme introduced in the exposition. The modulating transition (bb. 10f) that connects the first theme in G major to the second theme in D major (starting in b. 23), with its *sostenuto*-like sound due to repeated crotchet chords in the left hand, is not repeated in the recapitulation. Instead, the first theme is extended from a nine-bar phrase in the exposition (see Example 12) to an 11-bar phrase in the recapitulation (see Example 13). These odd phrase-lengths are the result of the first theme consisting of a scale-based opening gesture – a *volata*[241] – followed by an 8-bar phrase, structured as a *sentence* (bb. 2-9).[242] The recapitulation shifts these around by starting the scale gesture on beat three (b. 68) rather than on the downbeat, altering and extending the final bars of the sentence and ending on a cadence in D major. After a rest with *fermata*, full of suspense, any expectation of hearing another rendition of the transitional material comes crashing down when the second theme commences, seemingly without any preparation or

[241] See Chapter IV.i.
[242] William E. Caplin. 1998. Classical Form. A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. New York, p. 10.

warning. The D major cadence explains itself retrospectively as a preparation for the second theme, now in G major (bb. 79f).

A similar and even heightened level of structural suspense and surprise happens in the third movement, again related to the recapitulation. Here, the lines between development and recapitulation are blurred. The illusion of a 'common' (from a modern perspective) development only lasts for four bars (bb. 52-55). With b. 56, the opening theme of the exposition is repeated (see Example 14), essentially ringing in the recapitulation. However, the movement proceeds to modulate wildly – a characteristic not commonly associated with the recapitulation. As a result, the role of the restatement of theme I in b. 56 remains uncertain for long stretches: is it indeed the start of the recapitulation, since the theme will not be restated later-on, or is it a twist on a false recapitulation, where the theme does appear in the right key but does not actually kick off the new formal segment?

The striking uncertainty with which the rendition of the theme in b. 56 is processed by the listener is facilitated by a sudden, entirely unexpected und unprepared shift to F-sharp major, via C-sharp major. Theme I in the recapitulation is extended by one bar (b. 63), a pre-cadential extension, and modulates to B major (bb. 64-67). From there, after another suspense-laden rest (similar to b. 78 in the first movement, though this time without a *fermata*) the harmony oscillates between C-sharp major (double dominant to B major), and F-sharp major (bb. 68-71). This is followed by a slow harmonic descent. Once again, a back-and-forth between adjacent fifths creates developmental character within the quasi-recapitulation, this time fluctuating between B major and E major. This dual-key area is sustained a little longer, until finally, in b. 95 the movement modulates back to D major, preparing for the final culmination back to the tonic key of G major.



Example 14: Martines, Sonata G major, III. mvt., bb. 56-85.

The G major sonata makes effective use of suspense-laden rests, playing with and subsequently subverting the listener's anticipations. The unexpected 'deformations' in Martines's music rely on tension-filled rests and unexpected modulations that seemingly undermine formal expectations of sonata form. Both are highly effective methods of grasping listeners' attention. It is one of many indicators that Martines deliberately wrote this music with the intent to perform, directed at a specific type of audience.

Martines's listener-oriented compositions target the curious ears of 18th-century musically educated audiences with more than 'just' galant schemata,[243] and present her in the dual role of composer-performer in a sovereign manner. The shock value of radical harmonic shifts without soothingly smooth modulations, as seen in the third movement of the G major sonata, suggests how Martines saw herself in her socio-musical persona. There is a perceived ease that radiates from the music when she demonstrates perfect mastery of the genre and formal requirements of the sonata, while cheekily taking liberties within these structural confines. The apparent simplicity contained in the score competes with the testing of formal boundaries. This sense of effortlessness should not be seen as plainness or naivety. Rather, like Martines's mentor Metastasio, the inherent ease of her music is the result of following the artistic ideals of *sprezzatura*.[244]

German-language scholarship[245]

Among German-language publications, there are several that contain encyclopaedic entries or short chapters on Martines. Marx and Haas's 2001 encyclopaedia *210 österreichische Komponistinnen* ('210 Austrian women composers') gives a very well-researched and concise summary of Martines's biography and an overview of her compositional output.[246] Having been published prior to Godt's monograph, it is interesting to note that the list of works they include in their entry on Martines contains two compositions that Godt does not cite. They are listed under *Lied mit Instrumentalbegleitung* ('songs with instrumental accompaniment'),

[243] See Chapter IV.i.
[244] See D'Angelo, Marchetti 2018.
[245] This section on German-language scholarship shall draw attention to publications that have not received sufficient attention in global (i.e. English-language) musicological discourses, which lead to a lack of of insights – as exemplified below.
[246] Eva Marx, Gerlinde Haas. 2001. *210 Österreichische Komponistinnen vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Biographie, Werk und Bibliographie*. Vienna: Residenz, pp. 259-264.

though the compositions are definitely not songs, but arias. The two not listed by Godt are 'Dell'amore i bei? (dei) momenti'[sic] (held by the Library of the Giuseppe Verdi Conservatory); and 'Tu vittime non vuoi' (sourced as a manuscript in Berlin).[247] The entire entry is very precise in its referencing, openly addressing where there is a lack of source material to corroborate circulating rumours, and steers clear of unfounded speculations. Two works included by neither Godt nor Marx and Haas are the aria *Sceglier fra mille un core*, as well as the cantata *La Primavera*. The latter is an interesting case, as it appears to be missing. Communicating with SBB, one of the archivists informed me that upon my request for a study scan, they discovered that the manuscript was not where it was supposed to be; they since updated the RISM entry.[248]

An entirely different example is presented in a 2018 publication by Beate Korntner.[249] Though the book is – as the title states – mainly about Maria Theresia Paradis, Korntner includes a chapter on Martines. While the format of the text, containing a plethora of references, is suggestive of academic style, the text itself is a little disappointing. Speculations are presented as fact – they often seem to be unquestioningly copied from other, earlier sources – and historical accounts are not sufficiently contextualised. One such instance is the reception of the disparaging account given by Caroline Pichler regarding Martines as a composer, and women composers in general: Pichler states that she only ever knew two women composers, Martines being one of them, and none had ever written anything of particular value.[250] These remarks can be found in the first volume Pichler's autobiographical writings, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Lebens* ('Memorabilia from my life').[251] Marx and Haas simply observe that Caroline

[247] Ibid., p. 264.
[248] See: https://rism.online/sources/464122426 (accessed 2025-03-28).
[249] Beate Korntner. 2018. *Frauen als Komponistinnen im Umfeld Mozarts mit einem besonderen Augenmerk auf Maria Theresia Paradis.* Munich: AVM.
[250] Pichler 1844 Vol. 1, pp. 96f and 217f.
[251] See below – subchapter on Pichler.

Pichler's 'laconic remarks'[252] have been quoted every now and again and are seen critically today. On the other hand, Korntner goes on to speculate how 'strange' it is that Pichler – a woman herself – would talk about Martines so disparagingly:

> Warum gerade eine Frau als einzige negative über Martines Können schreibt, ist nicht bekannt. Möglicherweise könnte es sich dabei um Neid oder Missgunst handeln, da Fräulein Pichler selbst als Musikerin tätig war, allerdings viel weniger Erfolg als ihre Kolleginnen hatte.
>
> It is not possible to tell why precisely another woman would be the only one to write negatively about Martines's skills. It might possibly be a case of envy or resentment, since Miss Pichler had applied herself as a musician, but had had much less success than her colleagues.[253]

The assumption that Pichler may have been jealous of Martines's success does not seem implausible, given the vitriolic nature of Pichler's comments. Pichler seemed not lacking in self-confidence, judging by the way she immortalised her own persona in her *Denkwürdigkeiten*, often pointing out that she herself was a 'willkommene Erscheinung' ('a welcome guest')[254] at social gatherings, and had made connections to the high aristocracy and gained their complete trust.[255] On the other hand, Pichler's comments about her contemporaries may also stem from a certain competitive spirit. Schmid-Bortenschlager notes approvingly that Pichler lacked the insecurities otherwise so common among women writers of the time, describing her as:

[252] Marx, Haas 2001, p. 263.
[253] Korntner 2018, p. 39.
[254] Caroline Pichler, Emil Karl Blümml (ed.). 1914. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben. Mit einer Einleitung und zahlreichen Anmerkungen nach dem Erstdruck und der Urschrift neu herausgegeben*. Munich: Georg Müller., p. 127.
[255] Ibid., pp. 125f.

> […] a woman who, without inferiority complexes, critically questions authority, who takes a stand, and who counts herself among the ranks of Gibbon and Chateaubriand – a self-confidence that we will miss for a long time among subsequent women writers.[256]

The first part of Korntner's musings,[257] wondering why Pichler *as a woman herself* would attack Martines, seems not particularly well substantiated. There is nothing surprising or unusual – neither back then nor today – about 'gerade eine Frau' ('especially a woman') speaking ill of other women. There neither was nor can there be an assumption of guaranteed advocacy and 'sisterhood' solely because someone is *also a woman*. This is a prescription of *programmatic womanhood* – precisely meaning the assumption that women must feel naturally called to support other women, making it their personal 'programme.' This is not a useful method of discernment. Riley put it thus: '"women" is both synchronically and diachronically erratic as a collectivity.'[258] Unfortunately, it is a common error of a type of feminist scholarship that is rather lacking in nuance. One does not need to search very deeply into Pichler's writings to know that she was a highly critical, even conservative person.[259]

Non-academic publications

An example of non-academic publications is Schwab's book *Aussergewöhnliche Komponistinnen. Weibliches Komponieren im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*[260] ('Extraordinary

[256] Sigrid Schmid-Bortenschlager. 2009. *Österreichische Schriftstellerinnen 1800-2000. Eine Literaturgeschichte*. Darmstadt: WBG, p. 30. '[…] eine Frau, die ohne Minderwertigkeitskomplexe Autorität kritisch hinterfragt, eigene Positionen bezieht und die sich selbst in eine Reihe mit Gibbon und Chateaubriand stellt - ein Selbstbewusstsein, das wir bei Schriftstellerinnen nach ihr lange vermissen werden.'
[257] See footnote 253.
[258] Denise Riley. 1997. 'Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History' in: Sandra Kemp, Judith Squires (eds.). *Feminism*. Oxford University Press, p. 241-246, here p. 242.
[259] See below.
[260] Andrea Schwab. 2019. *Aussergewöhnliche Komponistinnen. Weibliches Komponieren im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert. Von Maria Theresia Paradis über Josepha Barbara Auernhammer bis Julie von Baroni-Cavalcabò.* Wien: Hollitzer.

women composers. Feminine Composing in the 18th and 19th century'). The title itself is already a little suspicious. From a 21st-century perspective, any inquiries that seem to assume there is such a thing as an inherently *feminine way* of composing, should be approached with caution. Whether Schwab actually believes there is a 'feminine' approach to composition, or if the title is simply an unfortunate decision made by the publisher, is unclear. The sections on Martines are highly speculative, and make several entirely unsubstantiated claims, including the suggestion that Metastasio had been the one who actively prevented Martines from participating in public musical life in Vienna. Further, Schwab is among those who perpetuate the narrative that Haydn 'was allowed' to live in an attic room of the 'Martines' house,' in exchange for his keyboard lessons with Marianna Martines.[261] Neither of these is true, of course. If anything, Metastasio encouraged Martines to seek out musical accolades, while maintaining her *publicly private* persona – which would have been important to him as Martines's unimpeachable reputation made her life as a single woman in Vienna somewhat easier.[262] That the *Michaelerhaus* next to St. Michael's church did not belong to the Martines family, and that they therefore could not have 'let' Haydn live in one of the attic rooms, is well documented through patents of ownership in the Vienna city archives. Nopp reports that the *Michaelerhaus* belonged to the religious order of the Barnabites, who were responsible for the St Michael's church. Apparently a *Servitut* ('easement') of the court was placed upon the house, similar to other tenements ('Zinshäuser') in the inner city, which meant that the first and second floor needed to be made available to the state upon demand. There was high demand for guest apartments in the inner city and supply was severely lacking – even in the imperial palace there were not nearly enough guest rooms. This is how the Dowager Princess Maria

[261] Ibid., p. 32.
[262] See Chapter II.

Octavia Esterházy came to reside in the *bel étage* of the *Michaelerhaus*, from 1745 until her death in 1762.[263]

Another instance of misinformation in non-academic publications is a concert announcement, in early 2023, by the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic. The orchestra performed Mozart's Requiem, and in the first half of the concert they played Haydn 49th Symphony and a cantata by Martines (*Orgoglioso fiumicello* for 'mezzo-soprano' and orchestra). On their website[264] they briefly introduced Martines by writing:

> The inspirational Corinna Niemeyer conducts an all-star line-up of singers, and rediscovers emotionally-charged 18th-century masterpieces by two of Mozart's greatest friends: Joseph Haydn, and the brilliant, unfairly neglected composer Marianna Martines, whose family even helped out a young Haydn by letting him lodge in their attic!

One may decide for oneself whether Haydn should indeed be called one of 'Mozart's greatest friends.' The Martines and Mozart families knew each other, and according to Michael Kelly, Wolfgang and Marianna even performed together – he reported:

> Mozart was an almost constant attendant at her parties, and I have heard him play duets on the piano-forte with her, of his own composition. She was a great favourite of his.[265]

Still, one may wish to be careful in labelling them 18th-century 'besties.' The last line of the quote reiterates the common misconception of Haydn's living arrangements in the

[263] Nopp 1995, pp. 20f.
[264] https://www.liverpoolphil.com/whats-on/classical-music/mozarts-requiem/4296 (accessed 2023-02-28)
[265] Kelly after Godt 2010, p. 197.

Michaelerhaus. In addition to the lack of evidence that the Martines family owned the *Michaelerhaus*, Fremar reports that Haydn received a loan of 150 florins from Anton Buchholtz in order to be able to move into the *Michaelerhaus* after he had left the choir of the *Stephansdom*.[266] Attic rooms, as 18th-century author Johann Pezzl wrote, were simply the cheapest rooms to rent in a building in Vienna – mostly because of all the stairs you needed to climb multiple times per day, which people happily paid to avoid.[267]

A review of the concert mentioned above reads:

> You can only imagine, enviously, the Martines soirees where Mozart arrived, not with wine or chocolates, but a new four-hand sonata to try out at the piano. While Haydn and Mozart might have been granted musical immortality, Martines was really only well-known during her lifetime, her prolific output including masses, oratorios and songs for solo voice.[268]
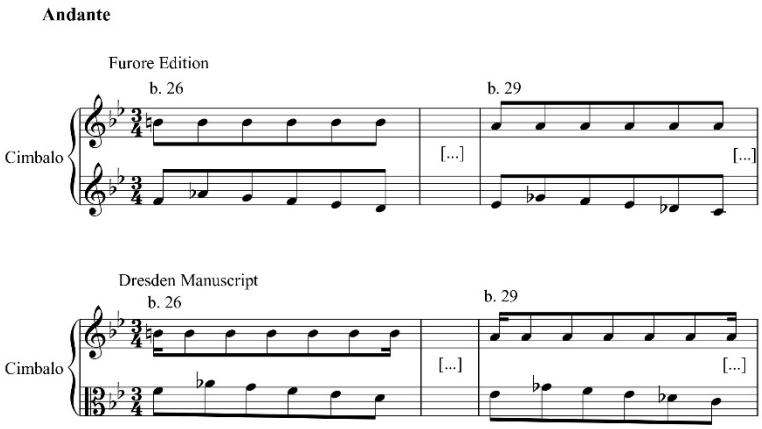
Again, Kelly's memoires are referenced.[269] A further misrepresentation occurs which is the idea that Martines immediately lost all significance after she passed away. In reality, a deep-dive into historical sources reveals that she remained on the 'musical radar' of scholars and music collectors for a while after her death. [270] Nearly all major encyclopaedias of either music or Austrian personalities compiled during the 19th century included Martines. Only towards the end of the century did these start to include harsh remarks about Martines that had been made long after she died, though they likely gained traction and added to the already somewhat anti-women attitude of much of the 19th-century art world.

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[266] Fremar 1983, p. 6.
[267] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol 2, p. 275.
[268] https://www.artscityliverpool.com/single-post/review-mozart-s-requiem-at-philharmonic-hall-1-2 (accessed 2023-07-17)
[269] See footnote 265.
[270] See below.

Modern music editions

Following this trend of imprecision, (almost) all modern editions of Martines's music are ripe with typographical errors, pointing towards an undervaluing of her music and a lack of resources expended for the processing of her works. For instance, the Furore edition of the G major sonata includes two major mistakes in the second movement. Bars 26 and 29 are written as synchronously running quavers, while the manuscript[271] clearly depicts them as syncopated (see Example 15).



Example 15: Martines, Sonata G major, II. mvt., bb. 26 & 29.

Another surprisingly common mistake is the numbering of Martines's sonatas. Rieger and Walter make this mistake in their 1985 collection of 22 piano pieces by women composers, including the first movement of Martines's A major sonata, referring to it as 'Sonate No. 3, 1. Satz'.[272] Since both these sonatas were 'No. III' in their respective volumes of Haffner's *Raccolta musicale*, the likely source of the 1985 publication, by that logic both the A major and the E major sonatas would each be 'Sonata No. 3.'

[271] See https://opac.rism.info/search?id=1001082545&View=rism (accessed 2023-07-17)
[272] Eva Rieger, Käte Walter (ed.). 1985. *Frauen komponieren. 22 Klavierstücke des 18.-20. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz: Schott, pp. 15-17.

Edition Donna published a copy of the E and A major sonatas in 1989.[273] Unlike other editions,[274] they stay quite true to the text printed by Haffner and refrain from filling out chords to add harmonies or adding many embellishments, save for a few upper mordents and other small ornaments. However, they label one of the movements, the slow second movement of the sonata in A major, a 'Rondo', thus revealing Ernst Pauer's *Alte Meister* as one of their sources. Still, they did not copy the abundantly added ornaments that Pauer included (albeit in a smaller typeset). This 'Rondo–Adagio' is only an 'Adagio' in the Haffner print, and the formal composition of the movement does not lend itself to the label, 'Rondo' – at least not beyond the base-line similarities of repeated thematic material of sonata forms that bare remote resemblances to something that may be deemed a 'Rondo.'

The Furore Edition of the keyboard concerto in A major is especially creative with some of their mistakes. They printed the performance markings 'Subito Solo' above the first entrance of the keyboard soloist in the first movement.[275] There is, of course, a sense of immediacy in the entrance of the soloist in any instrumental concerto, especially if the soloist's entrance creates a stark contrast to the thickly layered orchestra ritornello. Still, this concerto does not go beyond the implied 'subito effect' of a concerto solo section. Taking a glance at the manuscript, currently at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien*, confirms that the (most likely[276]) scribe actually called for 'volti subito [in order to get to the] Solo'. Further mistakes include many typographical errors, inaccurate articulations and embellishments, and also a more severe, structural mistake where bars are skipped over and replaced with other music.

[273] Traud Kloft (ed.). 1989. *Die Cembalo Musik der Maria Anna Martinez 1744-1812. Sonate E-Dur. Sonate A-Dur.* Düsseldorf: Edition Donna.
[274] The Hildegard edition, edited by Shirley Bean, published in 1994, for instance, is very heavily edited with dynamic markings, slurs, agogic instructions, ornamentations, fingering, and even rhythmical changes to make the music 'fit' into the bar structure, according to modern engraving rules.
[275]Rosario Marciano (ed.). 1990. *Marianna Martines Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A-Dur*. Kassel: Furore, p. 6.
[276] According to Godt 2010, p. 263, the concerto in G major, found in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, is an autograph. The manuscript of the concerto in A major appears to be in a different hand and would therefore have to be a copyist's work.

Some of these might seem minor to the reader not accustomed to the classical music performance world. However, they may wish to consider that with other, 'canon' composers, every minute slur and scribble is scrutinised and interpreted and considered to be 'musically-holy' scripture. Lesser-known composers will continue to border on irrelevance if the musical scores that are available are not edited with a comparable level of professionalism.

On top of this lack of reliable modern editions, most of Martines's keyboard concertos do not currently exist as two-piano transcriptions but are only available as orchestral scores (if at all). While an in-depth study of the orchestral score is beneficial to the performance of a concerto, the industry standard is to practice with a two-piano transcription where the second piano takes on the role of the orchestra. Few pianists are willing to submit themselves to the hassle of playing the orchestral accompaniment from an orchestral score. Due to this lack of well-edited resources, Martines's music continues to be rarely performed in concert. Speaking to lack of accessibility, one of the four surviving concertos, the E major concerto, is currently entirely unavailable. Godt refers to it in his monograph and announces a modern edition, 'Ed. Melanie Unseld and Christine Siegert, forthcoming.'[277] However, over a decade later, at the time when this chapter was written,[278] the status of the modern edition is still 'forthcoming.' Despite many attempts to be connected to the current, anonymous owners of the autograph, the third parties who might have been able to facilitate a connection have unfortunately not come through, which is why, sadly, the E major concerto will not be further included in this discussion.

The tendency to try and make Martines somehow 'more interesting' is another common trend; some examples have already given above. While occasionally entertaining, it is mostly frustrating, because it is unnecessary. Martines is interesting enough – actually more interesting, one may argue – without these fabulations. To paraphrase Huber, it is not our

[277] Godt 2010, p. 263.
[278] In 2024.

responsibility to do PR for the composers we work on.[279] A common practice is the attempt to turn Martines into a kind of feminist role model, projecting on her something like *programmatic womanhood*, similar to the example stated above with Korntner and Pichler.[280] Unfortunately, several music prefaces seem to try to *add* to Martines's biography in such a way, including that of the Furore Edition of the A major keyboard concerto, which reads:

> After Metastasio's death in 1782, Marianna used part of the large fortune she inherited from him to hold elaborate musical soirées in her home. She appeared as a singer and pianist, even playing piano duets with Mozart. These weekly musical evenings played an important role in the artistic life of Vienna. In the 1790's she also invested money in her own singing school as a way to help encourage young woman [sic] to study music.[281]

Similarly, the preface to the Edition Donna of the E and A major keyboard sonatas reads:

> In 1783 [sic] her fatherly benefactor Metastasio died and left her his entire fortune that enabled her to open up her own singing school for young girls in Vienna. The fact that the graduates would lose their jobs in ecclesiastic spaces due to the verdict 'mulier taceat in ecclesia', shall not be discussed further here.[282]

Again, biographical facts are conflated with invention and are clouded by imprecision. Metastasio, who spent his Viennese years sharing an apartment with the Martines family, did leave his fortune to them, as is well documented – even a Roman newspaper, the Diario estero[283] reported on 18 April 1782:

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[279] See footnote 215.
[280] See footnote 253.
[281] Sally Fortino. 1990. Marianna Martines 1744-1812. Konzert für Klavier und Orchester A.Dur. Kassel: Furore.
[282] Antje Olivier. 1989. Die Cembalo Musik der Maria Anna Martinez 1744-1812. Düsseldorf: Edition Donna.
[283] https://casanatense.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/chracas/id/3496/rec/8 (accessed 2023-02-26).

> A marble monument with inscription shall be erected to the deceased Abate Metastasio. He declared the Martines family, in whose house he was lodging, sole heir. This inheritance amounts to 150000 Fiorini (guilders) of capital, plus his library, and all his furniture, many of which were of value.

From Metastasio's own testament we know his more nuanced instructions, leaving 20.000 florins to each of the two Martines sisters, Marianna and Antonia, but making Joseph, the eldest brother, his main heir. Metastasio justified the decision by saying that the other three brothers were already well on their way to having a good career and were not in need of his support.

Aside from more minor inaccuracies regarding the inheritance, what can be considered most bothersome about the quote from the Furore preface is the final sentence, claiming that Martines opened a singing school 'in order to help encourage young women to study music.' This is of course a very attractive idea, but there does not appear so far to be any proof that Martines lived by an ethos of 'Enlightenment sisterhood.' There is no evidence of her motivation for founding a singing school; only that she opened one. Musical motivations seem much more likely, considering her own singing prowess which Metastasio and other contemporaries spoke of highly.[284] The preface's 'feminist agenda' is further undermined by the fact that they, like many others, insist on referring to Martines by her first name, Marianna, while the male players, Mozart and Metastasio, are mentioned by their last name only.

Similarly, the Edition Donna preface, quoted above, associates Martines's singing school with the misogynistic Christian practice that forbade women to sing in church. However, 'mulier in ecclesia taceat' is strongly associated with the verdict of Pope Clemens IX who forbade women from singing publicly; and that was over a hundred years before Martines's singing school. Of

[284] See e.g. Burney 1775.

course, the effects of the verdict, such as popularity of castrato singers, even in non-ecclesiastic spaces, carried over into the 18th century, but Edition Donna mentioning the practice here seems out of context (Joseph II's church reforms, undertaken during Martines's time, had little impact on the composer).[285] It contributes to a forcefully and unnecessarily created feminist dialogue around Martines that distracts and detracts from in-depth feminist-historical inquiries one might wish to undertake.

Historical sources

Historical sources on Martines are roughly divided into two categories: those stemming from the time when she was alive, during the 18th century; and mentions of her after she had died, during the 19th century. Among the 18th-century documents are a collection of letters to and from Martines, as well as letters (particularly by Metastasio) that mention her.[286] Further, there are newspaper articles mentioning Martines or her siblings; journal entries, such as those by Burney and Kelly, Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch*,[287] and official documents, like the patent of nobility awarded to the Martines brothers, or the minutes from the meeting of the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna* that confirmed Martines's election as a member. Possibly the first short biography of Martines written after her death was by Joseph Sonnleithner, in 1826.[288] He mentions Joseph Haydn as her keyboard teacher, her connection to the Habsburg court, Metastasio's tutelage, meeting Burney, and her membership at the Bologna *Accademia*, as well

[285] See e.g. Reinhard G. Pauly. 1957. 'The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II' in: The Musical Quarterly Vol. 43 No. 3, pp. 372-382.
[286] An overview of these letters can be found in Godt 2010, pp. 214f.
[287] Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, Otto Biba (ed.). 1796, 1976 (reprint). *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*. Munich: Katzbichler.
[288] Author and year of the short biography identified by Otto Biba. 1996. 'Nachrichten über Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn und Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in der Sammlung handschriftlicher Biographien der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien' in: Otto Biba, David Wyn Jones (eds.). 1996. *Studies in Music History presented to H.C.Robbins Landon on his seventieth birthday*. London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 152-164. The biography may be wrongly dated – see 'Encyclopaedists' below for further discussion.

as noting her overall success as a composer. Further, her specifically points out her 'charming character,' which, along with her 'artistic talents,' earned her 'general respect and access to the most prestigious circles.'[289]

A few other sources, undiscovered or neglected until now in scholarship, give further insight into the everyday life of the Martines siblings. Of particular interest might be their names listed among *Pränumeranten* ('subscribers') of publications released during the late 18th century. 'Fräul. de Martines' is mentioned in the prenumeration register of two publications by Türk – volume one and two of 'Sechs kleine Klaviersonaten' published in 1785 and 1786. There are several pages of subscribers to these volumes. The first book includes a short theoretical part that announces the publication of Türk's 'Klavierschule,' on top of six sonatas each. Using prenumeration to fund a publication was a common business model in the 18th century, especially for volumes like these that were published 'auf Kosten des Autors' ('at the author's charge'). Undoubtedly, the entire Martines family was very well-read. Karl Martines, for instance, was listed as a subscriber in a publication: 'Hr. Karl Edler v. Martines' is among the Viennese prenumerators of Gottlieb Leon's *Gedichte* ('Poems'), published in 1788.

We know Martines was highly educated, well-read, and versed in musical studies, though we only know a few of the specific books and volumes of music that she studied for certain. However, the large volume of scores in Martines's possession is ascertained, e.g. by a surviving siary page, dated 1769, currently in the Spettisbury Archive.[290] Confirmed interest in and familiarity with Türk's works means another piece in the puzzle of deciphering her engagement with the contemporary goings-on and developments in 18th-century music. Besides various

[289] Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien, *Kurzbiographie Maria Anna Martinez*, 10907/134. Full transcription and translation – see Appendix 1.
[290] Clare Beesley. 2023. 'Becoming a Virtuosa: Advice from Vienna, 1769' in: *Eighteenth-Cenutry Music*, p. 159-178.

texts by Metastasio that she set to music, della Casa's *Galateo*,[291] a book dedicated to social etiquette, which Martines mentions in her autobiographical letter, is one of the few specific titles we can be certain of. She must have been intimately familiar with the *Galateo*, for she states she translated it from Italian to French.[292] The *Galateo* contained guidance on everything from how to dress, warnings not to be arrogant and boastful, or lie and fake demureness, to more obscure rules, like the author chiding anyone who recounts their dreams in conversations.[293]

Copies and Collections

One completely overlooked area of Martines scholarship thus far is an in-depth study of the existing manuscripts. Several of the surviving scores are (alleged) autographs. However, a few are also scribes' copies. Especially in the 18th century, scribes were not yet in the habit of regularly signing their works, but we can quite safely assume that several of Martines's existing scores are copies. For example, the SBB possesses handwritten copies of Martines's sonatas in E majorand A major (among others).[294] The copies are dated around 1800 (E major) and 1810 (A major) – which in itself is proof that they must be copies, since the sonatas were published by Haffner decades prior, in the 1760s. The E major sonata is part of a collection of three copied sonatas, all from Haffner's *Raccolta*: it contains a sonata by Palladini from Haffner's Vol III, Martines's sonata from the fourth book of the *Raccolta*, and a Galuppi sonata from Vol. V. Unfortunately, there is currently no further information concerning who produced this copy

[291] Giovanni Della Casa, Robert Peterson (trans.). 1703. *Galateo of Manners: or, Instructions To a Young Gentleman how to Behave himself in Conversation &c*. London: Bernard Lintott.
[292] See Appendix 1 for full letter.
[293] Giovanni Della Casa, Nathan Chytraeus (trans.), Klaus Ley (ed.). 1597, 1984 (reprint). *Galateus. Das ist / Das Büchlein Von erbarn / höflichen und holdseligen Sitten*. Franckfurt. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, pp. 37ff.
[294] E major SBB, Mus.ms. 9230; A major SBB, Mus.ms. 13683.

and why, and we can only speculate that there was continued interest in and engagement with Martines's music.

One example where the copyist did sign their name to the manuscript is Aloys Fuchs. In 1826, Fuchs copied Martines's *Miserere a 4 voci* from 1768.[295] The *Miserere* set a text by Saverio Mattei to music and received a lot of approval from contemporary – and evidently also later – critics. There appear to be two copies of the *Miserere*. The one currently in the ONB is the copy written by Fuchs. The other one, in the SBB, is in a different hand and could be from another copyist (or maybe even the autograph). The title page reads 'Originale' in the top left corner, and in the bottom right corner Fuchs signed his name and wrote, 'Von Herrn Hofrath Kiesewetter für meine Samlung erhalten den 26. Oktober 1826' ('Received from Mr. Hofrath Kiesewetter for my collection on 26 October 1826'). There is also a note in Italian on the title page (Image 4) saying:

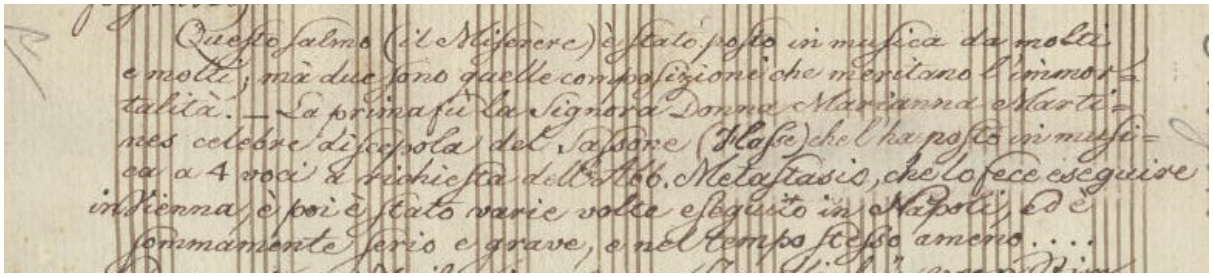

Questo salmo (il Miserere) è stato posto in musica da molti
e molti; ma due sono quelle composizioni che meritano l'immor=
talità. — La prima fu la Signora Donna Marianna Martí=
nes celebre discepola del Sassone (Hasse) che l'ha posto in musi=
ca a 4 voci à richiesta dell'Abbate Metastasio, che lo fece eseguire
in Vienna è poi è stato varie volte eseguito in Napoli, ed è
sommamente serio e grave, e nel tempo stesso ameno....

Image 4: Martines, Miserere, title page.

> This Psalm (the Miserere) has been set to music by many, but there are two compositions that merit immortality. The first was by Donna Marianna Martines, a renowned disciple of the Saxon (Hasse), who set it to music for four voices at the request of Abbate Metastasio, who had it performed in Vienna. It was later performed several times in Naples, and it is at once serious and solemn, yet at the same time pleasant….[296]

[295] Fuch's copy at ONB SA.67.E.81 MUS MAG; other manuscrpit at SBB, Mus.ms.autogr. Martines, M. 3 M. Another copy at BGM, IT\ICCU\MSM\0109884.
[296] SBB, Mus.ms.autogr. Martines, M. 3 M.

At the end of the copy that Fuchs produced, Fuchs signed his name: 'Aus der Original Handschrift copier von Aloys Fuchs mp. Wien, den 21. November [1]826.' ('From the autograph copied by Aloys Fuchs manu propria. Vienna, 21 November 1826'). A copy of *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*, the other Mattei-text that Martines set to music, was in the collection of Abbate Fortunato Santini (1777-1861), also an avid collector of music.[297]

Austrian music historian Kiesewetter, mentioned by Fuchs above, was an avid collector of music and it was not only he who set out to 'collect' Martines's compositions. Several more music collectors of the time had Martines's music in their possession. The *Dixit Dominus*, currently in the SBB,[298] was part of the collection belonging to German music scholar Georg Pölchau and this copy looks to be in Martines's own hand. Already during Martines's life the 'collection' process had started. Burney reportedly received some of her pieces,[299] as did Martin Gerbert, who mentioned a mass by Martines in his *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*.[300] Cypess also references the Madrid-based salonnière Maria Josepha Pimentel, Countess-Duchess of Osuna y Benavente, who owned another copy of the *Miserere*, as well as a psalm (not further specified). The Countess-Duchess actively collected music and had commissioned Haydn to send her copies of a dozen compositions every year between 1783-87.[301] The fact that Fuchs, Kiesewetter, and several others took an active interest in Martines's music well over a decade after she passed away and beyond, refutes the often-repeated argument that Martines fell out of fashion and lost all relevance immediately after she died.

As mentioned above, one such misassumptions can be found in Korntner's book, where Pichler's account is cited to explain why interest in Martines's composition 'dwindled very

[297] Joseph Killing. 1910. *Kirchenmusikalische Schätze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini*. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, p. 503.
[298] SBB, Mus.ms.autogr. Martines, M. 1 M.
[299] Burney 1775, p. 362: Burney writes about 'a commutation of compositions bettwen' himself and Martines.
[300] Martin Gerbert. 1774. *De Cantu et Musica Sacra a Prima Ecclesiae Aetate usque ad Praesens Pempus* Vol. 2. Sankt Blasien, p. 353.
[301] Cypess 2022, pp. 43f.

quickly after her death.'[302] Pichler was definitely influential in the reception of Martines, but her memoirs were published in the 1840s, and it was not until the end of the century that scholars paid much heed to what she said about Martines. In fact, a lot of the early (/earlier) 19th-century encyclopaedists who wrote about music or Austrian people of importance chose to include Martines in their publications and wrote very positively about her.[303]

The aforementioned collectors give an idea as to how far Martines's music travelled while she was still alive and shortly thereafter – from Spain and Italy to Germany and the United Kingdom. The manuscripts and autographs that survived Martines's death also spread across large parts of Europe; though some of them unfortunately vanished. In 1846, Schmid compiled a list of Martines's compositions, of which many have not survived into the present day:

1. A Miserere for 4 voices.
2. Various Italian Psalms in translations by Metastasio, for 4 to 8 voices, with instrumental accompaniment.
3. A solemn mass of which Abbot Gerbert says in his History of Music, that he received it from the very hands of the composer herself and that it is composed in the true church style.
4. Latin Solo Motets.
5. 156 arias and cantatas.
6. 12 concertos for the pianoforte.
7. 31 sonatas for the pianoforte.
8. Several overtures.[304]

Schmid's list is both extensive yet incomplete, compared to what we know of Martines today. It is likely based on the short biography by Sonnleithner, currently in the A-WGM.[305] While

[302] Korntner 2018, p. 39.
'Dies war mit Sicherheit auch ein Grund, warum das Interesse an ihr und ihren Kompositionen sehr rasch nach ihrem Tod schwindet.'
[303] See Encyclopaedists, below.
[304] Anton Schmid. 1846. 'Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts' in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 129 27. Oktober 1846, p. 518 – full transcription, see Appendix 1.
[305] See Appendix 1.

several pieces have been lost, there are also some of which Schmid appears unaware. For instance, we currently have scores of four masses by Martines: whether any of them are the same as Gerbert's *messe solennelle* is unclear.[306] Schmid does not mention her two oratorios either, nor sacred works, other than the *Miserere*, that Godt lists in his monograph.[307] The majority of Martines's keyboard works included in the list, and several others, are now lost. For instance, currently, we are only aware of one *Ouverture* by Martines.[308] It is of course difficult to verify whether the pieces he referenced actually existed, since his list is far from infallible. Still, it is quite easily imaginable that he should have missed some works; whereas it seems less likely for him to have invented pieces and added them to the list at random. Even if the exact numbers (for example 156 arias and cantatas) may or may not be entirely precise, they give us an idea of the order of magnitude. The numbers given for Martines's keyboard repertoire are particularly exciting: compared to the presently known three sonatas and four concertos, Schmid's list suggests a yet undiscovered wealth of music. Sadly, even if some of these pieces may resurface in the future in various private collections or abandoned in someone's attic, at least some of Martines's music will have likely fallen victim to the 1848 fire at the Imperial Court Library, when the imperial army fired at Vienna and accidentally set the roof of the library ablaze during the October Revolution.[309]

Another documented piece of music by Martines, mentioned by neither Schmid nor Godt, is the *Canzonetta* that Martines reportedly wrote into the *Stammbuch* ('friendship album') of Barbara Ployer. It is an interesting document insofar as it also verifies Martines's active involvement in Viennese society and interaction with another well-established salonnière of Vienna. Unfortunately, the *Stammbuch*, and along with it the *Canzonetta*, is lost. Tenschert

[306] Gerbert 1774, also see Encyclopaedists below.
[307] Godt 2010, pp. 256-264.
[308] A-WGM, XIII 7700.
[309] https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/%C3%96sterreichische_Nationalbibliothek (accessed 2023-07-17).

gave a brief overview of the *Stammbuch* after the *Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* purchased it in the 1920s.[310] Tentschert elaborated on Martines in a few sentences, saying that she was:

> […] eine berühmte Sängerin und Klavierspielerin, war die Schülerin Metastasios, Porporas und Joseph Haydns, welch letzterer als mittelloser, junger Mann im gleichen Hause in einer Bodenkammer wohnte und für den Unterricht, den er dem Mädchen in Singen und Klavierspiel erteilte, drei Jahre lang die Kost umsonst erhielt.

> […] a famous singer and pianist, was the student of Metastasio, Porpora, and Joseph Haydn, who, as a poor young man, lived in the same house, in an attic room which he received for three years, together with fare, for free in exchange for lessons in singing and piano playing that he gave the girl.[311]

During World War II, the *Stammbuch*, along with several other valuable items of the Mozarteum archive, was stored in the salt mines of Hallein for safekeeping. Sadly, at the end of the war in 1945, American soldiers raided the salt mines and took it, along with several other manuscripts.[312] It has since been considered lost. One may only hope it is not destroyed and that one day it will return to the Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg, so that all of us may study the treasures captured within. Barbara Ployer had been a musical luminary of Vienna in her own right. Beyond her role as a salonnière, she also performed as a keyboard player[313] and had works dedicated to her.[314]

[310] Roland Tenschert. 1926 (1927). 'Das Stammbuch der Babette Ployer' in: *Neununddreissigster Jahresbericht der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*. Salzburg: Mozarteum, pp. 11-16.
[311] Ibid., p. 16.
[312] Personal communication from the Bibliotheca Mozartiana (2023-07-17).
[313] E.g. Mozart Concerto No. 14, K 449 – see https://rism.online/sources/1001014024 (accessed 2025-03-05).
[314] See Haydn. 1793. *Un Piccolo Divertimento*: [Für Klavier. Hob.XVII:6.]. http://katzoom.onb.ac.at/cgi-bin/katadmin/mus/mhsview.pl?katalog=5&kz=1&start=0046877 (accessed 2025-03-05).

Encyclopaedists

A great number of 19th-century encyclopaedists who wrote about music or Austrian people of renown included Martines in their works. Most memorialised Martines very positively – not least because a lot of them seemed to copy from each other (though few provided citations). The encyclopaedic entries in the second half of the century noticeably copied from Anton Schmid's article from the 1840s, however there were several earlier mentions of Martines, too, from authors spread across Europe. Still, Schmid's article was more extensive than earlier ones and also more reliable – he was, for instance, the first of the 19th-century encyclopaedists and historians to correctly identify Martines's year of birth.[315] Earlier ones tended to rely on Burney's accounts as one of their main sources. Like Metastasio, Burney was one of the famous 'men of letters' who 'met women, mentored them, learned from them and reported on them to a wider audience.'[316] His exceedingly positive verdict on Martines as a musician was highly influential in shaping her international reputation.

During Martines's life, she was included in the memoirs of various authors, as well as in Gerbert's church music lexicon. In the lexicon, she is mentioned in a footnote in the context of 'Hispanic' music (despite her never leaving Austria and being, if anything, decidedly more Italian than Spanish in terms of upbringing, culture, and use of language). Calling her 'Spanish,' though a little far-fetched, was not entirely random, as her father, Nicolò (though Italian himself) was of patrilineal Spanish descent.[317] Gerbert wrote:

> *Hispanos* quod attinet, D. *Bened*. *Hier*. FEYOO unum fere D. *Anton. de* LITERES laudat compositorem primi subsellii, & forte unicum, qui sciverit unire omnem illam maiestatem & suavitatem musicae antiquae cum vivacitate modernae, in exprimenda maxime emphasi verborum significatui propria.

[315] Schmid 1846, pp. 517-18. See Appendix 1.
[316] Cypess 2022, p. 61.
[317] See Godt 2010, p. 10 – Martines's 'Autobiographical letter'.

> As for the Spaniards, Mr. Antonius De Literes praises practically only Mr Benedictus Hieronymus Feyoo, a composer of the first chair, and perhaps the only one who knew how to unite all that majesty and sweetness of ancient music with modern vivacity, in expressing the greatest emphasis proper to the meaning of the words.

And he added as a footnote:

> Locum hic meretur *Mar. Anna* MARTINEZ, quae quidem cum fratre bibl. Caesar. custode altero *Viennae* apud celeb. METASTASIUM commoratur. Virginis huius egregias etiam pro usu ecclesiae compositoiones D. Burney in Diar. Itin. Mus. P. II. p. 229. laudat: accepique ante aliquot annos Viennae ex ipsius manu missam solemnam stylo ecclesiastico accommodatiorem multo, quam pleraeque auctorum virorum nostril temporis melothesiae. METASTASIO apud laudatum D. BURNEY p. 254 dicitur psalmus eiusdem virginis, nuper societati Philarmonicorum *Bononiae* adseriptae, *Mescolanza di antico e moderno*: alterum, quod gravitatem harmoniae seu contrapuncti attinet, alterum quoad melodiam ad palatum aevi nostri compositam, recte consociantur in musica sacra.

> Maria Anna Martinez deserves a place here, who, indeed, resides with her brother, Imperial Library Custodian, on the other side of Vienna with the celebrated Metastasio. This maiden also composed excellent compositions for the use of the church, that Mr Burney praises in the Musical Diary Vol. 2, p. 229: and some years ago in Vienna he received from her own hand a hymn more adapted to the ecclesiastical style than most tune-settings[318] of the composing men of our age. Metastasio, with praise, Mr Burney p. 254 called the psalm of the same maiden, who recently joined the Philharmonic Society of Bologna, 'mixture of ancient and modern:' the one with regards to the gravity of the harmony or counterpoint, and the other regarding the melody composed for the palate of our age, they are rightly associated with sacred music.[319]

Among the lexicon articles pre-Schmid, but written after Martines's death, were: English-language Sainsbury (1824);[320] a short biography in German, as mentioned above, by

[318] From melothesis: melos = Greek for tune; thesis = Greek for setting.
[319] Gerbert 1774, p. 353.
[320] John Sainsbury. 1824, 2009. *A Dictionary of Musicians, From the earliest ages to the present time*. Vol. 2. London: Sainsbury; Reprint: Cambridge University Press.

Sonnleithner (1826);[321] French-language Fétis (1840);[322] and German-language Fink and Schilling (1837);[323] as well as Gräffer and Czikann (1838).[324] The earliest of these, Sainsbury, was clearly not personally acquainted with Martines, or anyone who knew her. His entry borrows from other written sources, with the opinions of Burney and Gerbert prominently featured. The most striking peculiarity is that Sainsbury refers to Martines as 'Mariane, or, according to others, Elizabeth,'[325] and others seemed to copy from him. The short 1826 biography by Sonnleithner held by the W-GMF was dated by Biba.[326] However, given the fact that Sainsbury reads a little like an abbreviated version of Sonnleithner's text, containing similar talking points, one cannot help but think that the Viennese version may have been written first.

Fétis's account remained of interest until much later in the 19th century: Wurzbach quoted his entry on Martines for its description of the various rumours circulating. This testament to what must have been a great many rumours (some, but presumably not nearly all, of which were recorded in lexica) is interesting from a historiographic perspective – especially concerning the 'Wunderkind' narratives. The fact that Fétis completely disregards the version of Martines's biography now considered to be well-documented and verified suggests that, at the time, items such as her autobiographical letter were not available to writers; and it was not until Schmid's article that more details surrounding her life became publicly accessible. Therefore, Fétis also predominately relies on Burney and Gerbert for his 'hard facts,' and includes several items fabricated by the rumour mill regarding Martines's origin. Interestingly, one of the pieces of

[321] See Appendix 1.
[322] F. J. Fétis. 1840. *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique* Vol. 6. Bruxelles: Meline. See Appendix 1.
[323] M. Fink et al., Gustav Schilling (ed.). 1837. *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal=Lexicon der Tonkunst* Vol. 4. Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler. See Appendix 1.
[324] Franz Gräffer, Johann Jakob Czikann (eds.). 1838. *Oesterreichische National=Encyklopödie, oder alphabetische Darlegung der wissenswürdigsten Eigenthümlichkeiten des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* Vol. 3 (J-M). Vienna: Friedr. Beck'sche Universitäts=Buchhandlung. See Appendix 1.
[325] Sainsbury 1824, pp. 123f. Full entry – see Appendix 1.
[326] Biba 1996, p. 160.

information that he treats like a possible bit of gossip is that Martines is 'the daughter of a friend' of Metastasio – which is, of course, *actually* true:[327]

> Martinez (Marianne), a woman of distinguished merit in music, passed for Metastasio's niece. Others say that she was the daughter of a friend of the great poet, and that she was born in Vienna in his own house, around 1745, or a little later. But Scoppa, author of the excellent book titled The True Principles of Versification, tells an anecdote on this subject which seems to fit better with the mysterious origin of this virtuoso. He assures us that Mademoiselle Martinez was the daughter of a gardener in Vienna, and that Metastasio, having met her as a small girl in the streets, singing songs with a lively and witty air, with a pretty voice, stopped her, questioned her, and asked her of her parents to educate her; that they accepted his proposals, and that the child was ever since the inseparable companion of the Austrian Court poet.[328]

The (entirely fictional) 'gardener story' derives from the third volume of Antonio Scoppa's *Les vrais principes de la versification*, where he states in a footnote:

> Métastase, à son tour, rencontre dans les rues de Vienne une petite fille qui, toute gaie et spirituelle, chantait d'une belle voix et qui promettait beaucoup: c'ètait la fille d'un jardinier : il s'arrête, l'interroge, la demande à ses parens, et se chage de son éducation. Le succès ne trompa point son attente. Marianne Martines (c'était le nom de la petite fille) excella dans l'art de la musique; et c'était elle que Métastase préférait pour faire chanter ses meilleures compositions poétiques.

> Metastasio, on his promenade, encountered in the streets of Vienna a little girl who, cheerful and witty, was singing with a beautiful voice and showed great promise: she was the daughter of a gardener. He stopped questioned her, asked her from her parents, and took charge of her education. The outcome fully justified his expectations. Marianne Martines (that was the name of the little girl) excelled in the art of music; and it was she whom Metastasio preferred to perform his finest poetic compositions.[329]

[327] See Appendix for the full encyclopaedic entry by Fetis.
[328] Fétis 1840, Vol. 6, p. 295.
[329] Antonio Scoppa. 1814. *Les vrais principes de la versification* Vol. 3. Paris: Courcier, p. 225.

By pointing out that 'in 1796 she was living in Vienna in comfort,' Fétis reveals Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*[330] as one of his sources. Schönfeld mentions Martines on several occasions as a 'friend, protector and connoisseur of music;'[331] a 'dilettante;'[332] a hostess of 'dilettantes academies;'[333] and a composer.[334] In the German-speaking region, Fink and Schilling compiled the lexicon *Musikwissenschaft,*[335] including a detailed article on Martines.[336] Burney and Gerbert are mentioned as sources and the lexicon authors give account of Metastasio's admiration of her abilities, including that he frequently referred to her as 'his Saint Cecilia.' [337] Czikann and Gräffer include Martines in their National Encyclopaedia of 'noteworthy facts' from the Austrian empire, written between 1835-1837, again focusing on the admiration she enjoyed from Burney and Metastasio, both of whom praised her as 'the most complete singer of her time.[338]

Table 2 demonstrates common narratives that the early encyclopaedists focus on in their reception of Martines. All four speak very positively of her abilities and accomplishments. They predominately focus on Martines's 'accreditation' through her connections with Metastasio and Burney, as well as her mention by Gerbert. Though Gräffer and Czikann do not directly quote Gerbert, they emphasise her church compositions, which would indicate their familiarity with Gerbert's text.

[330] Schönfeld 1796.
[331] Ibid., pp. 1f.
[332] Ibid., pp. 41f.
[333] Ibid., pp. 71.
[334] Ibid., pp. 81f.
[335] Musicology – or, literally translated, musical science.
[336] Full article – see Appendix.
[337] Fink, Schilling 1837, pp. 571f.
[338] Johann Jakob Heinrich Czikann, Franz Gräffer. 1838. *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie* Vol. 3. Vienna: Mich. Schmidl's Witwe und Ign. Klang, p. 581. Full encyclopaedic entry – see Appendix 1.

Table 2: Early 19th century lexica entries on Martines.

	1824, London (Sainsbury)	1826, Vienna (Sonnleithner)	1837, Stuttgart (Fink, Schilling)	1838, Vienna (Czikann, Gräffer)	1840, Brussels (Fétis)
Year of birth	about 1750	in 1750	around 1750	in 1750	around 1745 or later
Given name	Mariane, or Elizabeth	Maria Anna	Mariane, Nanette, Elisabeth	Marianne, Elisabeth	Marianne
'Job title' and musical abilities	description of abilities - profound knowledge of counterpoint, singing, piano playing	received instruction in singing and piano, lauded by Metastasio and Burney, composed a lot, good contrapuntist	singer, piano virtuoso, composer; most eminent skill of her time in singing and on her instrument	excellent singer, accomplished piano player, excellent composer; great singer with lovely tone, beautiful trills, ease in performing difficult passages; touching, expressive nature of performance	harpsichordist of elegant and graceful talent; singer with expression as true as it is penetrating; composer endowed with vigour of conception and extensive knowledge
Mention of other family members	father – friend of Metastasio	father – friend of Metastasio, official at papal nunciature; brother – imperial court librarian; sister – heir of Metastasio	brother – scholar and Imperial Librarian		
Relationship with Metastasio	inhabited the house of MM, educated under his eyes, adopted her after father's death, called MM his Saint Cecilia	lived together under one roof, oversees education and (musical) training, heir of Metastasio, called MM 'his Saint Cecilia'	friend of MM's father, MM born in Metastasio's house, brought up under his eyes; no other singers like her during his day; called MM 'his Saint Cecilia'	long-time friend of father, MM brought up under his eyes, took care of her education, took her in after father's death; declared MM	MM a niece of Metastasio, or daughter of a friend of him; spared nothing to give MM a well-rounded education; made MM his heir

				most accomplished singer of her time	
Other teachers		Haydn – piano, possibly composition			Haydn – music and harpsichord; Porpora – art of singing and composition
Wunderkind stories					daughter of a gardener in Vienna, Metastasio heard her sing on the street, asked her parents to take over education
Habsburg emperors		Maria Theresia called upon M to sing and play for her; Joseph II turned pages			
Reference to Burney	heard MM sing and perform on the piano, 'energetic yet tender style' of singing, profound knowledge of counterpoint	meeting in 1772, Burney said he did not have words to express sufficiently her singing abilities	Burney heard some of MM's compositions sung and played, praises expression and affection of her performance; praises MM as 'most perfect singer of her time' with 'marvellous portamento'	declared MM most accomplished singer of her time	heard MM in 1772, speaks of her with admiration, praises several of MM's compositions
Reference to Gerbert and church music	Gerbert possessed a mass of hers, written in genuine church style	a solemn mass of which Gerbert had a copy – written in 'true church style'	Gerbert possessed manuscript of a mass by M.	specifically mention 'many compositions for the church'	Gerbert possessed a mass and an oratorio of M.

Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna	elected in 1773	membership in 1771	membership in 1773		
Compositions	Miserere for four voices, several Italian psalms (Burney); mass (Gerbert)	Miserere for 4 voices, various Italian Psalms (Metastasio lyrics), solemn mass, Latin solo-motets, 156 arias and cantats, 12 piano concertos, 31 piano sonatas, various ouvertures; added in different hand: 3 oratorios, 1 symphony	first attempts in composition in 1765, generally well-received; particularly comfortable in church style; instrumental pieces pure but full of fire and bravura; large-scale oratorio, Miserere, Italian Psalms; mass (Gerbert); Latin motets, piano sonatas	compositional talents admired as early as 1765; list several compositions: Miserere, Italian Psalms; masses, songs, Latin solo motets, piano sonatas	Miserere, Italian psalms (Burney); mass, oratorio (Gerbert); 41st psalm (Satini)
Salon			from 1780 weekly concerts in her house, any stranger could take part		every Saturday, open to all foreigners, alludes to Metastasio inheritance as funding salons (1796 M. living in comfort)
Singing school			set up shortly after 1780, many excellent singers emerged, instructed in singing, music theory and counterpoint		singing school where she trained good students
Death		died in 1811, unmarried		died in Vienna	

There are several noteworthy differences that are interesting in the regional context of the respective encyclopaedias. The French-language entry by Fétis is in several ways both the most outrageously wrong, yet also the most precise entry on Martines. His references to the various *Wunderkind* rumours surrounding Martines are of course ludicrous, except for the (indeed true) detail of her being the daughter of Metastasio's friend. It seems almost like he believed the most credible version to have been the one where Martines, daughter of a simple gardener, was 'discovered' by Metastasio. At the same time, though, Fétis is the only one who references teachers other than Metastasio, namely Haydn and Porpora, and only he and Fink and Schilling mention Martines's singing school. Martines's death in Vienna was only mentioned by Gräffer and Czikann (this piece of information was probably not as relevant to anyone not based in Vienna).

Sainsbury and Sonnleithner are alone in avoiding specific reference to Martines as a singer, keyboard player, or composer. They merely detail some of her education, refer to her compositions and highly-developed abilities, giving accounts of her performances but leaving it at that. All other encyclopaedias refer to her with a 'job title.' Sainsbury, Sonnleithner, and Fink and Schilling make note of Martines's admittance to the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*. Gräffer and Czikann may not have included this detail seeing as their encyclopaedia did not specifically focus on music, but rather on Austrian accomplishments; whereas musicians were Sainsbury's and Fink and Schilling's specific interest.[339]

One of the most striking differences between these encyclopaedic entries, and written sources from Martines's lifetime is that the former contain very few mention of the Martines family's relationship with the Habsburg emperors – with the notable exception of Sonnleithner's short biography. While this was one of the dominant narratives during Martines's life, something

[339] So did Fétis, but he did not include any mention of Martines's membership.

that was emphasised in many newspaper articles and letters, and also prominent in modern scholarship, there is almost no mention of this among the encyclopaedists outside of Sonnleithner's biography – save for a reference to Martines's brother being librarian in the Imperial Library (Fink & Schilling and Sonnleithner), and Metastasio as Court Poet (Fétis).

The turning point in chronicling Martines's life and work was Anton Schmid's article, split between two *WaMZ* volumes of Saturday 24th and Tuesday 27th October 1846.[340] August Schmidt, editor of the newspaper, had mentioned Martines a few times before. Once, when August printed Alois Fuchs's 'Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik in Wien' ('Contribution to the History of Music in Vienna'), he included a list of events organised by the *Tonkünstler-Gesellschaft* and their concerts in support of widows and orphans. One of their concerts, in 1782, featured Martines's oratorio *Isacco, figura del Redentore*.[341] In Fuchs's article Martines is listed as 'Dlle. Marianna Martinez (Schülerin von Hasse)' – a 'student of Hasse'.[342] The other mention of her was two years later, in 1844, when he reprinted the list of composers from Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst* that included 'Fräulein Nanette Martines'. Schmidt adds a note, saying:

> Freilich wohl ist so mancher damals gefeierte Componist des Tages verschollen, und dem jüngern Theil unserer Musiker kaum dem Namen nach bekannt; sein Ruhm ist mit ihm zu Grabe gegangen; desto glänzender aber strahlen die Namen von Componisten hervor, welche mehr für die wahre Kunst geschrieben, als daß sie bemüht waren, den offenen Markt mit Modeartikel zu versehen. – Wie viele von unsern jetzigen Componisten werden wohl ihren Namen bis über fünfzig Jahre eine gleiche Beliebtheit zu erhalten wissen?

[340] Anton Schmid. 1846. 'Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts' in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 128, 24. October 1846, pp. 513-514; and Anton Schmid. 1846. 'Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts' in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 129, 27. October 1846, pp. 517-518 – full article and translation, see Appendix 1.
[341] See Chapter III.i.
[342] Alois Fuchs, August Schmid (ed.). 1842. 'Die musikalischen Leistungen der Tonkünstler=Gesellschaft für ihre Witwen und Waisen, seit der Gründung bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit' in: AWMZ 10 February 1842, pp. 69-70.

> Of course, many a composer who was celebrated at the time has disappeared, and the younger ones among our musicians hardly know them by name; his fame died with him; but all the more resplendent are the names of composers who have written more for true art than to endeavour to provide fashionable pieces to the open market. – How many of our present composers will be able to keep their names equally popular for more than fifty years? [343]

This brief commentary offers a possible explanation for continued interest in Martines, as her work aligned with the somewhat 'purist' vogue of the time that favoured 'true' art over fashionable trends. As Martines certainly did not write 'for the market' – mainly because she avoided professional status – her work could have been perceived as 'music for music's sake' by Schmidt and his contemporaries. Her name does not seem to be one that would have already 'disappeared' completely in 1844. A little later, on 15 October 1844, Martines's name was included in the list of composers whose autographs were part of the Imperial Library's collection. [344] Her name is misspelled as 'Martnies,' which was retracted and corrected several days later, on 19 October 1844.[345]

Martines's continuing relevance in Viennese specialist musical circles appears plausible when considering that Anton Schmid wrote his influential article about her work two years later, titled 'Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts' ('Two Viennese musical celebrities of the fair sex in the second half of the past century'). The other woman composer that Schmid wrote about was Maria Anna von Gluck, born 1759, who was Christoph Ritter von Gluck's adoptive daughter of sorts.[346]

[343] August Schmidt (ed.). 1844. 'Wiens Componisten im Jahre 1796' in: *WaMZ* 15 February 1844, p. 77.
[344] August Schmidt (ed.). 1844. 'Miscelle. Autographen-Sammlung von musikalischen Werken, welche in der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien aufbewahret werden' in: *WaMZ*. 15 October 1844, pp. 495-496.
[345] August Schmidt (ed.). 1844. 'Berichtigungen' in: *WaMZ* 19 October 1844, p. 504.
[346] Anton Schmid. 1846. 'Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts' in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 127, 22. October 1846, pp. 509-510.

Schmid sets out to correct some of the wild fabrications printed in Fétis's volume. He details some of Martines's living arrangements, including the remark about 'böse Zungen' ('malicious talk') quoted by Godt,[347] refuting rumours about a potential romantic relationship between Metastasio and Martines. Schmid equally details Martines's various addresses, including her move to the *Herrengasse*. into a building belonging to 'Freiherrn von Gielleis' [sic]. The Gilleis family was highly influential in Austria. Maria Octavia von Gilleis was a princess of Esterházy, and the family also owned several buildings in the *Habsburgergasse*.[348] Like most other encyclopaedists of the time, Schmid also quotes Burney's well-known travel journal.[349] Further mentioned in Schmid's article are the Martines family's proximity to the Habsburg court, their elevation into aristocracy ('Ritterstand'), an anecdote about the future emperor Joseph II turning pages for Martines at the keyboard; and Martines's admission into the Bologna *Accademia*. Schmid further describes Martines's death and that of her sister Antonia, within two days of each other. He also lists Martines's nephew Sigmund von Martines, based in Schemnitz,[350] as her heir, although some of her scores were apparently left to Fräulein von Engelhardt.[351]

Schmid pays great attention to the description of Martines's education and specifically highlights how she embodied the rare combination of 'purity and brilliance' in her speech and writing, as well as having a stellar education and unique abilities, together with great humility and amiability. Schmid was not alone in emphasising Martines's kind sociability. Even reading Martines's own words alone – her letters – a clear deliberation of self-representation in her

[347] Godt 2010, p. 33.
[348] Wilhelm Kisch. 1883. *Die alten Strassen und Plaetze Wien's und ihre historisch interessanten Haeuser*. Vienna: M. Gottlieb, pp. 414f.
[349] Burney 1775 Vol. 1.
[350] Previously part of the Habsburg empire, and location of the Imperial Mining Academy founded in the, now a city in Slovakia. For more details on the Mining Academy see e.g. Gustav Faller. 1868. *Geschichte der königlichen Berg- und Forstakademie in Schemnitz auf Grundlage und mit steter Benützung der in hiesigen Archiven befindlichen Dokumente und Actenstücke*. Schemnitz: August Joerges.
[351] Engelhardt is also mentioned by Sonnleithner (1826).

engagement with the outside world shines through. This emphasis on humility is again repeated in Wurzbach's lexicon entry.[352]

As demonstrated above, accounts of Martines during the early- and mid-19th century were almost exclusively exceedingly positive. Only during the later 19th century and early 20th century did accounts start to question Martines's quality as a composer, leading to a 'misunderstanding' of Martines's musical engagements and the entire 'historical context of her sound world.'[353] Indeed, the first edition of *MGG* maintains that Pichler's appraisal – asserting that Martines scarcely rose above mediocrity – came 'probably close to the truth.'[354] This reflects rhetoric from earlier in the 20th century, surrounding women composers, which seriously question whether women can compose beyond 'technically correct' contributions, stating that their music at best shows 'a primitive gift for a light flow of melody which seldom rises above the level of the merely pleasing.'[355] These critical voices allowed (at best) for the hypothetical possibility of future great women composers, but completely negated their existence in history.[356] For example, a lexicon entry from that period, by Robert Eitner mentions both Gerbert and Burney, but then also states that Pichler was 'less enthusiastic' in her account of Martines, giving the latter significantly more space in what is altogether not a particularly long entry.[357] A somewhat neutral – because not particularly informative – entry comes from Franz Pazdirek, who cites the two Martines sonatas published by Pauer in his 1904 *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Völker* ('Universal Handbook of Music

[352] Constant von Wurzbach. 1867. *BLKÖ* Vol. 17 (Maroevich - Meszlény). Wien: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, pp. 22f.
[353] Ingeborg Harer. 2020. 'Martines, Marianna von, 'WÜRDIGUNG' in: Laurenz Lütteken (ed.) *MGG Online*, New York, Kassel, Stuttgart, https://www-mgg-online-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mgg/stable/533613 (accessed 2025-02-24).
[354] Helene Wessely. 1960. 'Martinez, Marianne von' in *MGG* Vol. 8. Bärenreiter, col. 1716ff, here col. 1718.
[355] Heinrich Möller. 1917. 'Can Women Compose?' in*: The Musical Observer* Vol. 15, pp. 9-10, here p. 10. Also see: George T. Ladd. 1917. 'Why Women Cannot Compose' in*: Yale Review*, pp. 789-806.
[356] Unknown. 1903. 'Women and Music' in: *Musical Courier* Vol. 47 No. 12, p. 34.
[357] Robert Eitner. 1902. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitted des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (La.-Milleville, Barnaba)* Vol. 6. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, pp. 353f.

Literature of all Peoples').[358] An exception to the trend of referencing Pichler around that time (slightly earlier) is found in the 1884 entry on Martines in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. This mainly focuses on her famous teachers, benefactors, and positive reviews through people such as Burney, Hasse, Gerbert, and Mozart.[359]

Studying the progression of scholarly and less scholarly accounts pertaining to Martines, a set of dominant narratives emerges, beyond which Martines's biography is insufficiently explored. The main storylines of contemporary sources in particular refer mainly to the Martines family's connections to the Habsburgs, and their relationships to Metastasio and the Mozarts. The re-introduction of the Habsburg-narrative (seemingly ignored by most of the early encyclopaedists) was effected by Schmid's article. A tendency to 'fabulate' and/or exclusively focus on these narratives was already present in the early reception of Martines's biography. Constantin Wurzbach, who remembers Martines primarily as a 'Gesangskünstlerin und Tonsetzerin'[360] ('singer and composer') summarises several of the popular anecdotes surrounding Martines. The 'loudest' stories that have persisted throughout the centuries skew our view of the composer and distract from what was likely more central to who she was. The sources that give account of her life are limited and call for conscious engagement with the 'silences' in the archive.[361] Among the most central sources are Martines's letters, a brief autobiography, and several accounts and mentions of her by immediate acquaintances. These allow for the composer to appear most authentically in her self-fashioned[362] *publicly-private*[363] musical persona.

[358] Franz Pazdírek. 1904. *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Völker*. Vienna: Universal, p. 244.
[359] C. F. P. 1884. 'Martines, Marianne' in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 20 (1884), pp. 498-499 [Online-Version]; source: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118937359.html#adbcontent.
[360] Wurzbach *BLKÖ* Vol. 17, pp. 22f.
[361] See Trouillot 1995.
[362] See Chapter III.ii.
[363] See Chapter II.ii.

As demonstrated in this chapter, while interest in Martines persisted during the early 19th century, particularly as a composer and keyboardist, engagement with her person and music decreased over the course of the centuries, a process that was further accelerated by the dissemination and copying of primarily one individual negative account. However, what these encyclopaedists and historical sources also demonstrate is that Martines was revered as a composer and musician for quite a while after she died. Why she was not further included in music history writing likely has many varied, coinciding reasons; not least the ever stronger anti-feminist trends of 19th and 20th centuries that prioritised domesticity and piety for women,[364] and the narratives of genius men dominating artistic discourses.[365]

Karoline Pichler

To contextualise the one woman who cuts a particularly important figure in Martines scholarship, a few notes on Karoline Pichler shall be added here. She held an influential position within Vienna's social and salon circles during the early 19th century. Her comments on Martines markedly influenced the composer's reception history:

> Nur Zwei habe ich in meinem langen Leben und bei, besonders in meiner Jugend häufigen Berührungen mit der musikalischen Welt gekannt, die sich mit Komposition beschäftigen, ein Fräulein von Martinez, Schülerin des berühmten Metastasio, der bei ihren Ältern lebte und sich die Ausbildung dieses in vieler Hinsicht ausgezeichneten Frauenzimmers zum angenehmen Geschäft machte; und meine Freundin, das blinde Fräulein von Paradies. Beide leisteten Artiges, aber es erhob sich nicht über – ja kaum an das Mittelmäßige, während doch in Malerei und Poesie Frauen, wenn auch nichts den Werken der ersten Meister in diesen Fächern zu Vergleiendes, doch vieles auch an sich und ohne Rücksicht auf das Geschlecht Schätzbare hervorgebracht haben.

[364] Miliann Kang, Donovan Lessard, Laura Heston, Sonny Nordmarken. 2017. *Introduction to Women, Gender, Sexuality Studies*. University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, Unit V (n. pag).
[365] DeNora 1995.

> In my long life and with frequent contact with the musical world, particularly in my youth, I have only known two [women] who dealt with composition, a Fräulein von Martinez, student of the famous Metastasio, who lived with her parents and made the education of this women, distinguished in many respects, his pleasant business; and my friend, the blind Fräulein Paradis. Both achieved proper things, but they did not rise above – indeed hardly reached the mediocre, while in painting and poetry, women have indeed produced much that is valuable in itself and regardless of sex – though not works comparable to those of the foremost masters in these fields.[366]

And she continues:

> […] doch fand ich, daß weder ihre [Paradis] noch die Compositionen des Fräuleins von Martinez (die einzigen Werke von weiblichen Compositeurs, die mir bekannt geworden) von großem Belange waren.
>
> […] but I thought that neither her [Paradis's] nor the compositions of Fräulein von Martinez (the only works by female composers that I am aware of) were of much interest.[367]

As mentioned above, this statement coloured much of the later Martines reception, even until 1960, when the first edition of the *MGG* was published. Wessely, who wrote the *MGG* article on Martines, seemed to agree with Pichler, but added a little disparagingly that Pichler's judgemenet was 'etwas weiblich spitz' ('slightly cutting, with a feminine edge').[368] While Pichler's vitriol is mainly directed at women composers in the passage above, she seems to not mind women writers as much. Though, in Volume 3 of her *Denkwürdigkeiten*, she backtracks on this, too.[369] Other publications of the time suggest that Pichler was not alone in her opinion

[366] Pichler 1844 Vol. 2, pp. 96f.
[367] Ibid., pp. 217f.
[368] Wessely 1960, col. 1780.
[369] Caroline Pichler, Emil Karl Blümml (ed.). 1914. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben. Mit einer Einleitung und zahlreichen Anmerkungen nach dem Erstdruck und der Urschrift neu herausgegeben* Vol. 3. Munich: Georg Müller, p. 27.

that women were less suited than men for certain sciences and arts. Some at least concede that there was a theoretical possibility of women succeeding in these fields, but went on to discourage them from doing so as it may interfere with performing their duties as (future) wives and mothers.[370] Heydenreich goes so far as to say:

> Wenn Frauenzimmer für gewisse Wissenschaften und Künste entschieden großes Genie besitzen, darf man dieses Genie seinem Fluge überlassen, oder ist es nicht vielmehr Pflicht, ihm die Flügel zu verschneiden? Es kommt bey der Beantwortung dieser Frage darauf an, *ob man berechtigt sey vorauszusetzen*, daß durch das herrschende Interesse für die Wissenschaft und die immer glücklichern Fortschritte in der Bearbeitung derselben, in der Seele des Frauenzimmers sein Eifer und seine Liebe auch für die wichtigsten weiblichen Pflichten geschwächt werde, oder ob dieß gerade nicht *so höchstwahrscheinlich aber doch möglich sey. Kann es mit allem Grunde voraus gesetzt werden*, so halte ich es für Pflicht des Erziehers, das aufstrebende Genie des Mädchens zurück zudrücken, und auf alle Weise zu verhindern, daß es selbst die Größe seiner Anlagen nicht bemerke.

> If women undeniably possess great genius for certain sciences and arts, should this genius be allowed to soar freely, or is it rather a duty to clip its wings? The answer to this question depends on whether one is justified in assuming that the prevailing interest in science and the ever more successful progress in its pursuit might weaken a woman's zeal and love for the most important female duties—or whether, though highly improbable, this remains a possibility. If this assumption can be made with full justification, then I believe it is the educator's duty to suppress the aspiring genius of a girl and to prevent, by all means, that she even becomes aware of the greatness of her talents.[371]

While Heydenreich seems to acknowledge the theoretical possibility of women's creative and intellectual potential, and even their being labelled a 'genius,' he talks of it in a very hypothetical way and even suggests that women should be prevented from developing their talents. Equally, when he writes about aesthetic education and erudite people, he refers to

[370] See Karl Heinrich Heydenreich. 1800. *Die Privaterzieher in Familien wie er seyn soll Entwurf eines Institutes zur Bildung künftiger Hofmeister* Vol. 1. Leipzig: Gottfried Martini, pp. 240f.
[371] Heydenreich 1800 Vol. 1, pp. 241f.

women as 'the second sex,'[372] and seems to only mention them for the sake of thoroughness; even if his writing suggests he did not appear to believe it likely they would ever count among any intellectual elite.

Pichler's description of her daughter, whom she appeared to hold in highest esteem, is a good example of how she framed ideal femininity. She describes her daughter in a way that puts strong emphasis on demureness: possessing overly flashy talents, in her opinion, would be unwomanly. Therefore, she is sure to highlight that her daughter was able to play the keyboard and sing with great emotion but not particularly brilliant talent. Possessing a simple nature and womanly character (whatever she means by that), together with a good intellectual education are the character traits that she values in her daughter:

> Es wird mir wohl als ein angenehmes, mütterliches Bewußtsein verziehen werden, wenn ich darauf hinwies, daß meine Tochter, ohne eine Schönheit zu sein, ohne schimmernde Talente zu besitzen, schon öfters von höchstbedeutenden Männern war ausgezeichnet worden, auch von solchen, die keinerlei Absicht auf eine Verbindung mit ihr hatten oder haben konnten und die also nicht die Hoffnung auf ihr einst zu ererbendes Vermögen anlocken konnte. Eben die Einfachheit ihres Wesens, die Wahrheit und tiefe Weiblichkeit ihres Charakters, verbunden mit einer nicht alltäglichen Geistesbildung und einem wohl nicht glänzenden, aber tiefempfundenen Talent für Gesang und Klavierspiel mochte es sein, was eben geistreiche Männer an die, in der Welt immer seltener werdende Erscheinung einfacher Natur und wahrer Gefühle zog.

> One may forgive me my agreeable, motherly consciousness, if I were to point out that my daughter, without being a beauty, without having brilliant talents, has often been honoured by the most important men, also by those who had or could not have any intention of making a connection with her and who therefore could not be lured by the hope for the fortune she will one day inherit. It is precisely the simplicity of nature, the truth and deep femininity of her character, combined with an unusual intellectual culture and a probably not brilliant but deeply felt talent for singing and playing the piano, that attracted brilliant men to the appearance of a simple nature and true feelings, which is becoming increasingly rare in this world.[373]

[372] Karl Heinrich Heydenreich. 1801. *Die Privaterzieher in Familien wie er seyn soll Entwurf eines Institutes zur Bildung künftiger Hofmeister* Vol. 2. Leipzig: Gottfried Martini, p. 240.
[373] Pichler, Blümml 1914, Vol. 3, p. 129.

Reading Pichler's account, what distinguishes her daughter as a 'remarkable woman' is her mediocrity. This may explain why the highly talented, highly successful, and widely esteemed composers Martines and Paradis were a bit of a *bête noire* for Pichler – and why she (somewhat inconsistently) excoriates them for their alleged mediocrity. Even 'her friend'[374] (with friends like that, who needs enemies?) Paradis was denounced and pulled apart. Although she stated that 'in painting and poetry women […] have produced appreciable things,'[375] other sections of her memoir suggest that she met women in other branches of the arts with the same prejudice. Detailing her meeting with Frau von Humboldt and Frau von Wolzogen, she wrote:

> Eine gelehrte Frau und Schriftstellerin kennen zu lernen, war mir im voraus nicht angenehm, weil diese Wesen alle, besonders die aus Norddeutschland, damals einen ganz besondern Zuschnitt hatten, selten wahre Frauen, und größtenteils nur "weibliche Naturen" waren, wie damals der Modeausdruck sie bezeichnete, die in kein häusliches, in kein bürgerliches, in kein Familienverhältnis paßten, und meistenteils den Bann, den die Männer auf weibliche Schriftstellerei legten, nur zu sehr rechtfertigten.
>
> Making the acquaintance of a learned woman and writer did not please me initially, because these creatures, especially those from Northern Germany, all possessed at the time a quite particular mould: seldom were they real women, and for the most part only 'female natures,' as was the fashionable term to refer to them, who did not fit into any domestic, bourgeois, or family relationship, and for the most part justified only too well the fascination which men had placed on women's writing.[376]

Pichler's way of asserting womanhood (of *doing gender*) involved strict adherence to and the upholding of conservative standards. She was in this way similar to some anti-feminist women of the 19th century who 'were so implacably opposed to the advancement of their own sex that

[374] See footnote 366.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Pichler, Blümml 1914, pp. 27f.

they had nothing positive to say about it'[377] – a kind of reinterpretation of women's oppression and segregation as a self-elected, and therefore argued as empowering, way of living. For instance, changes in the structuring of social gatherings, where women would participate in conversation in a manner more similar to that of men, i.e. without working on needlework and not engaged in a more general, all-encompassing conversation, was met with strong disapproval by Pichler:

> Die neuere Gewohnheit, daß die Frauen ebensowenig wie die Herren eine Arbeit zwischen den Fingern haben, und also wie diese nur auf das Gespräch, und nicht auf ein allgemeines, sondern auf das von einer oder zwei Personen angewiesen sind, die der Zufall neben sie geführt – diese neue Gewohnheit scheint mir der höheren Geselligkeit gar nicht günstig zu sein.
>
> The recent habit that women have, just like men, no work between their fingers, and therefore, like men, are only dependent on conversation, and not on a general one, but on that of one or two people who chance brought to their side – this new habit does not seem to me at all favourable to higher sociability.[378]

All this demonstrates that any assumptions about *programmatic womanhood* do not fit well with Pichler's person. Neither do they, for that matter, apply to Martines, despite what many modern-day writers have tried to suggest by inserting a feminist narrative (defined by 21st-century standards) into Martines's biography.[379]

[377] Ann Heilmann, Valerie Saders. 2006. 'The rebel, the lady and the 'anti': Femininity, anti-feminism, and the Victorian woman writer' in: *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol. 29, pp. 289-300, here p. 290.
[378] Ibid., p. 127.
[379] See Chapter I.ii.

II. The Second Sex

II.i Women in Vienna

Outline

'The way women's voices have been recorded says much about the ways women's lives have been valued in the past and in the present.'[380] Freeland's blog post rings true across historical specialisations and archival pursuits. The archive of women in 18th-century Vienna is not nearly as rich and detailed as one would wish, but the records that do exist paint a picture of a vibrant society where women – intellectuals and artists – were driving forces in everyday life and cultural (as well as political) developments. This begs the question why there has not been more written about these women, and why most of them did not survive the 'historiographic process' which I touched on in the previous chapter. But, as Freeland so aptly put it, the way women's lives are being documented also says something about how they are valued in the present. To avoid getting a distorted view of the past, processing the archive needs to account for the fact that women (along with other marginalised groups) did not have their voices and lives recorded to the same degree that white European Christian men did: 'Archives are not neutral.'[381] Biases and silences in the archive need to be interpreted and recognised for what they are, namely representations of the beliefs and principles of the people in charge of curating and maintaining the archive. On a meta level, they serve as documentation of historical value systems and standards. Therefore, reading the archive 'against the grain' is equally as necessary as reading it 'with the grain.'[382]

Discussions of noble women in Martines's Vienna, including the Empress and her children, shall aid our understanding of Martines's own position in society, as someone who rose from

[380] Jane Freeland. 2020. The Allure of the Archive: On Frustration and Comfort in the Historian's Craft. Blogpost https://ghil.hypotheses.org/251 (accessed 2024-01-16).
[381] Yvonne Perkins. 2012. Women and Archival Silences. Blogpost: https://stumblingpast.com/2012/03/09/women-and-archival-silences (accessed 2024-01-16).
[382] Stoler 2002.

the bourgeoisie to eventually belong to lower-ranking nobility. This chapter will look at Empress Maria Theresia, engaging with questions of embodiment, politics, and motherhood, as well as discuss some of her children and their role in society. Furthermore, artistic and intellectual women's circles in Vienna during Martines's time will be drawn upon to contextualise her life and work, focusing on some of her known associates, as well as other women musicians and composers. Though concrete proof of familiarity between Martines and other women discussed here only exists in some cases, the nature of the close-knit structure of Viennese upper-class circles and the Martines family's close proximity to the Habsburgs would suggest at least basic familiarity among most of them. Though Martines is remembered (if at all) mainly as a composer, during her life she was first and foremost an (eventually) aristocratic woman, who was also celebrated for her engagement with music.

This section will look at some of the sources dealing with 18th-century discussions about, and views of, women in general. The often extremely misogynistic way in which local, contemporary publications dealt with and spoke about women will aid in understanding what it meant to be a woman in Vienna at this time. Similarly, debates on gender and class differences will give insight to how women navigated negative stereotypes, particularly in the upper class. Naturally, there neither is nor was there ever 'just one way' to be a woman. One needs to 'push back against straightforward narratives […] and instead dwell in the ambiguity of the archive.'[383]

[383] Freeland 2020.

Empress Maria Theresia

One cannot write about women in 18th-century Vienna without mentioning Empress Maria Theresia (1717-1780). Political aspects of her career, the effect of the *Pragmatische Sanktion* ('pragmatic sanction'), and the War of Austrian Succession have been dealt with exhaustively in previous scholarship, such as Stollberg-Rilinger's 2017 publication *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit. Eine Biographie*. Instead, this chapter will focus mainly on Maria Theresia's person and her social commitments, as well as contemporary commentary. Some of the Empress's daughters also serve as particular examples of lives and education statuses that had an exemplary effect on other upper-class women.

The Empress's Body

Contemporary sources describe Maria Theresia's political successes and struggles in one breath with detailed descriptions of her looks and personal demeanour. Stollberg-Rilinger points out that sovereign's bodies were central to the order of their realms – both in a metaphorical and very literal sense. Their bodies represented the 'center of the sociosymbolic order' and were 'subject of political discourse.'[384] Therefore, it was essential for them to display vitality in their physical condition. Beauty, integrity, hygiene, and discipline, as well as health and fertility, were important and cemented the belief in their 'birthright' to rule the country; their physical conditions – and social hierarchy – having been 'passed on' to them 'in quasi natural fashion.'[385] Arneth quotes from reports by Graf Podewils to King Friedrich of Prussia, and by the Venetian ambassador written in the 1740s. They appeared to have switched swiftly between

[384] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, Robert Savage (transl.). 2021. *Maria Theresa. The Habsburg Empress in her time.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 254.
[385] Stollberg-Rilinger, p. 254.

discussing the aftermath of Maria Theresia's succession, to a thorough – and appeasingly flattering – account of her appearance:

> […] Besaß sie ja doch alle Eigenschaften im höchsten Grade, welche die Zuneigung, die Verehrung der Menschen zu gewinnen geeignet sind. Ihre körperliche Schönheit hatte sich erst nach ihrer Vermählung zu vollem Glanze entwickelt; seltener Liebreiz und majestätisches Wesen waren in ihrer äußeren Erscheinung in eigenthümlicher Weise vereinigt. Der reine Strahl des tiefblauen Auges, voll Lebhaftigkeit und doch zugleich voll Sanftmuth, die hohe Stirne, das reiche blonde Haar, der sanft geschwellte Mund, die blendend weißen Zähne, das feine Oval und der heitere Ausdruck des Antlitzes, die frische Hautfarbe, die wundervollen Formen des Halses, der Arme und der Hände, die ganze von Gesundheit strotzende, zugleich anmuthige und doch kräftige, mehr als mittelgroße Gestalt, ihr leichter und doch zugleich würdevoller Gang ließen Maria Theresia als eine jener wenigen, von der Natur bevorzugten Frauen erscheinen, welche als Muster vollendeter Weiblichkeit angesehen werden können. Dazu gesellt sich noch eine bewunderungswürdige Lebhaftigkeit des Geistes, eine scharfe Urtheilskraft, ein immer treues Gedächtniß, die glückliche Gabe, ihre Gedanken, sei es im Privatgespräch, sei es in öffentlicher Rede mit Leichtigkeit, mit Sicherheit und in einer von der Richtigkeit ihrer Anschauungen überzeugenden Weise auszudrücken, ein warmer Sinn für den Ruhm ihres Hauses und das Wohl ihrer Unterthanen, ein tief eingewurzeltes Gefühl für Recht und Gesetz, eine ihrem Innersten entstammende Frömmigkeit und ein durch Nichts zu erschütterndes Vertrauen auf Gott.

> […] After all, she possessed in the highest degree all the qualities that are capable of winning people's affection and adoration. Her physical beauty had only developed into its full splendour after her marriage; rare charm and majesty were united in a peculiar way in her external appearance. The pure spark of the deep blue eyes, full of liveliness and yet at the same time full of gentleness, the high forehead, the rich blonde hair, the gently swollen mouth, the dazzling white teeth, the fine oval and the serene expression of the face, the fresh skin colour, the wonderful shapes of the neck, arms and hands, the entire figure, brimming with health, at the same time graceful and yet strong, more than medium-size person, her light yet dignified gait made Maria Theresia appear to be one of those few women, favoured by nature, who can be seen as a model of perfect femininity. Added are an admirable liveliness of spirit, a keen judgement, and an ever-faithful memory, the fortunate gift of expressing her thoughts, whether in private conversation or in public speech, with ease, with certainty and in a way that convinces of the rightness of her views, a warm sense of the glory of her house and the well-being of her subjects, a deep-rooted feeling for justice and law, a piety that comes from her innermost being and a trust in god that nothing can shake. [386]

[386] Alefred von Arneth 1863. *Geschichte Maria Theresia's* Vol. 1. Vienna: Braumüller, pp. 86f.

The common way of describing the 'ideal woman' would likely have not described her as powerful. Yet, as Maria Theresia was the Empress of Austria, she was stylised as 'graceful and yet strong,' emphasising female attributes of elegance and beauty. Her *womanhood* was highlighted, and narratives around her focused on aspects of her body and appearance; counterbalancing tales of her political power and strength. It is also interesting to note that 'physical beauty,' according to the writer, only fully blossomed after the Empress got married.[387]

Over-emphasising looks and physical appearance was (and is) not uncommon for women in general. Yet, due to her status, many commentators steered clear of overt misogyny. While her strength was praised, any mention of political and personal skill, intelligence, and power was offset by mentions of 'womanly qualities' such as physical beauty, a gentle spirit, and great religious piety. Perhaps surprisingly, though, even men of high social status were expected to adhere to certain beauty standards.[388] Stollberg-Rilinger quoted that the Austrian Prince Liechtenstein believed princes 'are honoured and beloved [on account of their] well-proportioned figures and physiognomies.'[389] Still, women aristocrats received their own unique brand of physical appraisal, considering that descriptions of 'full lips' and strikingly 'deep blue eyes' seem to have even made it into reports of international political envoys.

Piety and Politics

Maria Theresia was known as a particularly pious empress. Her devotion to Catholicism and strict 'moral' behaviour, as well as harsh rejection of anything superstitious or otherwise 'anti-

[387] See Chapter II.ii.
[388] See Chapter I.i.
[389] Stollberg-Rilinger 2021, p. 255.

Catholic,' is well established. Her personal brand of piety did not, however, stop her from heavily criticising established practices of the clergy, when it suited her agenda. Or perhaps, that was precisely how she moulded her piety: condemning financial wastefulness and greed. Around 1750, she expressed plans to end practices that gifted earnings and estates to local rulers in order to support clerical footholds and institutions; this was motivated by the constant shortage of money that endless wars around her succession caused. Yet, it was communicated rather slyly, effectively shedding positive light on her and her commitment to demure religious virtue. She wrote:

> Meine Vorfahren haben aus großer Pietät […] viel und zwar die meisten Cameralgüter und Einkünfte verschenkt, was in jener Zeit zur Unterstützung der Religion und zur Förderung der Geistlichkeit wohl hat geschehen können. Da aber Gott uns jetzt in den deutschen Erblanden so gesegnet hat, daß sowohl die katholische Religion die blühendste, als die Geistlichkeit genugsam und wohl fundirt ist, so fällt dieser Grundsatz hinweg, und es wäre nicht allein nicht löblich, sondern ich hielte es vielmehr für schädlich, wenn an die Geistlichkeit noch mehr gegeben und abgetreten würde, weil sie einerseits solches nicht bedarf, andererseits aber das, was sie besitzt, leider nicht so verwendet wie sie sollte, und dabei das Publicum sehr bedrückt, indem kein Kloster in der Schranken der Stiftung verbleibt und viele Müßiggänger angenommen werden, welches Alles eine große Remedur noch erfordern wird, wo mit der Zeit und nach guter Ueberlegung die Sache weiters auszuführen gedenke.
>
> My predecessors, out of great piety […], gave away many, more precisely, most of the cameral estates and earnings, which, at the time, could very well happen to support religion and promote the clergy. However, since god has blessed the German hereditary lands in such a way that both the Catholic religion is the most thriving and the cloth is frugal and well-established, this precept can be omitted, and it would not be particularly commendable, but rather I would think it disgraceful, if anything more were to be given and relinquished to the clergy, for on the one hand they do not require such, on the other hand that which they do possess is not being used as it should be, greatly aggrieving the public as no monastery stays within the boundaries of the establishment and many idlers are being admitted, all of which will still require a great remedy, where, with time and after thorough consideration the matter will be enforced.[390]

[390] Aldred von Arneth. 1870. *Die Geschichte Maria Theresia's* Vol. 4. Vienna: Braumüller, p. 3.

The Empress represented in this quote eloquently argues like the skilled politician she was. Her aim – to accumulate financial means for the state – is never expressed as such. Rather, she emphasised her commitment to morality and 'true' devoutness to her religion. The above is an example of her curation of outwardly displayed 'Catholic propriety.'

Various educational publications printed during her reign equally supported and emphasised the importance of 'proper' Catholicism, while also condemning superstitions. These Catholic instructional texts included treatises on topics such as preventing people from abandoning their faith and/or encouraging others to convert; as well as guides for how to refute and disprove common anti-Catholic criticism.[391] Some books specifically targeted women's (allegedly cross-confessional, but in practice strongly Christian) religious learning:

> Du magst nicht im Kleinen, Verborgenen, wie ein Weib wohlthätig seyn, weil du es nicht im Großen, öffentlich, wie ein Mann seyn kannst.
>
> Möchte' es mir doch gelingen, dich von der Unnatur dieses Strebens zu überzeugen, und wie sehr du dadurch an deiner schönen Weiblichkeit verdirbst. Wenn die zarte Flöte schmettern wollte wie die Trompete […]: so wäre die Flöte keine Flöte […], ohne daß darum die Flöte zur Trompete […] würde. Sie wären herausgetreten aus ihrer Natur, hätten sich zu widrigen Zwitterwesen gemacht, die nichts mehr seyn und wirken könnten. Das wird auch dein Fall seyn, wenn du in einen männlichen Wirkungskreis treten, wie ein Mann wirken wolltest, ohne den Geist und die Kraft des Mannes zu haben. Sieh hin auf alle die Weiber, die, durch Lagen und Umstände oder durch ihren eigenen unbändigen Geist getrieben, in einem männlichen Berufe eine Zeitland wirkten. Sie sind härter, derber, schamloser, eigensinniger geworden, und mußten es fast werden. Sie sind ihrem Geschlechte unleidlich, und dem unsrigen fast noch mehr. Sie sind keine Weiber mehr.
>
> Ja, auch du kannst wirken, wohlthätig wirken, und sollst es; aber auf andere Art, als die Männer. Dein Wirken soll verborgen, leise, in deinem nächsten Kreise seyn; es soll auf das Innere gehen. Deine Wohlthätigkeit soll verdeckt seyn mit dem Schleier der Jungfräulichkeit; soll nur von dem empfunden werden, der ihr Gegenstand ist; soll nur belohnt werden durch Liebe. Des Mannes Beruf ist der Sonne Beruf, die allsichtbar hervortritt, erleuchtet, erwärmt und belebt rings um sich her. Das Weib wirkt wie das verborgene Erdfeuer im Frühling, – auch zu erwärmen, zu beleben, zu reifen; aber ungesehen, unbemerkt, nur durch die Wirkung bemerkbar, wenn man nicht auch sie blos der allsichtbaren Sonne zuschreibt. Sie wirkt, wie die

[391] See e.g. Catech. Bibliothec. Soc. Jesu (ed.). 1753. *Wiederholtes Kurz und Gut/ Das ist: Wahrer und Klarer Unterricht/ Den Catholischen Glauben zu verthätigen/ Wider alle Die ihn bestreitten*. Vienna: Franz Andre.

> geheimsten Naturkräfte, und durch die geheimsten Naturkräfte – durch Liebe und auf Liebe!
>
> You do not wish to be charitable in small, hidden ways, like a woman, because you cannot be so in great, public ways, like a man.
>
> If only I might succeed in convincing you of the unnaturalness of this striving and how greatly it spoils your beautiful femininity. If the delicate flute wished to blare like the trumpet […], then the flute would no longer be a flute […], without thereby becoming a trumpet […]. They would have stepped out of their nature, turning themselves into unnatural hybrid beings, incapable of being or acting as anything. This will also be your fate if you wish to enter a male sphere of action and act like a man without possessing the spirit and strength of a man. Look at all the women who, driven by circumstances or by their own unbridled spirit, have acted for a time in a male profession. They have become harder, rougher, more shameless, and more obstinate – and almost had to become so. They have become intolerable to their own sex and perhaps even more so to ours. They are no longer women.
>
> Yes, you too can act, can act benevolently, and you should – but in a different way than men. Your influence should be hidden, gentle, within your immediate circle; it should reach the inner being. Your benevolence should be veiled by the mantle of virginity, felt only by the one who is its object, and rewarded only by love. A man's vocation is like that of the sun, which appears visibly to all, illuminating, warming, and enlivening everything around it. A woman acts like the hidden fire of the earth in spring – also to warm, to enliven, to bring to maturity – but unseen, unnoticed, perceptible only through its effects, unless one attributes them solely to the all-visible sun. She works like the most secret forces of nature and through the most secret forces of nature – through love and for love![392]

Attempting to convey a kind of universal ethics and morality, women's role was defined as subordinate to that of men, reasoning that it would go against (religiously derived) nature if one failed to do so. Maria Theresia herself maintained, throughout her life, an attitude of devoutness that her contemporaries registered and commented on. In the wake of her husband Francis I's death in 1765, Rautenstrauch commented that:

> Die entsezlichen Kriege, die allerverwirrteste Lage, der unter Ihren Füssen wankende Thron Ihrer Voreltern, die ersten Mächte von Europa, welche wider Sie bewafnet waren, Ihr Erbtheil zu rauben; alles dieses konnte die Standhaftigkeit

[392] Johann Ludwig Ewald. 1808. *Erbauungsbuch für Frauenzimmer aller Konfessionen*. Vol. 1. Frankfurt, Leipzig: Mäckensche Buchhandlung, pp. 144f.

> Marien Theresiens nicht erschüttern: aber der Tod Ihres Gemahls schlug Sie so grausam darnieder, daß man für Ihre Tage besorgt war. Ohne die mächtigen Trostgründe der Religion würde Sie sich schwerlich wieder haben aufrichten können.
>
> The terrible wars, the most convoluted state of affairs, the throne of her ancestors wavering beneath her feet, the greatest powers of Europe armed against her to rob her of her inheritance – all of this could not shake the steadfastness of Maria Theresia. But the death of her husband struck her down so cruelly that there were fears for her life. Without the powerful consolations of religion, she would hardly have been able to recover.[393]

Maria Theresia's openly displayed piety had an exemplary function and is important to consider when examining other noble women who, like Martines, found themselves within the Empress's sphere of influence. Though not acknowledged expressly by the composer herself, the fact that her 'public-facing' music (compositions that were performed in public) was exclusively sacral music suggests a certain determination for displayed piety.

Motherhood

Another aspect often commented on by contemporaries and after her reign was Maria Theresia's role as a mother. Even today, it is one of the most-remembered facts about the Empress that she had a lot of children – 16 to be precise – and she was metaphorically revered as 'mother of the nation.'[394] Otto Christoph von Podewils (1719-1781) commented rather harshly on Maria Theresia and her husband's parenting style. Particularly when it came to their eldest son Joseph II, he accused them of being overly loving – which (to the modern ear) sounds like a positively enlightened way of raising one's children. Podewils wrote:

[393] Johann Rautenstrauch. 1779. *Biographie Marien Theresiens*. Vienna, p. 243.
[394] Source: https://www.onb.ac.at/en/museums/state-hall/programme/previous-exhibitions/maria-theresa-the-habsburgs-most-powerful-woman (accessed 2024-04-01).

> Die schlechte Erziehung, welche der Erzherzog erhält, und die allzu weitgetriebene Zärtlichkeit seiner Eltern lassen nicht darauf hoffen, daß er jemals ein großer Fürst werden wird. Indem die Kaiserin der Art und Weise mißbilligt, in welcher ihre Vorfahren erzogen wurden, verfolgt sie bei der Erziehung ihrer Kinder, und insbesondere ihres ältesten Sohnes doch nur den gleichen Weg. Sie vergöttert […] den Erzherzog Joseph, und sie läßt ihm viele Fehler hingehen, um derentwillen sie ihn strafen sollte.
>
> The poor upbringing which the Archduke receives and the excessive tenderness of his parents do not give rise to any hope that he will ever become a great ruler. While the Empress disapproves of the manner in which her ancestors were raised, she still follows the same path of raising her children, particularly her eldest son. She idolizes […] the Archduke Joseph and allows him to make many mistakes for which she should punish him.[395]

It is interesting to note that early childhood care and education of the Empress's children was undertaken exclusively by women. Joseph II's first *Aja* (after the Spanish term for nanny) was Gräfin Bernes, followed by Gräfin Katharina von Saurau. The children's *Ajas* were given free rein with the children. They were also required to oversee the *Wärterinnen* ('wardresses') of the children. Only in matters of health did they have to refer and adhere to whatever the court physician van Swieten said and were obligated to inform Maria Theresia of goings-on – at any hour of the day or night.[396] At the age of seven, Joseph II was entrusted to his first *Ajo* (male nanny) and male tutors. His main *Ajo* was Field Marshal Graf Karl Batthyany; and Franz Joseph Weger, an Augustin monk, was his tutor. He received lessons in history, geography, Latin, foreign languages, rhetorics, and law, as well as religion, music, and physical exercises including dancing and riding.[397]

[395] Podewils after Arneth 1870 Vol. 4, p. 156.
[396] Arneth 1870 Vol. 4, pp. 157f.
[397] Arneth 1870 Vol. 4, pp. 154-176.

As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, Joseph II received Italian lessons from Joseph Martines. Arneth gives an account of these lessons, adding some valuable insight into what materials and literature were used for tutorials:

> Der Unterricht in der italienischen Sprache wurde dem Erzherog von dem Bibliotheksbeamten Joseph Martinez ertheilt. Er lernte sie leicht, las und sprach sie gern. Hier bewegte sich die Lectüre großen Theils auf dem Gebiete der Prosa. Ein Theil der Weke Muratori's, die Geschichte der französischen Bürgerkriege von Davila, die Briefe des Cardinals Bentivoglio werden erwähnt, doch fehlen auch Tasso's befreites Jerusalem und Metastasio's dramatische Werke nicht in der Liste.

> Instruction in the Italian language was given to the archduke by the library official Joseph Martinez. He learned it with ease, enjoyed reading and speaking it. Here, the reading is sourced mainly from the genre of prose. A part of Muratori's works, the history of the French civil wars by Davila, the letters of cardinal Bentivoglio are mentioned, but Tasso's liberated Jerusalem and Metastasio's dramatic works are not missing from the list either.[398]

Maria Theresia was somewhat unconventional, as she implemented methods of 'playful' learning for her son.[399] Alfred von Arneth, who collected a plethora of original sources of the imperial household, wrote:

> Herr Weger […] welcher bei allen Lectionen anwesend war, that alles Mögliche, um sie dem Prinzen angenehm zu machen. Voll steter Aufmerksamkeit auf den Geschmack und die Stimmung des Erzherzogs, wußte er tausend verschieden Wege einzuschlagen und tausend kleine Kunstgriffe anzuwenden, welche ihn immer an's Ziel führten, so daß man wohl sagen kann, daß während dieser ersten Jahre die Lehrstunden für den Erzherzog mehr eine Erheiterung als eine ernste Beschäftigung waren. Doch ist hievon der Religionsunterricht auszunehmen, welcher ihm stets nur mit Ernst und Würde ertheilt wurde, und bei dem man von ihm all die Aufmerksamkeit und Ehrfurcht verlangte, welche die Sache verdient.

[398] Arneth 1870 Vol. 4, p. 176.
[399] See Chapter IV.ii.

> Mr. Weger […] who was present at all the lessons did everything possible to make them pleasant for the prince. Full of constant attention to the taste and mood of the Archduke, he knew how to take a thousand different paths and use a thousand little tricks, which always led him to his goal, so that one can probably say that during these first years the lessons for the archduke were more entertainment than serious occupation. However, this did not apply to religious studies, which were always taught to him with seriousness and dignity, and which he was required to give all the attention and reverence that the matter deserves.[400]

Overall, Maria Theresia was meticulous in her demands regarding her children's education. Several letters and instruction sheets drawn up for the children's governesses survive. They contain Maria Theresia's wishes and orders, with minute details, as to how her children were to be raised, educated, fed, and entertained. An instructional letter for Maria Josepha's governess, for instance, emphasised that the princess should go out walking (promenading) as often as possible. Great attention should be paid to her posture, and grimacing or pulling faces was to be discouraged. She was not to be pampered too much by being kept too warm, nor should she be too delicate. Further, she should learn French and Spanish – though, Spanish should be learned in secret.[401] Additionally, there were lessons – daily or on alternating days – in writing, reading, history, dancing, letter writing, and several others. Religious instruction also took up a lot of time in her daily instructions.[402]

Health was a great concern for the children, and on multiple occasions Maria Theresia instructed the governesses, *Ajas*, and *Ajos* to always and at once consult van Swieten, the court physician, whenever there was any sign of her children being unwell. Though they were obviously extremely precious – both to Maria Theresia herself and to her political ambitions for the continued thriving of the Habsburg empire – the children were not to behave as such.

[400] Ibid., pp. 163f.
[401] The sources at hand do not elaborate on why Spanish was to be learned in secret. Maria Josepha was to marry the king of Naples, the prospect of the match caused the Empress some concern due to the character of her daughter's betrothed. However, she died before the wedding could take place. Maria Theresia's wish for her daughter to know Spanish may have been out of political-tactical considerations.
[402] Friedrich Firnhaber. 1851. *Maria Theresia als Mutter: ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Kaiserin.* Vienna: Pichler's Witwe, pp. 2-4.

Hygiene was emphasised as a central concern, and the children should be washed and comb their hair every day. Several passages speak about the children being expected to eat at least a bit of everything they were served, and they were supposed to be kept healthy by avoiding sugar (amongst other things). Johanna, one of the younger daughters, was apparently very picky with her food, and particularly disgusted by the prospect of eating fish. In one of the Empress's instructions, she singles out Johanna, ordering the governesses to teach her daughter to overcome her revulsion.[403] The same Johanna was mentioned as being particularly strong-willed – this strong-headedness was to be broken:

> ich fürchte die johanna hat einen starken Kopf obwohlen sonsten fähigkeit genug hat, wan das also ist, so ist bey zeitten selber zu brechen. das wird sie selbsten noch besser mit der zeit es erfahren.
>
> I fear Johanna has a strong head, though she is otherwise sufficiently capable, if that is the case, the same needs to be broken. She herself will learn that better in due time.[404]

One of the popular activities for the children was to perform plays and operas. Music was highly valued by the Habsburgs and personal accomplishment in musical arts, both for educational and entertainment purposes, were encouraged (within reason). Burney recounts one instance when several of the archduchesses performed Hasse's opera *Egeria*, after a libretto by Metastasio, which was written expressly for them.[405] Reading Martines's autobiographical letter and her description of her education, planned and directed by Metastasio, one cannot help

[403] Unknown (ed.). 1834. *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereines in dem Unterdonaukreise. Erster Band. Erstes Heft.* Passau: Ambrosius Ambrosi, pp. 30-35.
[404] Unknown 1834, *Verhandlungen*, p. 32.
[405] Burney 1775, p. 257.

but note parallels between the broad aristocratic education of the Habsburg children and that of the composer:

> Being persuaded that to succeed in music one needs other knowledge, I set about acquiring, in addition to German and Italian (my native tongues), a familiarity with French, in order to be able to read the fine poets and writers who distinguish themselves in it; and [this] without failing to practice continually in speaking and translating from one language into the other […].[406]

Maria Anna, the eldest daughter

The oldest surviving child of Maria Theresia was Maria Anna (1738-1789). It does not take much to bridge the gap: Marianna (sometimes written as 'Maria Anna'[407]) Martines was named after the Archduchess. Martines was born six years after the duchess, in 1744, as the first daughter of the Martines family. Though christened Maria Catharina, she was generally known as – and signed her name – Marianna. Similarly, Archduchess Maria Anna was known as Marianne. The entry of the Archduchess in the Austrian National Encyclopedia from 1838 gives a brief biographical outline:

> Maria Anna, Erzherzoginn zu Österreich und Äbtissinn zu Prag, Ehrenmitglied der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien, älteste Schwester Kaiser Joseph's II, geboren den 6. Oct. 1738, starb zu Klagenfurt den 19. Nov. 1789. Sie besaß eine vorzügliche Liebe zu Wissenschaften und Künsten, malte und radirte selbst, sammelte eine bedeutende Bibliothek und Mineralien, die nach ihrem Tode zum Theil der Universität zu Pesth zufielen, so wie sie auch die unter der Kaiserinn Maria Theresia geschlagenen Denkmünzen beschrieb. Gelehrte und verdienstvolle Männer erfreuten sich ihres Schutzes und ihrer Unterstützung.

[406] Quoted after Marianna von Martines, Irving Godt (ed.). 1997. 'Dixit Dominus' in: *Recent Research in the Music of the Classical Era* Vol. 48. A-R Editions, p. vii.

[407] To avoid confusion, Marianna Martines will always be referred to as Marianna, when using her first name – except in direct quotes of sources that give her name as 'Maria Anna' – and the archduchess, eldest daughter of Maria Theresia, will always be Maria Anna in this thesis.

> Maria Anna, archduchess of Austria and abbess at Prague, honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, eldest sister of emperor Joseph II, born on 6 October 1738, died in Klagenfurt on 19 November 1789. She possessed a great love to sciences and arts, painted and etched herself, collected a significant library and minerals, part of which went to the University of Pest after her death, further she gave descriptions of commemorative coins of the Empress Maria Theresia. Erudite and meritorious men enjoyed her protection and support.[408]

Maria Anna never married. Some sources describe her as disabled; others simply as 'sickly.' Most sources describe her health issues not as congenital but as caused by illness during her early years. She appears to have had a malformation of the thorax and/or spine, as well as respiratory problems. Other than her disability, there is no plausible explanation for her remaining single, given the well-established practice of Empress Maria Theresia marrying off her children to serve her political interests. Maria Anna, in particular, would have been a desirable match, as she was the heiress-presumptive until Joseph II was born. The *Neue Deutsche Biographie* explicitly states that her 'spinal fusion' and resulting kyphosis were the reasons she remained unmarried. They add that she received a 'rather male' education and was the 'erudite one' among the Habsburg princesses.[409]

Among Maria Anna's academic interests were mineralogy, numismatics, physics, chemistry, and botany. She was also a great supporter of contemporary artists, collecting paintings and applying herself to the arts of drawing, aquarelle painting, and copperplate engraving. One of her greatest undertakings was a 'metallic history' containing detailed drawings and descriptions of 291 medals connected to Maria Theresia's reign.[410] It should be pointed out that she shared

[408] Unknown (ed.). 1838. *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie, oder alphabetische Darlegung der wissenswürdigsten Eigenthümlichkeiten des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* Vol. 3. Vienna: Mich. Schmidl's Witwe & Ign. Klang, p. 564.
[409] Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode (ed.). 1990. *Neue deutsche Biographie* Vol. 16. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, p. 191.
[410] William Monter. 2011. Numismatics and Female Monarchs in Europe, 1300-1800. In: *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 41, No. 4, pp. 533-564, here: p. 557.

her interest in coins and medals with Joseph Martines, who was arguably one of the foremost numismatic specialists in the Habsburg capital.[411] However, none of the currently known sources provide definitive proof that the two crossed paths in the pursuit of this particular interest.

After Maria Theresia had passed away and Joseph II took over as Emperor, Maria Anna moved to Klagenfurt, where she founded a centre for scholars and poets. She also funded and co-led the archaeological explorations of the Roman city Virunum in Carinthia. Throughout her life, she fostered close ties to the Catholic church, eventually becoming Abbess of a convent in Prague, though she did not spend much time there. Once she had moved to Klagenfurt, she formed close ties with the order of St Elisabeth and lived in close proximity to their monastery.[412] Kitzberger argues that Maria Anna was very conscious about and involved in self-fashioning her own image and representation. This was done particularly through structural interlinking of pictorial rhetoric between her own portraits over the years and carefully targeted breaking with Habsburg-iconography. In her final portrait from 1781, she appears to be without makeup, and her courtly elegance had been toned down to graceful simplicity, emphasising her connection to the church over her identity as a member of the house of Habsburg.[413]

Maria Anna provided a blueprint for aristocratic unmarried – and disabled – women. With marriage 'off the table,' scholarly and artistic pursuits were more acceptable as a near-full time occupation. Where otherwise overly thorough studies would have been seen as 'manly' and not fit for a woman, Maria Anna's circumstances meant she was able to dedicate herself to

[411] See Chapter I.i. on Joseph Martines.
[412] Stolberg-Wernigerode 1990, pp. 191f
[413] Stefanie Kitzberger. 2016. '„Ich brauch in keinem Zimmer keinen Baldachin wär auch sehr lächerlich" – Selbstinszenierung und Repräsentation der Erzherzogin Maria Anna' in: Eva Kernbauer, Aneta Zahradnik (eds.). *Höfische Porträtkultur. Die Bildnissammlung der österreichischen Erzherzogin Maria Anna (1738-1789)*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 48-56.

them more deeply. While ensuring a stellar reputation through displays of great piety, she was left relatively free to pursue artistic and academic interests unencumbered. She thereby set a precedent and standard for other Austrian noble women who would or could not marry.

Matronage

By the second half of the century, it had become common practice throughout large parts of Europe for women of royal families to take on a more visible role. This was expressed particularly through the practice of *matronage*, and – it is worth noting – specifically also matronage of women artists. Some of these artists were commissioned to produce portraits that would create 'conceptions of royal femininity,'[414] under the instruction of Empresses and royal Consorts like Maria Theresia and her daughters Maria Carolina (1752-1814) and Marie Antoinette (1755-1793). They were also highly educated in the arts: Marie Antoinette, for instance, was said to sight-read at a professional level and had studied the harp under Joseph Hinner.[415] Strobel points out that the Habsburg court, where the Queen Consorts Maria Carolina and Marie Antoinette grew up, fostered an environment of matronage. The royal household placed great importance on the arts, and the Habsburg children were introduced to many intellectual women and women artists. Therefore, it seemed only natural that they should continue to do so once they left Austria for other European monarchies.

For example, Maria Carolina commissioned several paintings of herself from Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807). The Swiss painter had made a name for herself in England, depicting 'the public and private aspects of an 18th-century queenship,'[416] and this was what

[414] Heidi A. Strobel. 2005. 'Royal "Matronage" of Women Artists in the Late-18th Century' in: *Woman's Art Journal* Vol. 26 No. 2, pp. 3-9, here: p. 3.
[415] Antonia Fraser. 2001. *Marie Antoinette. The Journey*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, p. 24.
[416] Ibid., pp. 4f.

Maria Carolina needed when her popularity as Queen of Naples was at an all-time low. Heavily criticised for 'transgressing' beyond what was deemed appropriate for noble women of the time, she sought to readjust her image. All the while, she continued to serve on the Neapolitan State Council, stepping in for her husband who reputedly preferred pursuing his 'love of hunting.'[417] Navigating the feminine *imaginary*[418] in public and private spheres was one of the central concerns of aristocratic women in positions of power at the time. The arts, as well as matronage of artists, aided in shaping and curating representations of femininity and their self-fashioned public-facing personas. Notably, Maria Carolina was also in possession of a collection of 24 arias by Martines.[419]

One of the artists with whom Maria Theresia entertained a lifelong relationship was Maria Antonia Walpurgis Symphorosa (1724-1780), possibly the inventor of the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.[420] Walpurgis had spent some time living with the Habsburg family, composing music and writing poetry. Maria Theresia's subsequent support of the aristocratic composer from Saxony had an exemplary effect. For one, scholars have traced similarities between Maria Theresia's matronage of women artists to that of the Empress's daughters.[421] Beyond that, the Empress's support of women composers would have influenced upper-class engagement with women artists and society at large. Walpurgis's belonging to the upper echelons of society and pursuing music in such an active way, further legitimised music as an acceptable pastime for upper-class women in general. In this way, she helped to normalise women's engagement with music for her contemporaries. And – it should be noted – this appears to have had lasting effects for the coming generations; at least among her progeny. Her own granddaughter, Duchess Amalia of Saxony (or Amalie Heiter, her pen name) was

[417] Strobel 2005, p. 5.
[418] See e.g. Monique Wittig. 1992. 'One is not born a woman' in: *The Straight Mind*. Beacon Press, p. 26; Judith Butler. 1990, 2006. *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge, p. 38.
[419] Martines, *Scelta d'Arie*, BCSP, Arie 417 A & B. See below.
[420] At the very least, she did so long before Richard Wagner popularised the idea.
[421] Strobel 2005, p. 9

celebrated as a poet, honoured with a silver laurel of the Dresden literary society, as well as a composer, writing several operas, an operetta that was performed in the Dresden Court Theatre, and a considerable amount of sacred music.[422]

So far, there is no concrete proof that Martines and Walpurgis ever corresponded, but it is hard to believe that they would have been completely unaware of each other. Beyond their common connection to the Habsburg court, Walpurgis was in touch with others from Martines's circle of professional contacts and acquaintances. In 1747, for instance, Porpora (one of Martines's teachers) dedicated a composition to Walpurgis on the occasion of her birthday.[423] Both Walpurgis and Metastasio were members of the *Accademia dell'Arcadie* in Rome.[424] Walpurgis also corresponded with Padre Martini, but never joined the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*.[425] A letter to the priest from 1770 survives, in which Walpurgis appears to thank him for having received a work of his; namely the second volume of the *Storia della musica* (History of Music).[426] Previously, Martini had already dedicated some duets to her: the 1763 *Duetti da Camera*. His dedication suggests that Walpurgis had, on her part, sent him one of her own volumes, and that he was familiar with her work as a composer and poet:

> Io lo dedico e consagro a quel Genio amabile che vi piace pur di avere, a tanta loro gloria, per questi dolci e ameni studi; ne' quali per verità se potete andar del paro con tanti principi della Real Vostra Casa, che seguitamente per ben due secoli gli hanno così grandemente amati, Voi potete anche di leggieri andar innanzi ad assai altri eziandio, che per professione tuttora gli coltivano. Io non parlo a caso, e l'egregio libro recentemente per Voi dato alla luce mostra abbastanza e palesa l'altro valore e l'intima cognizione e la felice natura che avete per la poesia ugualmente che per la musica. Del qual inclito volume siccome degnata vi siete di farne a me pure un prezioso dono, così mi avete astretto e a professarvene la più

[422] Joseph Müller (ed.). 'Vermischte literarische Mittheilungen. Herzogin Amalia zu Sachsen, pseud. Amalie Heiter' in: *AmZ*, 21 August 1872, pp. 549f.
[423] Nicola Porpora. 1747. *2 Filandro. Dramma comico Pastorale*, SLUB Dresden, N.I.10296.
[424] Christine Fischer. 2007. *Instrumentierte Visionen weiblicher Macht*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 50ff.
[425] Ibid., p. 53.
[426] Maria Cristina Casali (ed.), et al. 1984. *Collezionismo e storiografia musicale nel Settecento. La quadreria e la biblioteca di Padre Martini.* Bologna: Nuova Alfa, p. 153.

> ossequiosa obbligazione e a dimostrarvene ancora, per quanto la tenuità mia il consente, un qualche segno di grata riconoscenza […].
>
> I dedicate and consecrate this to the lovely genius that so pleases you to possess, to all your glory for these sweet and pleasant studies; in which truthfully they are en par with many princes of Your Royal House who continuously loved them greatly for two centuries, you can easily go ahead of many others too, even those who still cultivate them professionally. I do not speak at random, and the excellent book recently published for you shows sufficiently and reveals the other value and the intimate knowledge and happy nature that you equally have for poetry and music. Since you have deigned to make this notable volume a precious gift to me also, thus you have forced me both to profess the most obsequious obligation to you and demonstrate also, as far as my weakness allows, some sign of grateful appreciation […].[427]

Walpurgis's compositional accomplishments were outstanding. Not only did she publish a lot of work, she was also particularly known as an opera composer – unusual for women who were not supposed to 'make a spectacle' of themselves. She wrote two operas, *Il trionfo della fedeltà* (1754) and *Talestri* (1762). She published these under her pen name E. T. P. A., which stands for Ermelinda Talea Pastorella Arcade. Her work enjoyed relatively wide dissemination. *Talestri*, in particular, received international attention. One of the arias (Act II, Scene VI 'Io di quell sangue ò sete') was included by Antonio Eximeno y Pujades in his volume *Dell' origine e delle regole della musica* (1774) and popular melodies were arranged for keyboard, an example of which – a march from the opera – can be found in the *Clavierbuch* of Rosina Elisabetha von Münch from 1777.[428]

Walpurgis wrote both the libretti and music of her operas. Burney praises her work as 'a reconciliation between poetry and music:'[429] she had 'united those arts which had been so long

[427] Martini after Casali 1984, p. 146.
[428] SBB, Mus.ms. 30327, p. 64 – transcription see Appendix 2.
[429] Matthew Head. 2013. *Sovereign Feminine. Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany.* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 27-47.

separated.'[430] On top of that, she sang the lead roles herself.[431] Joubert rightly points out that the role of aristocratic women in music needs to be explored not under the assumption that their musical status was in any way subordinate, but quite the contrary: with the aim of highlighting 'the complexity of various identities – sovereign, performer, composer – [that are] entangled in the fabric of the works themselves.'[432] The fascinating case of Walpurgis is that of a noble woman secure in the knowledge that her high aristocratic background lent her some protection. She obviously still had to adhere to a myriad of social rules and conventions, but seems to have enjoyed (comparatively) more liberties when it came to quasi-professional artistic undertakings.

Though clearly a highly accomplished composer, Walpurgis, like so many other aristocratic musicians, labelled herself a *dilettante*. Burney quotes her as having said that, 'We, who are only Dilettanti, can never expect to equal masters; for, with the same genius, we want application and experience.'[433] Rather than taking these self-judgements as proof of (lacking) quality, they need to be seen as part of the identity-fashioning process that Walpurgis and so many others engaged in. Between her own noble birth and her championing by Empress Maria Theresia, Walpurgis would have broken with conventions too much had she failed to claim the label of a dilettante.[434] In contrast to Martines, Walpurgis's family background was not one of social mobility within the upper-middle class, but a secure foundation of financial and social capital. As a dilettante, then, Walpurgis was quite free to pursue music and poetry to an almost unrivalled degree. Her triple-role as librettist, composer, and performer exemplifies in particular her innovative spirit and ground-breaking work.

[430] Burney 1775, pp. 135f.
[431] Estelle Joubert. 2015. 'Performing Sovereignty, Sounding Autonomy: Political Representation in the Operas of Maria Antonia of Saxony' in: *Music & Letters* Vol. 96 No. 3, pp. 344-389, here: pp. 344f.
[432] Joubert 2015, p. 352.
[433] Burney 1775, pp. 136f.
[434] Also see Cypess 2022, pp. 161f.

Dilettantes and Women's Networks

In Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 1796, Martines is particularly praised for her academies – her salon-type concerts.[435] Academies were a staple in the Viennese music scene and she was one of the central players. As is the case with a lot of scholarship on historic women, only scant traces of such women's achievements, and the impact they had on their surroundings and life in general, made it into the archives. Salons have previously in scholarship mostly been explored for the impact they had on 'the careers of the (predominantly male) composers who attended them […],' and few have explored salons from the point of view of the salonnière herself.[436] Martines's involvement in the wider salon scene of Vienna can be inferred only from scattered references: for example, her entry in the (lost) autograph book of Barbara Ployer, which confirms her visit at the Ployers' home.[437] Before delving into the salon and musical persona of Martines herself,[438] this section will provide more details regarding some of the other salonnières and upper-class women that shaped Vienna's musical scene.

Thus far, Martines scholarship, outside of research pertaining to select compositions, has exclusively focussed on select individuals within her musical network and the Martines family's proximity to the Habsburg court. Aside from her various musical teachers, including Joseph Haydn and Nicola Porpora, her network consisted predominantly of connections arranged by Metastasio. Among these was Padre Martini of the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*, as well as musical luminaries like Farinelli, who have been mentioned with varying frequency. An outlier, perhaps, is W. A. Mozart who was an (allegedly frequent) attendee at Martines's salons; though his name is almost always included in any discussion of Martines. Otherwise, Martines's salons – though their significance in Vienna is proven – are largely

[435] Schönfeld 1796, p. 71ff.
[436] Cypess 2022, p. 8.
[437] See Chapter I.ii on historical sources.
[438] See Chapter III.

vacant spaces in scholarship. This is partly due to the fact that most salons did not produce programme booklets or other easily archivable material, because 'individual hand-held programs did not become common until well into the nineteenth century.'[439] Even so, there are still several under-explored areas. In an attempt to fully grasp Martines's 'actual' life and her social and cultural-musical influence in Vienna, her connections to other salonnières and non-musicians are at least as essential as her international music network. Among them were several church officials, like Abate Bertola and Padre Valsuani.[440] The latter is mentioned by Martines in a letter to Bertola. She recounts multiple visits by Valsuani, including his attendance at her 'Saturday *conversazion*' (i.e. her salons).[441]

There are also mentions, though few and far between, of other upper-class and aristocratic women of Vienna that Martines appears to have been in touch with; though some existing scholarship should be revisited and reviewed. Karl Zinzendorf noted in his diary on 14 October 1762 that he saw 'Martinitz' [sic] at the Trautsons'.[442] Marie Karoline Fürstin Trautson[443] was a lady-in-waiting to Empress Maria Theresia. She was also known as one of the most intelligent women at the court. Andreas Joseph Graf Thürheim mentioned her in his memoirs *Von den Sevennen bis zur Newa*, where Trautson was described as 'one of the most spirited and vivacious women at the court of Maria Theresia'. She was 'extremely popular' with the Empress: 'the monarch discussed all details of the imperial family, society etc. with her.' [444] She was also very active in the cultural life of Vienna. She 'had a great love of the theatre,' and on her residence in Monperon she hosted musical salons, where:

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[439] Mary Sue Morrow. 1989. Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution. Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, pp. xixf.
[440] Godt suggests that the latter is probably Angelo Valsuani, originally from Milano, 'who studied German literature in Vienna and science at the University of Pavia' (Godt 2010, p. 285).
[441] Godt 2010, p. 241.
[442] Quoted by Fremar 1983 and Irving Godt. 1995. 'Marianna in Italy: The International Reputation of Marianna Martines (1744-1812)' in: *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. 13 No. 4, pp. 538-561.
[443] See Constantin von Wurzbach. 1883. *BLKÖ* Vol. 47, pp. 51f.
[444] Andreas Joseph von Thürheim, unknown (ed.). 1879. *Von den Sevennen bis zur Newa (1740-1805). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, p. 101.

> […] men and women of the society performed little pieces that she had composed herself. The young archduchesses also played at times; the court often also visited the castle Goldegg near St. Pölten where the Trautsons gave merry parties.[445]

Zinzendorf describes *Martinitz* as a 'friend of the late Mme de Dunewald.'[446] The exact identity of this 'friend' has been difficult to track down, and the name likely contains a typo. Rather than the French spelling 'Dunewald', I believe it is probably the German homophone 'Dünwald' or 'Dünewald.' I was able to find records of a Ferdinand Heinrich von Dünwald from the 1750s, a medical doctor by the name of Dunwald, active in the 1730s, and a Heinrich Johann Graf von Dünewald mentioned in the late 17th century. Unfortunately, the archives were less successful in remembering the women of these families, so 'Mme de Dunewald' remains a mystery for now. We can assume, however, that Herr von Dünwald from the 1750s is perhaps the most likely contender to be connected to her in some way. In 1751, the *WD* reported on the exequies for the recently deceased Aloysia Carolina Gräfin von Dünewald, a 'Sternkreutzordensdame' ('Dame of the Order of the Starry Cross')[447] – this may or may not be the 'late Mme Dunewald' Zinzendorff referred to.

At this specific occasion, Zinzendorf also met the Papal Nuncio, but despite Nicolò Martines's professional connection to the nunciature, there is no mention of him being in attendance, though he was still alive at the time. Zinzendorf describes the occasion as follows:

> At the Princess Trautson's. I saw Mme de Martinitz [sic] there, friend of the late Mme de Dunewald. Talked to the Nuncio about the opera. He is very critical of its poem. Also about that little boy [Mozart] who played yesterday at Schonbrunn and to-day at Uhlefeld's.[448]

[445] Ibid.
[446] Fremar 1983, p. 9.
[447] *WD,* 21 August 1751, p. 7.
[448] Fremar 1983, pp. 9f.

Trautson is known to have been a central player in upper-class life, with a direct connection to the Imperial Court and a significant influence as a lady-in-waiting and favourite of the Empress. Mme de Dunewald is, as of yet, an unknown entity to us. However, for Zinzendorf to mention her as a way of identifying *Martinitz* in his diary, suggests that she too emerged as a major player in Vienna's social scene. Yet, considering the intense efforts invested by the Martines siblings in elevating their social standing during their earlier years, it seems surprising that Martines would have been at events like these already at such an early age – in 1762 she would only have been 18. Indeed, what Fremar marks as a typographical error was no mistake at all. Zinzendorf referred to Gräfin v. Martinitz, whose maiden name was Gräfin von Trautson.[449] Thus, this diary entry should be removed from the list of historical mentions of Martines.

Another trace yet to be further explored is Martines's godmother. Godt cites Anna Catharina Perrin as her *Taufpatin*, according to the baptismal register of *Michaelerkirche*. That might also explain why Martines's baptismal name is 'Anna Katharina.'[450] The full baptismal record from 4 May 1744 reads:

> [Fräule]in Anna Catharina, parents D[on] Nicolo Martines and D[onna] M[a]r[i]a Theresia his consort, Gentleman of the Papal Nunziatura, in the old Michaelerhaus. Godmother Anna Catharina Perrin; midwife: Dimppelins a' D. Paula.[451]

So far, Perrin's exact identity has not been possible to confirm. The Viennese City Archive contains documents pertaining to the estate of a Katharina Perrin, deceased in 1801. This may be the same one as Martines's godmother; though it would mean that she was extremely young at the time of Martines's christening. If the archival records indeed pertain to the 'correct'

[449] See e.g. *WD*, 22 June 1763, p. 11.
[450] Godt 1998, p. 149.
[451] After Godt 1995, p. 540.

Perrin, then we at least know she was the wife of a painter by the name of Josef, as she is referred to in the archive as *Bildermalersgattin*.[452]

Martines's social network in Vienna, especially during later years (once she and her siblings had established themselves a bit more) remains to be further explored. In particular, those acquaintances who have not been deemed vital to music history but who played a major role in Martines's life, as long-term friends and connections, are worth investigating in more detail. Though their importance has not been 'legitimised' like that of Mozart and Haydn, it does not render them any less central to Martines's life, which makes them worth studying (as far as is possible with scant surviving documents) in order to more deeply understand the composer's biography.

Dedications and Sonorities

Some of Martines's vocal works were dedicated to noble women she appears to have been in touch with, though correspondences do not survive for the most part. None of Martines's keyboard repertoire appears to have been written in a comparable purpose-bound way. Even the two sonatas published by Haffner are not necessarily written specifically for this publication – they may well have been composed independently and sent to him upon a request. One of her dedicated works, her latest known composition, is the cantata *Scena "Orgoglioso fiumicello"* dated 1786, dedicated to Victoria von Fries.[453] Fries was likely one of Martines's singing students.[454] Another earlier work is the aria *Sceglier fra mille un core*,[455] discussed in Chapter I.i, which bears the inscription 'Per la Sig^{ra} Contes^{sa} Spinucci.' The dedicatee, Chiara

[452] WStLA, 2.1.1.16.A1/2.22740, 'Verlassenschaftsabhandlung Katharina Perrin'.
[453] WBR, AC15810583; see Example 54.
[454] Godt 2010, p. 206.
[455] At BnF, D-7413 (1). Transcription see Appendix 2.

Maria Spinucci (1741-1792), was a noblewoman originally from Fremo, Italy. Her parents greatly supported their daughter's education.

> All'avvenenza ond'era adorna, congiunse tutte quelle doti, che addiconsi a gentile, e ben educata fanciulla; perciocchè il canto, il suono la danza, e gli studii delle amene lettere formavano la sua delizia. Pervenuta a diciott'anni, il genitore che vedeva la figliuola aver sortito ingegno perspicacè e superiore all'età, diviso condurla a Vienna ov'ebbe agio a conoscere il celebre Metastasio.
>
> Along with her striking beauty, she possessed all the qualities befitting a refined and well-educated young lady; for singing, music, dance, and the study of fine literature were her greatest delights. Upon reaching the age of eighteen, her father, recognizing her keen intellect and maturity beyond her years, decided to take her to Vienna, where she had the opportunity to meet the renowned Metastasio.[456]

It was during Spinucci's visit to Vienna, with the specific intention to see Metastasio, that she must have met Martines. Though Martines is not mentioned in the *L'Album Roma* biography, there is little doubt that anyone who visited Metastasio also visited Martines; not least due to their living arrangements. If Spinucci went to Vienna at 18, she would have arrived there in 1759, though it was likely a bit later. Martines's aria dedication to Spinucci was dated 1762: at that point, the Italian countess may well still have been in Vienna. Since her biography states that 'her stay in the imperial capital was brief,' she probably arrived there around 1761 or 1762. After Vienna, she moved on to Bavaria, specifically to the court of Maria Antonia Walpurigs, where she met and eventually married Prince Francis Xavier of Saxony (a morganatic marriage). Again, there is no proof of direct link between Martines and Walpurgis, but Spinucci establishes an indirect acquaintance, once removed. So, while they may not have met in person, Martines was almost certainly aware of Walpurgis, and potentially also the other way around.

[456] Gaetano De Minicis. 1860. 'Monumento della Contessa di Lusazia' in: *L'Album Roma*, 4 Aug. 1860, p. 193-196, here p. 194.

Judging by the level of difficulty of *Sceglier fra mille un core*, Spinucci was likely a very skilled singer.[457]

Though all Martines's compositions are vocally demanding, there are some differences to this aria which may be owed to her development as a composer, or perhaps also the intended singer. Some of Martines's later compositions have fewer overly-exuberant bursts of coloratura runs than early works like *Sceglier*. However, coloratura and the use of a broad vocal range with fast-paced register changes remain among her compositional character traits. Some examples that seem slightly less technically demanding, though still requiring a skilled singer, include arias in her collection of 24 arias: *Scelta d'Arie Composte per suo Diletto*. Though there is still ample coloratura, some of the rhythmic complexity (described in the introductory chapter) seems ever so slightly dialled down. This may well be owed to the dedicatee, if Martines wrote these arias with the intention of dedicating them to the Archduchess Maria Carolina (which surviving correspondence with Saverio Mattei suggest).[458] Mattei himself also commissioned Martines to set his texts to music, a *Miserere* and, afterwards, the Psalm *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*. Mattei unabashedly expressed his surprise and delight over Martines's music, commenting:

> Bisogna, che ingenuamente confessi a V.S. Illustriss. ch'io non credeva, che la musica del mio Miserere poetsse essere così bella. Io non son prevenuto a svantaggio delle donne: ho creduto anzi, che la musica, e la poesia sieno proprie di tal sesso. Nel corso della mia opera ho loro sovente restituito il luogo nella Repubblica Ebrea, ove facean le donne la principal figura anche nelle musiche de'tempj. Il Cantico di Debora […], per non parlar di quello di Giuditta […]
>
> Eravi necessaria anche oggi una donna, che potesse succedere al luogo delle antiche profetesse, secondo la troppo stesa significazione d'una tal voce presso gli Ebrei. Mi par, che l'abbiamo ritrovata, ed una sacra metempsicosi ci rende nella Signora Marianna, dirò così, la sorella di Mosè. […]

[457] Transcription and translation of biographical scetch – see Appendix 1.
[458] Godt 2010, p. 59.

> Me ne ha dato motive di pregarla codesta Signora Marianna, la quale deciderà a mio favore, che la musica è l'istessa, poiché o Davide non sapeva ben cantare i suoi Salmi, o se ben gli cantava, la musica doveva esser simile a questa della nostra valorosissima donna.
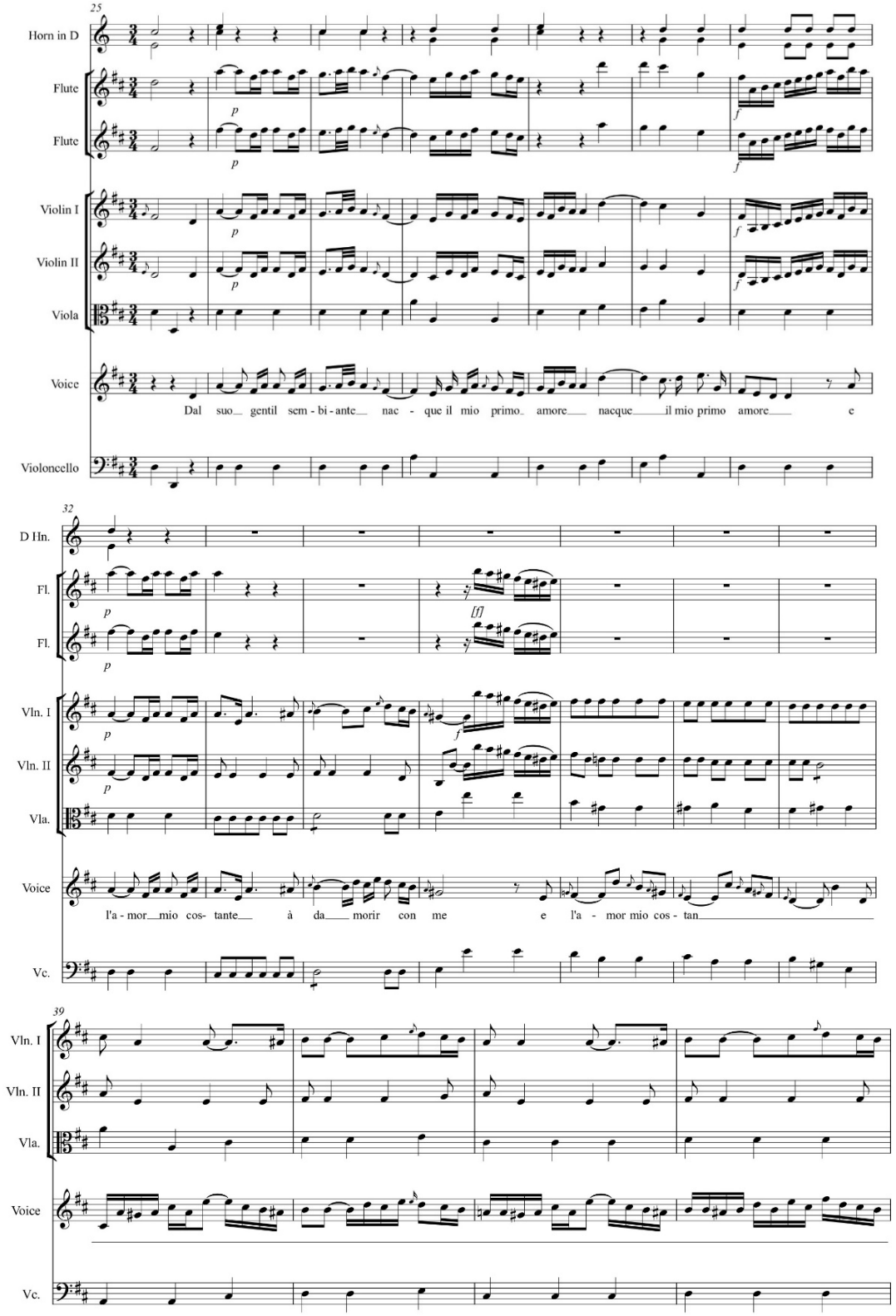
> I must candidly confess to Your Most Illustrious Lordship that I did not believe the music of my *Miserere* could be so beautiful. I am not biased to the disadvantage of women; on the contrary, I have believed that music and poetry are particularly suited to their sex. Throughout my work, I have often restored to them the place they held in the Hebrew Republic, where women played a principal role even in the music of the temples. The Song of Deborah […], not to mention that of Judith […]
>
> Even today, a woman was needed who could take the place of the ancient prophetesses, according to the broad meaning that such a term held among the Hebrews. It seems to me that we have found her, and a sacred metempsychosis, so to speak, restores to us in Lady Marianna the sister of Moses. […]
>
> This Signora Marianna has given me reason to plead with her, and she will decide in my favor that the music is the same, for either David did not know how to sing his Psalms well, or if he did sing them well, the music must have been similar to that of our most valiant lady.[459]
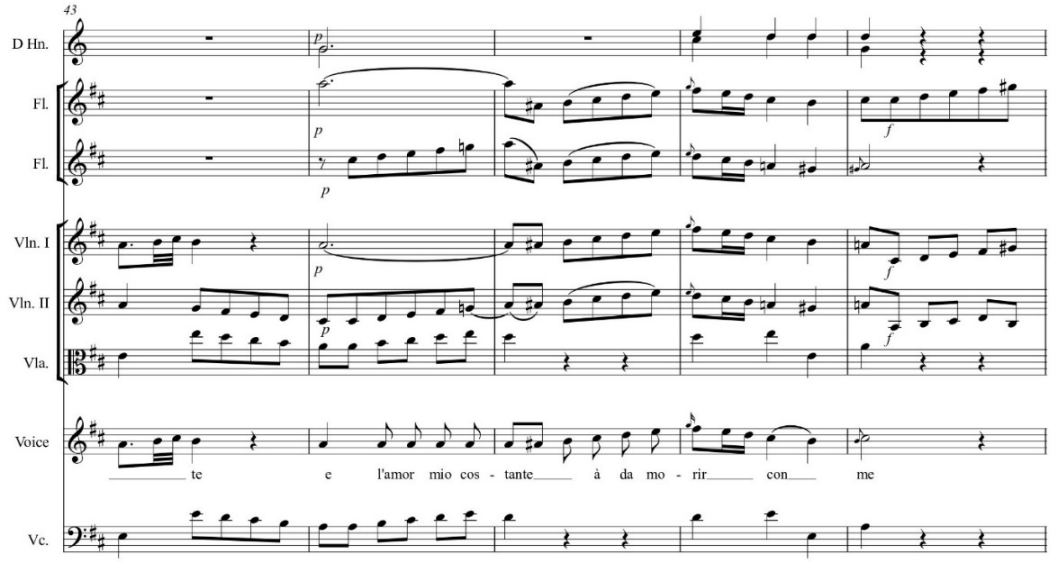
Similarly custom-tailored to the intended performer seems to be (at least) one of the roles of her oratorio *Isacco Figura del Redentore* with an extremely high tessitura – though in that particular case, the performer was a professional theatre singer rather than an aristocrat, like the recipient of *Scelta d'Arie*.[460]

Arias like *Dal suo gentil sembiante*,[461] which is the first in the second volume of *Scelta d'Arie* (dated 1767), add further insight to Martines's conception of music. The marking *cantabile ma non lento* reveals something about her musical taste that already suggests itself in her keyboard repertoire. Namely, that slow pieces, or sonata and concerto movements, still need to flow rather than stagnate. For instance, the *Andante* in her G major sonata – written in 1769 – may follow a slow metre, but the incredibly intricate and fast-moving written embellishments in the right hand sustain a sense of forward momentum (Example 17). Similarly, the second movement
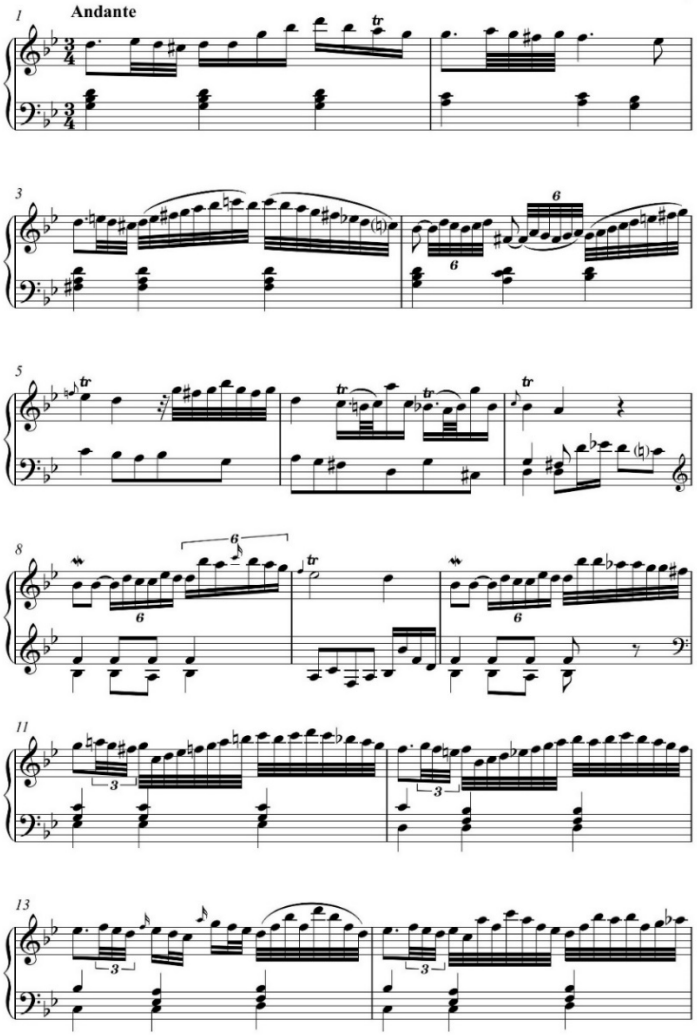
[459] Saverio Mattei. 1771. *I Libri Poetici della Bibbia*. Vol. IV, Napoli: Stamperia Simoniana, pp. 292-294.
[460] See Chapter III.i.
[461] Full transcription – see Appendix 2.

of her A major keyboard concerto is marked *Andante con comodo* (see Example 5), suggesting an air of ease with which the movement is to be performed.





Example 16: Martines, Scelta d'Arie*, Dal suo gentil sembiante, bb. 25-47*[462]
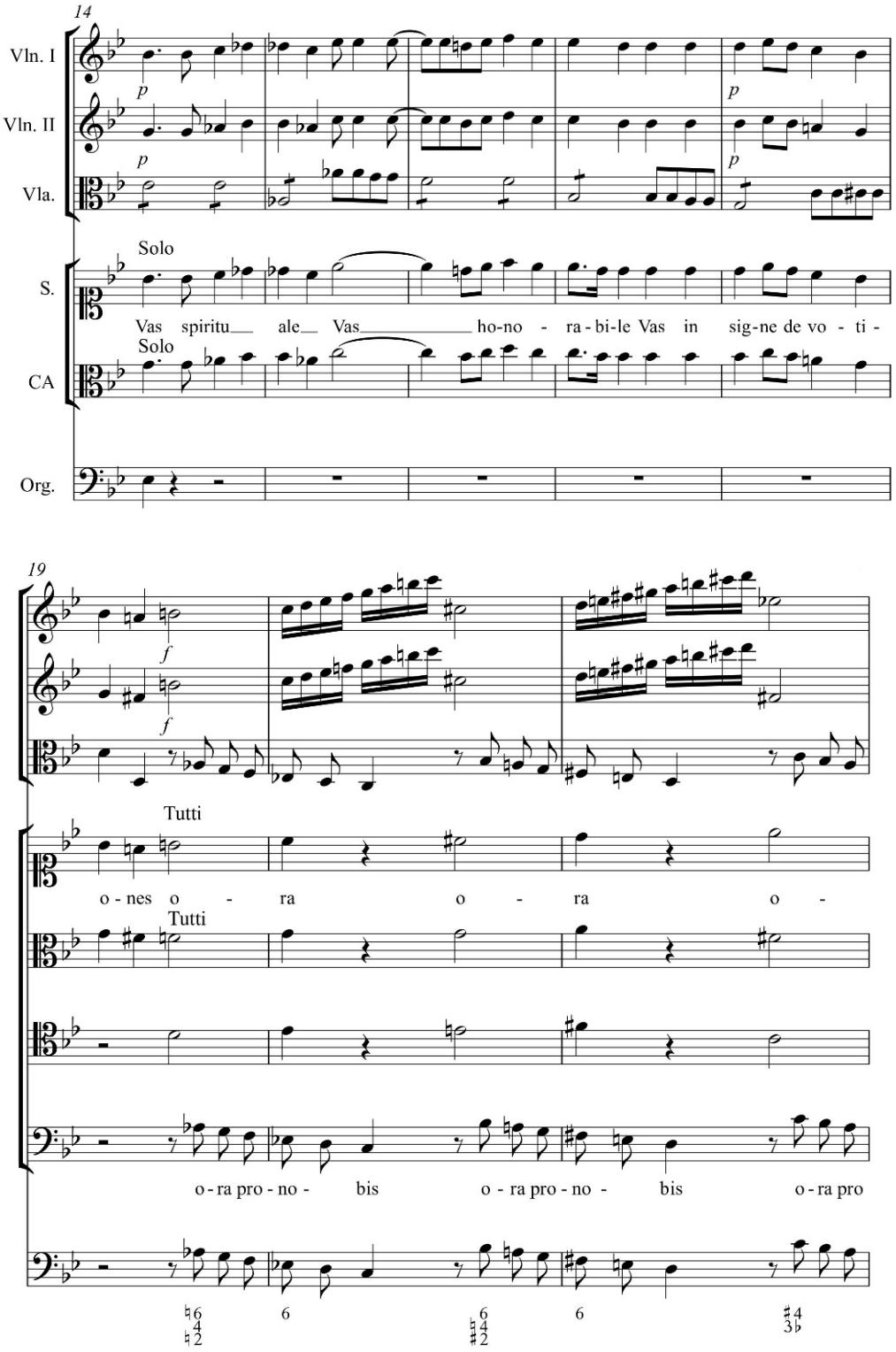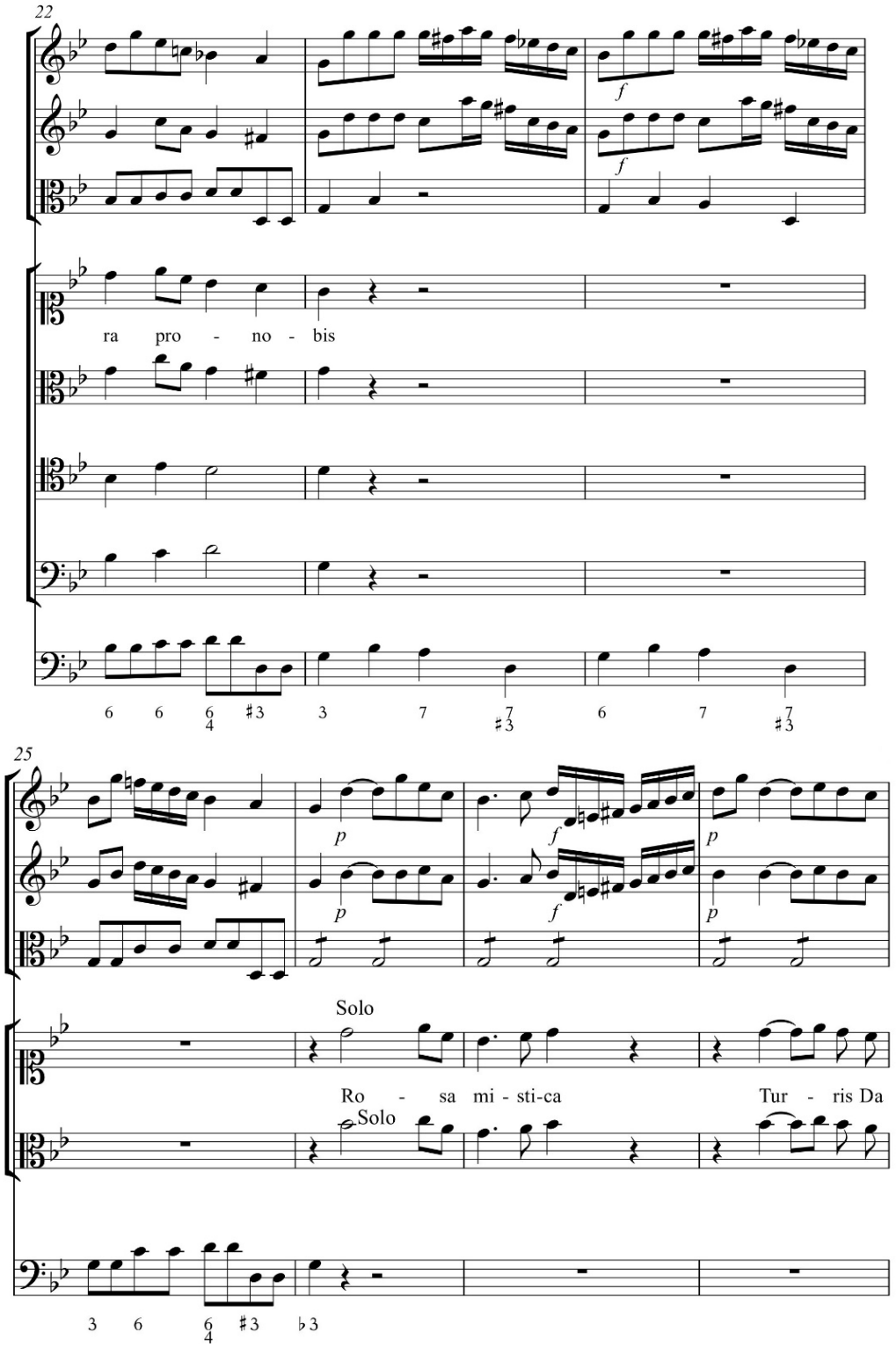


Example 17: Martines, Sonata in G, II. mvt., bb. 1-14.
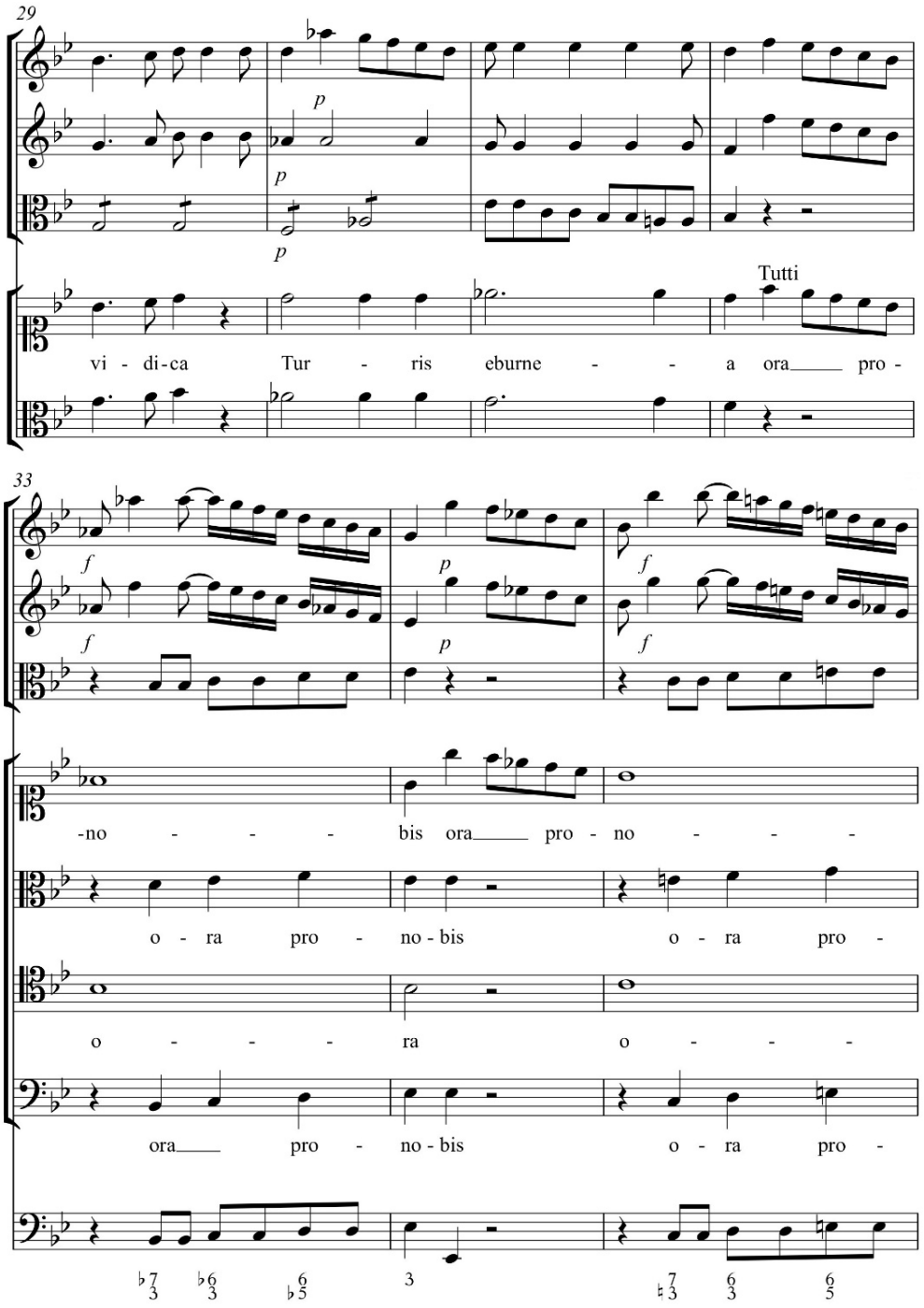
[462] All excerpts of *Dal suo gentil sembiante* (1767) transcribed from BCSP, Arie 417 B – full transcription see Appendix 2.
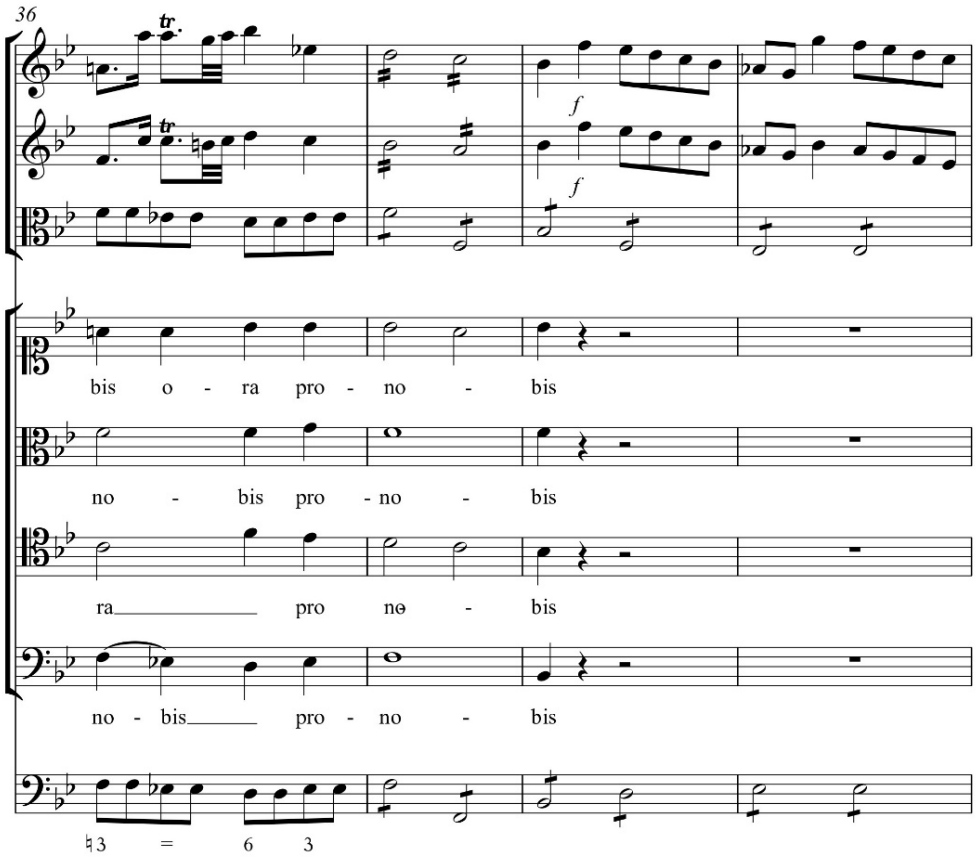
Composers adding qualifiers to further explain their tempo markings, like Martines's *ma non lento* or *con comodo* when writing a *cantabile* or otherwise slower piece, suggest an aim to counteract common performance practices of the time. Certainly, given the phrase structure of the aria at hand, slowing tempo would significantly increase the difficulty of singing the piece, without necessarily adding musicality. Furthermore, part of Martines's *cantabile* sound across her repertoire seems to combine flutes and violins, often *con sordino*. Horns are occasionally also included, like with *Dal suo gentil sembiante* (but unlike e.g. the second movement of the A major concerto). Oboes are not generally used during slow movements, partly owing to the fact that the oboists would be needed to play flute during these movements – an instrumental timbre that Martines seemed to prefer in the context.

Another example of Martines's unique sensibility for sound mixtures and timbre is found in her Litany in G, which she wrote around the time of the death of her mother in 1775; and is thus indirectly dedicated, one may say. The *Letania a Quattro Vocii* consists of multiple movements that traverse a relatively wide range of tonalities: Allegro (C) in G, attacca Andantino (3/4) ending in C, Allegro (C) in B, Adagio (C) in Eb, Allegro (C) in B, Adagio (C) in g, and Allegro (C) in G. Throughout the work, Martines curates vocal solos with reduced orchestral textures, for instance accompanying a tenor solo *senza organo*, but with violoncello in the bass. Similarly in another movement, soprano and alto soloists have their duet accompanied by violins I and II as well as viola, while organ, bass, and two horns have a moment of *tacet* (see Example 18). The temporary organ *tacet* during vocal solos is not unique to this Litany; nor is the use of purely string accompaniment in the bass (both can be found in her *Dixit Dominus*). What stands out here is the frequent shifting back and forth between full bass with organ, cello solo, or bass tacet within single movements. It suggests a particularly nuanced treatment of compositional soundscapes.


14
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S.
CA
Org.
Solo
Solo
Vas spiritu ale Vas ho-no - ra-bi-le Vas in sig-ne de vo - ti -
19
Tutti
Tutti
o - nes o - ra o - ra o -
o - ra pro - no - bis o - ra pro - no - bis o - ra pro


22
f
f
ra pro - no - bis
6 6 6 4 ♯3 3 7 7 ♯3 6 7 7 ♯3
25
p
f
p
p
f
p
Solo
Ro - sa mi - sti-ca
Solo
Tur - ris Da
3 6 6 4 ♯3 ♭3


29
p
p
p
Tutti
vi - di-ca Tur - ris eburne - - a ora pro -
33
f
f
p
f
p
f
-no - - - bis ora pro - no - - -
o - ra pro - no - bis o - ra pro -
o - - - ra o - - -
ora pro - no - bis o - ra pro -



Example 18: Martines, Letania in G, Allegro in B, bb. 14-39.[463]

Kurzböck, Spielmann, Hohenadl

> […] aber mit unsern vorzüglichen Klavierspielerinnen, einer Kurzbök, Hohenadl, Spielmann und andern, steht sie bey weitem nicht auf einer Stufe.
>
> […] but she is not on the same level by a long shot as our excellent [women] pianists, a Kurzbök, Hohenadl, Spielmann, and others.[464]

Around the turn of the century, there was quite a large number of women active in music in Vienna. Among them were several particularly venerated pianists, who were repeatedly praised and used as a standard of comparison, seemingly instilling in people a sense of hometown

[463] All excerpts of *Letania in G* (1775) transcribed from manuscript at A-WGM, I 1687.
[464] *AmZ* Vol. 15, 9 Jan. 1805, col. 242.

pride. Three of the most commonly praised pianists who enjoyed great popularity, and whose names were often mentioned in one breath (a kind of triumvirate of pianists), were Magdalena von Kurzböck (1787-1845), Franziska Freifrau von Spielmann (1789-1857), and Katharina Josefa Hohenadel (1785-1861).[465]

These three star pianists of Vienna, all of them born roughly a generation after Martines, add another vital puzzle piece to our understanding of the status of the dilettante in the late 18th century. Kurzböck, Spielmann, and Hohenadel were celebrated as being (among) Vienna's greatest pianists and they were dilettantes. The *Vaterländische Blätter* published an 'Overview of the current state of Music in Vienna'[466] in 1808. In a dedicated section, they discussed *Clavierspieler*, dividing them into 'artists and professors' and 'dilettantes.' Among the professionals, they listed Auernhammer and Paradis,[467] whereas Kurzböck, Spielmann, and Hohenadel were cited as dilettantes. Auernhammer is the only woman listed among the 'composers and piano masters' in one of the printed directories for Vienna,[468] and is included in the list of those considered 'the most excellent of the local piano masters', by the Vaterländische Blätter. The 'blind pianist, Miss. Therese von Paradis' is noted for being 'laudably known at home and abroad' and the report emphasises that it 'cannot be praised enough' how 'through industriousness and perseverance' Paradis 'has now come so far that she can give lessons with the greatest success, and can even write musical compositions herself, using a certain device of a furrowed board and with the help of movable note pins.'[469] Once

[465] The names of the three pianists exist in multiple different spellings. Alternative spellings are only used in the context of direct quotes in this thesis.
[466] Unknown. 1808. 'Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien' in: *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* Vol. VII, 31 May 1808, pp. 49-54.
[467] More on Aurnhammer and Paradis – see Chapter III.i.
[468] Joseph Gerold. 1806. *Vollständiges Auskunftsbuch, oder einzig richtiger Wegweiser in der kaiserl. Auch kaiserl.königl. Haupt= und Residenz=Stadt Wien. Für Kaufleute, Fabrikanten, Künstler und Handwerker, vorzüglich aber für Fremde, auf das Jahr 1806.* 26. Edition, p. 186.
[469] *Vaterländische Blätter* 31 May 1808, p. 51. '[…] Madame Bessenig, geb. Auernhammer, […] werden für die vorzüglichsten der hiesigen Claviermeister gehalten. Die im Inn= und Auslande rühmlich bekannte blinde Clavierspielerinn, Fräul. Therese v. Paradis, hat es durch nicht genug zu belobende Industrie, und Beharrlichkeit nun auch so weit gebracht, daß sie mit bestem Ergolge Lectionen geben, ja sogar mittelst gewisser Vorrichtung

the focus turns to the three dilettantes, the report is even more generous with praise, displaying a distinct sense of pride in 'Vienna's very own' star pianists:

> Sonach gebührt der erste Platz dem Fräulein Magdalene v. Kurzbeck, deren Spiel, nach dem Ausspruch aller Kenner jenem des verst. Mozart am ähnlichsten ist, und welche auch sehr gründliche Einsicht in der musikal. Theorie besitzt. […] Fräulein Franziska v. Spielmann, eine Schülerinn Streichers, wird als eine sehr vorzügliche Clavierspielerin bewundert. […] der Name der Madm. Hohenadl [ist] schon oft mit dem rauschendsten Beyfall gefeyert worden.
>
> The first place therefore belongs to Miss Magdalene von Kurzbeck, whose playing, according to all connoisseurs, is most similar to that of the late Mozart, and who also has a very thorough insight into musical theory. […] Miss Franziska von Spielmann, a student of Streicher, is admired as a very excellent keyboard player. […] the name of Mademoiselle Hohenadl has often been celebrated with the most rousing applause.[470]

Magdalena von Kurzböck (1787-1845)

Kurzböck was one of the 'most formidable students of Mozart;'[471] in fact, she was counted among his *Kleeblatt* ('clover').[472] Mozart's *Kleeblatt* were his three best (women) students, namely Fräulein Babette von Natorp, Josepha Aurnhammer and Kurzböck.[473] Kurzböck was widely celebrated and received many glowing reviews for her concerts, such as this one written after an 1812 performance of Dussek's B-flat major concerto:

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eines gefurchten Brettes, und mit Hülfe beweglicher Notenstiften, musikalische Compositionen selbst aufsetzen kann.'

[470] *Vaterländische Blätter* 31 May 1808, p. 52.

[471] *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger* Vol. 37, 12 Sept. 1829, p. 148.

[472] German 'clover'.

[473] See: *AmZ* Vol. 9, 26 Feb. 1834, col. 137.

> Sie ist als eine unserer vorzüglichsten Künstlerinnen auf diesem Instrumente allgemein geschätzt und bekannt, und hat sich, wenn es möglich wäre, heute selbst übertroffen.
>
> She is generally appreciated and known as one of the greatest artists on this instrument, and has, if it is even possible, surpassed herself today.[474]

Kurzböck's father, Joseph Edler von Kurzböck (ennobled in 1776[475]), was highly regarded in Vienna for running one of the main printing presses. He not only published many books and journals but was himself also editor of publications, including the *Realzeitung der Wissenschaften, Künste und Commerzien*, which was firmly 'committed to the intellectual development of the city'[476] and had a distinctly pro-enlightenment stance. The journal was eventually taken over by Sonnfels and subsequently saw several other editors and many collaborators, including van Swieten and Joseph Richter.[477] As a result of Joseph Kurzböck's profession, the family was incredibly well-connected. That also extended to the 'musical elite' of Vienna, with Magdalena Kurzböck performing regularly in the city's most popular salons, including those of the famous Jewish salonnières Eskeles and Arnstein.[478]

Johann Friedrich Reichardt recounted in his letters that he had met Kurzböck with great anticipation and interest, as she was announced to him as the best pianist of the local music scene.[479] In his letter from 25 November 1808, he wrote:

> Eine der interessantesten Bekanntschaften für mich war das Fräulein von Kurzböck, das mir als die größte Klavierspielerin der hiesigen musikalischen Welt vorgestellt

[474] *AmZ* Vol 22, 27 May 1812, col. 362.
[475] AT-OeStA/HHStA HA OMaA Akten 603-1.
[476] Heather Morrison. 2005. Pursuing enlightenment in Vienna, 1781-1790. Diss. Louisiana State University, p. 148.
[477] Morrison 2005, p. 149.
[478] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/kurzboeck-magdalena-von (accessed 2024-01-23).
[479] In German the term is gendered – so 'woman pianist' may be more accurate, though it is impossible to say if Reichardt wanted to specifically emphasise her gender.

> wurde, und das will viel sagen. Nach Allem, was ich längst von ihrem großen Talent gehört, und in Dresden und Prag wieder gehört hatte, war ich wirklich auf ihre Bekanntschaft vorzüglich begierig. Sie empfing mich so gut und freundlich, als wär' es wirklich wahr, was sie mir mit Gleichem erwiederte.
>
> One of the most interesting acquaintances for me was Fräulein von Kurzböck, who was introduced to me as the greatest [woman] pianist of the local music world, and that says a lot. After everything that I had long heard of her great talent, and which was repeated to me in Dresden and Prague, I was very eager to meet her. She received me so well and friendly, as if it were really true what she replied to me in kind.[480]

Reichardt met with her on several occasions. On one of them, Kurzböck and Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, daughter of the famous Jewish salonnière Fanny von Arnstein,[481] introduced Reichardt to Joseph Haydn. Pereira-Arnstein and Kurzböck reportedly performed together often between 1808 and 1809.[482] Reichardt wrote about this meeting in great detail in his letter of 30 November 1808. He described Haydn's relationship with Kurzböck as that of 'fatherly love,' and recorded that Clementi was another of Kurzböck's teachers while highly praising her playing:

> [Kurzböck] ließ mich […] eine große schwere Sonate von unserm verewigten Prinz Louis Ferdinand auf ihrem Fortepiano hören. Sie spielte sie ganz meisterhaft, mit eben so zartem Ausdruck, als mit der vollendetsten Exekution, die an Reinheit und Deutlichkeit durchaus nichts zu wünschen übrig ließ.
>
> [Kurzböck] allowed me […] to listen to a grand and difficult sonata of our eternal prince Louis Ferdinand on the Fortepiano. She played it entirely masterfully, with both delicate expression and perfect execution that did not leave anything to be desired in terms of purity and precision.[483]

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[480] Johann Friedrich Reichardt. 1810. *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809* Vol. 1, p. 145.
[481] See Homa Jordis. 2022. *Fanny von Arnstein. Eine Salonière als Mediatorin europäischer Machtpolitik*. Vienna: Buchschmiede.
[482] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/pereira-henriette (accessed 2025-04-01).
[483] Reichardt 1810, p. 162.

Gerber remembered Kurzböck in his lexicon as having had incredible memory, 'so that she only needs to have heard symphonies or other large pieces, that she liked, a few times to be able to precisely repeat them on the fortepiano,' further adding that she was counted among Vienna's noteworthy composers by none other than Johann Friedrich Daube (though, none of her compositions are currently known or located).[484]

Franziska Spielmann (1789-1857)

Born in Vienna, she was the daughter of court councillor Anton Freiherr von Spielmann. In 1794, a few years after Franziska was born, the family acquired a house at the corner of *Graben* and *Bräunerstraße* in the very centre of the city.[485] Freiherr von Spielmann was well-known and well-connected in Vienna's musical scene. Mozart mentioned him in one of his letters in 1783, noting that he was 'invited to a private concert at the residence of Herr Court Councillor Spiellmann.'[486] Franziska Spielmann was regularly cited and praised in newspaper reviews as belonging to Vienna's 'keyboard elite.' In 1810, Spielmann married Graf Mejan but continued to perform in a (semi-)private capacity as a keyboardist, despite marriage and motherhood. The *AmZ* reviewed, among others, an 1807 concert in the *Mehlgrube* and singled out Spielmann, writing:

> Fräulein Spielmann, eine Schulerin Hrn. Streichers, eines unserer geachtetsten Klaviermeister, spielte ein Cramersches Konzert ausserordentlich rein, gleich, präcis, und vorzüglich das Adagio mit einem hinreissend zarten Ausdrucke. Sie gehört unter unsere besten Klavierspielerinnen, die mit Ehren neben den Fräuleins Kurzböck, Hohenadel, Tschoffen u.a. auftreten kann. Sie wurde mit lautem Beyfall belohnt.

[484] Ernst Ludwig Gerber. 1813. *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon* Vol. 3. Leipzig: Kühnel, col. 153f.
[485] Source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Graben_13 (accessed 2024-01-28)
[486] Robert Spaethling. 2000. *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life*. Norton, letter 4 Jan. 1783, p. 337.

> Fräulein Spielmann, a student of Mr. Streicher, one of our most respected keyboard masters, played a concerto by Cramer extraordinarily pure, even, precise, and especially the Adagio with a ravishingly delicate expression. She is one of our best keyboard players, who can perform honourably next to Fräuleins Kurzböck, Hohenadel, Tschoffen and others. She was rewarded with loud applause.[487]

Once again, Spielmann, Kurzböck and Hohenadel are cited in one breath. The new addition, 'Fräulein Tschofen,' refers to Barbara von Tschoffen (née von Puthon), who was born in 1772 and died 1847. The archive on her is even less substantial than those on her colleagues discussed in this chapter. She was born into a relatively influential banking family and received her main musical education – both in keyboard and composition – from Leopold Koželuch.[488]

It is worth noting that the 1807 concert, reviewed above, was not public. The reviewer even stated that the audience was 'a circle of local friends of music, […] consisting mostly of aristocrats and bankers'.[489] The *ZeW* mentions another concert in the University Hall, also pointing out that the audience consisted of 'cavaliers and bankers,' where Spielmann 'was heard with a lot of applause.'[490] Judging by the surviving reviews, Spielmann had a strong preference for non-public stage appearances – very much in keeping with the expectations placed upon upper-class women. Still, she appeared on stage regularly. Even during the Congress of Vienna. Carl Bertuch notes on 23 February 1815: 'Frau von Mejean, née Baroness Spielmann, [played]variations on the keyboard with great virtuosity.'[491]

According to the *AmZ*, Joseph Haydn was one of Spielmann's teachers, next to Streicher. In this account, Spielmann and Kurzböck are both cited as Haydn's former students, though this

[487] *AmZ,* 25 Nov. 1807, col. 140.
[488] Martin Eybl. 2022. *Sammler*innen. Musikalische Öffentlichkeit und ständische Identität. Wien 1740-1810.* Bielefeld: transcript, p. 477.
[489] *AmZ*, 25 Nov. 1807, col. 140.
[490] *ZeW* Vol. 193, 3 Dec. 1807., col. 1541.
[491] Hermann Freiherrn v. Eglossstein (ed.). 1916. *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongreß.* Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, p. 133. 'Fr. v. Mejean, geb. Baronin Spielmann, Variationen auf dem Flügel mit großer Virtuosität.'

1808 article is mainly concerned with the composer himself.[492] Reichardt reveals more details about Spielmann's musical activities in his *Vertraute Briefe*. According to him, she was also quite active as a composer, but none of her compositions is currently known to have survived. There are, however, some works that were dedicated to her, such as the C major Trio by Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel.[493] Reichardt wrote about his visit to the Spielmanns' house on 25 February 1809. The visit was facilitated by Freiherr von Eskeles (as a 'Freiherr,' Eskeles belonged to lower-ranking nobility), a banker and one of the most influential Jewish aristocrats. Reichardt wrote about Franziska Spielmann:

> Die einzige Tochter, die ihm [Baron von Spielmann] in seinem großen prächtigen Hause noch Gesellschaft leistet, ist ein ausgezeichnetes musikalisches Talent; sie hat lange für die erste Klavierspielerin in Wien gegolten, und spielt auch noch sehr sauber und fertig; gesteht aber selbst, daß sie, seitdem sie sich mehr mit der Komposition beschäftigt hat, die Ausübung nicht mehr mit dem großen Eifer und Fleiß treibt, als ehemals. Sie hat sogar eine vollstimmige Messe komponiert, die mit vielem Beifall öffentlich gehört worden ist. Einige recht angenehme Variationen, Tänze und Lieder von ihrer Arbeit ließ sie mir auch am Fortepiano mit der großen Freundlichkeit und Bescheidenheit hören, die ein schöner Charakterzug ihres ganzen Wesens zu sein scheint.
>
> The only daughter, who still keeps him [Count Spielmann] company in his grand and elegant house, is an excellent musical talent; she was considered the first pianist of Vienna for a long time, and still plays very clean and accomplished; but she admits herself, that, since she is increasingly devoted to composition, she does not pursue the practice with the same enthusiasm and devotion as she used to. She even composed a fully voiced mass that was heard publicly with great applause. She let me hear several very pleasant variations, dances and songs of her work at the fortepiano with great kindness and humbleness, which appear to be a beautiful character trait of her entire being.[494]

[492] *AmZ*, Vol. 30, 20 April 1808, col. 479.
[493] See https://rism.online/sources/990062241 (accessed 2025-03-05).
[494] Reichardt 1810, Vol. 1, pp. 449f.

The review is faintly reminiscent of Burney's discussions with Hasse regarding Marianna Martines's compositional endeavours. Apparently, composing and performing did not go well together – at least not for women. In Martines's case, Hasse (according to Burney) said it was a 'pity that her writing should affect her voice,' for apparently 'stooping to write and even sitting much at the harpsichord, hurts the chest, and greatly affects the voice.'[495]

Katharina Josefa Hohenadel (1785-1861)

Hohenadel was born in Vienna into a bourgeois family. Her father, Joseph Hochenadl, worked for the *Hofkriegsbuchhaltung* ('Imperial Court Military Accounting').[496] She received music lessons from Anton Eberl, a celebrated pianist and composer. Her mother passed away shortly after she was born, and Hohenadel sought to contribute to the household at an early age by 'making use of her talent.'[497] She gave music lessons and organised regular concerts in her father's house. She performed as a pianist and sang alto in choirs. Eberl (and a number of other composers) dedicated several pieces to Hohenadel and the two of them regularly performed in concert together: these were highly praised and enthusiastically received by Viennese audiences. In 1805, they performed Eberl's B major double concerto (one of the pieces dedicated to Hohenadel), as well as a set of Variations for two pianos. The *AmZ* reported (comparing Hohenadl's performance to others in the same concert):

> […] ganz vortrefflich ist aber das Doppelkonzert aus B Dur. Statt des Andante ist ein schöner Marsch eingelegt, bey welchem die Blasinstrumente mit der grössten Einsicht und dem feinsten Geschmacke benuzt sind. Eben so ist das letzte Stück, mit einem sehr angenehmen fugirten Satze, meisterlich. Herr Eberl und seine

[495] Burney 1775, Vol 1, p. 353.
[496] Uwe Harten. 2003. 'Hochenadl (Hochenadel), Familie' in: *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_H/Hochenadl_Familie.xml (accessed 2025-03-06).
[497] *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* Vol. 47, 24 Nov. 1861, p. 739.

> Schülerin, Fräulein Hohenadl, spielten mit all der Leichtigkeit, Präzision, Stärke und Delikatesse, die man an ihnen kennt. Auch eine ganz neue Sinfonie von Eberl aus D gehört zu seinen gelungensten Kompositionen. […] Die Sinfonie erhielt, wie das Doppelkonzert den lautesten Beyfall. Auch gefielen Variationen über den Marsch aus Gretry's Blaubart, von Eberl komponirt und mit Fräulein Hohenadl auf zwey Pianofortes gespielt, so sehr, dass sie wiederholt werden mussten. Sie sind für zwey Pianof. äusserst effektvoll, aber etwas schwierig.
>
> […] but the double concerto in B major is quite excellent. Instead of the Andante, a beautiful march is inserted, in which the wind instruments are used with the greatest insight and the finest taste. The last piece is also masterful, with a very pleasant fugal movement. Mr. Eberl and his student Miss Hohenadl, played with all the ease, precision, strength and delicacy that you know from them. A completely new symphony by Eberl in D is also one of his most well-made compositions. […] The symphony, like the double concerto, received the loudest applause. Variations on the march from Gretry's Bluebeard, composed by Eberl and played with Fräulein Hohenadl on two pianofortes, were also so popular that they had to be repeated. They are extremely effective for two pianofortes, if a bit difficult.[498]

One of her particularly memorable concerts was in 1803 – judging by existing newspaper reviews. It seems to have put her on the proverbial map for Vienna's music lovers. The *ZeW* put it like this:

> Dieses Jahr lehrte uns in dem Fräulein v. Hohenadl eine neue vortreffliche Klavierspielerin kennen. Sie trat mit dem bekannten schönen Konzerte von Eberl aus C dur, einem wahren Meisterstücke in seiner Gattung, auf, und erhielt den lautesten ungetheiltesten Beifall; auch hat sie wirklich eine höchst seltene Stärke, Deutlichkeit und Präzision im Vortrage.
>
> This year taught us to know a new, excellent keyboard player in Fräulein von Hohenadl. She performed the well-known, beautiful concerto by Eberl in C major, a true masterpiece in its genre, and received the loudest, most undivided applause; she also truly possesses a very rare strength, clarity and precision in her delivery.[499]

[498] *AmZ* Vol. 20, 13 Feb. 1805, col. 322.
[499] *ZeW* Vol. 135, 10 Nov. 1803, col. 1074f.

The descriptor 'strength' makes this review of a woman at the keyboard most unusual for the time. It renders Hohenadel all the more fascinating for a historiographical investigation that seeks to understand gendered language and performance practice of the 18th century. Some newspapers specifically pointed out that 'for a woman' she was a great pianist, for instance stating that in terms of 'strength, security, highest clarity and precision in both hands and overcoming of the greatest difficulties nary a woman will surpass her.'[500] However, other newspapers put Hohenadel not just on par with other women pianists like Kurzböck and Spielmann but also favourably compared her to some of the men who were active as pianists, including Beethoven.[501] The *ZeW* wrote about 'Fräulein Hohenadl' that 'she undisputedly belongs to Vienna's first keyboard players now; and that says a lot here, where people so frequently rely on the pianoforte, and often with great luck.'[502] The *AmZ* wrote in a similar vein:

> Fräulein Hohenadl gehört jetzt unstreitig unter unsre besten Klavierspielerinnen, und wird an Geschwindigkeit, Leichtigkeit, Stärke und Feinheit wohl sehr wenig Nebenbuhlerinnen, selbst in Wien finden, wo doch ein Beethoven, Eberl, Hummel, eine Kurzbök und Spielmann leben, die gewiss eine sehr hohe Stufe der Kunst erreicht haben.
>
> Miss Hohenadl is now undisputedly one of our best keyboard players, and will probably find very few rivals in terms of speed, lightness, strength and finesse, even in Vienna, where there are the likes of Beethoven, Eberl, Hummel, Kurzbök and Spielmann who certainly have reached a very high level of artistry.[503]

[500] *Intelligenzblatt der Annalen der Literatur des Österreichischen Kaiserthumes*, April 1807, col. 176.
[501] See footnote 503.
[502] *ZeW* Vol. 12, 28 Jan. 1804, col. 93.'Fräulein Hohenadl […] die jetzt unstreitig in Wien zu den ersten Klavierspielerinnen gehört; und das will hier sehr viel sagen, wo man sich so häufig, und oft mit vielem Glück, auf das Pianoforte legt.'
[503] *AmZ* Vol. 28, 11 April 1804, col. 470.

Hohenadel seems to have had a relatively consistent performance career, over at least two decades, judging by the amount of – across the board positive – reviews still available today. In 1808, the *AmZ* praised her for a performance of Eberl's C major concerto which she performed with 'such complete certainty and ease, so precise and meaningful, that nothing was lost and everyone was bound to be delighted.'[504] In 1817, the same newspaper wrote that 'Fräulein Hohenadel' played a 'Phantasie and Polonoise [sic] for pianoforte and orchestra, composed by Freyherr von Krufft' which she played 'very diligently […] without tiring because of the undue length'[505] – which sounds like a bit of a slight towards the composer but sheds positive light on the pianist.

In 1821, the *AmZ* printed a review of one of Hohenadel's house concerts – or salons – and provided a multi-faceted picture of her, expanding on her reputation as a virtuoso pianist, to include that of the educator and salonnière. In fact, they praise her private music 'society' as the 'core of all private music associations' because it was the 'first and only which has fostered the joy of music lovers since the time of Mozart and Haydn.'[506]

> Fräulein Hohenadel, eine treffliche Clavierspielerinn, welche durch ihren Unterricht auf diesem Instrumente schon viele brave Clavierspieler gebildet hat, vertritt durch ihr gewandtes und kraftvolles Spiel auf dem Fortepiano hierbey die Stelle des Orchesters, und wird nur von ihrem Herrn Bruder auf dem Cello accompagnirt.
>
> Diese Meisterinn hat die freundliche Mitwirkung einiger trefflichen Dilettanten zur Seite, und einen recht brav wirkenden Chor zu ihrem Gebothe. Durch diese zwar etwas beschränkte, aber in höchster Virtuosität wirkende Execution werden von jeher an Sonntagen um die Mittagsstunde – nämlich nur im Winter – die schönsten Werke der Tonkunst zur Aufführung gebracht, und zwar in einem geschmackvollen Wechsel der Theater-, „Kirchen- und Kammermusik."

[504] *AmZ,* 6 Jan. 1808, col. 240.
[505] *AmZ*, 30 April 1817, col. 304.
[506] *AmZ* Vol. 34, 30 April 1821, col. 270.

> Fräulein Hohenadel, an excellent keyboard player who has already trained many decent keyboard players through her lessons on this instrument, takes the place of the orchestra here [performing a piece by Graun] with her skilful and powerful playing on the fortepino, and is only accompanied by her brother on the cello.
>
> This master enjoys the friendly cooperation of a few excellent dilettantes at her side, and a very well-functioning choir at her command. Through this somewhat limited but extremely virtuosic execution, the most beautiful works of musical art have always been performed on Sundays around midday – namely only in winter – in a tasteful alternation of theatre, "church and chamber music."[507]

About a generation after Martines, there seems to have existed a point in time when women at the piano, in both public and (more often) private concerts, were not only accepted but celebrated and venerated. The sheer volume of surviving documents citing the three pianists Kurzböck, Spielmann, and Hohenadel as Vienna's greatest pianists points towards an even greater number of expressions of this sentiment that did not survive archival processing over the centuries. Also, as the above cited reviews hint, there were many more women musicians active, yet these three seemed to have been central for the cultural moment of Vienna's musical identity and *city-loyalty*. The fact these pianists were compared to Beethoven and other expressly professional (men) musicians is a key piece of information. It both helps us understand their role as performers and, importantly, provides vital contextual information for the 'dilettante status' of the three pianists.

In searching for reasons why women were not only accepted but celebrated on stage, it is helpful to look back at who paved the way for them. Reading newspaper articles, and accounts such as that of Reichardt, the musical circles of Vienna displayed a strong sense of pride in 'their' *Clavierspielerinnen*. A variety of factors contributed to allowing this to happen. Without a courtly habit of private musical performances, (semi-)private musical happenings in the upper-middle class and lower aristocracy would not have been as popular. And without the

[507] *AmZ* Vol. 34, 30 April 1821, col. 271.

thriving popularity of salon culture which provided unique access to upper-class women accessing all aspects of music production, Vienna would presumably not have been in the habit of seeing women at the centre of musical happenings, which somewhat normalised – at least for a brief moment in time – women taking centre stage and being (seemingly) unequivocally celebrated for it.

Kurzböck, Spielmann, and Hohenadel were, naturally, not the only pianists active at the time. There were, as already mentioned, others like Barbara von Tschoffen and celebrated performers – with careers of varying lengths – like Barbara Ployer, Nanette Sprinz, Anna Wolff, and so on. The archival survival of musicians who were predominately performers is always precarious, even more so when they are 18th-and 19th-century women. Still, some traces of them have already resurfaced, which suggests several more accounts remain to be unearthed. More emphasis on in-depth studies on women performers in Enlightenment Vienna will help readjust modern historiography around the production of music and women's leading roles in musical life in the so-called 'capital of music.'

II.ii Publicly Private and Single

Outline

In a 1998 article, Godt explored the question of why Martines remained unmarried, stating that 'only a dozen possibilities suggest themselves readily.' [508] Ultimately, all these possibilities were rejected by Godt for lack of substantiated proof, save for reason number twelve: 'NONE OF THE ABOVE (i.e., a reason still unknown to us). Probably the MOST LIKELY explanation.'[509] Since Godt's article, no documents have surfaced that would conclusively

[508] Godt 1998, pp. 144f.
[509] Godt 1998, p. 145.

prove why Martines did not get married. However, rather than asking why Martines stayed single, the much more important query is how her single status affected her life and ability to pursue music. Despite popular opinion nowadays suggesting that being unmarried often worked in favour of women's musical careers in the 18th and 19th centuries (and there are certainly examples where marriages ended careers[510]), it was not always so clear-cut. The fact, universally acknowledged, that a single woman of the 18th century must be in want of a husband,[511] was ingrained in society. Contrary to this received English wisdom, Martines and all of her siblings, bar one, remained single throughout their life. 18th-century Vienna, in particular, had many strong opinions on the matter – exemplified here by Pezzl, who wrote:

> Das unbehaglichste, bitterste Verhängniß eines Mädchens scheint mir zu seyn, wenn sie ungeliebt und unvermählt verwelken, und als eine veraltete – Jungfer sterben muß.
>
> The most uncomfortable, bitter fate of a girl seems to me to be when she withers away unloved and unmarried and must die as an old maid.[512]

This chapter details the implications this had for Martines's life. Her single status had a fundamental impact on her freedom (or lack thereof) for mobility in society and active participation in public life, as well as her pursuit of music as a (non-)career. The section on marriage in this chapter will introduce one particularly fascinating Viennese Enlightenment author who published, quasi-anonymously, a groundbreakingly feminist essay. Early-feminist thought was very much present in the 18th century: just because of the 'absence of a defining

[510] For example Nanette Sprinz – see https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/sprinz-nanette (accessed 2025-01-27).
[511] After Jane Austen, 'CHAPTER I' in *Pride and Prejudice*: (2019; online edn, Oxford World's Classics, Dec. 2020), http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/owc/9780198826736.003.0003 (accessed 2025-02-28).
[512] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 101.

label', the concept should not be 'robbed […] of legitimacy.'[513] The term itself came into use around the suffrage movement of the late 19th century, but 'ideas then dubbed "feminist" had existed for well over a century […].'[514] While there were distinctly feminist voices present at the time, being a woman in and of itself did and does not dictate someone's convictions. Unlike some of the scholarship of the late 20th century, I want to steer clear of what I call prescriptions of *programmatic womanhood*.[515] Thus, while the following chapter highlights many of the women active in Enlightenment Vienna, with the exception of the essay author mentioned above, none of them should necessarily be understood as outright *feminist*, if they did not address specifically feminist issues in surviving documents. This is not to say that they were not at least *proto-feminist*; rather, in the context of this musicological, socio-historical investigation, what matters is who they were and how they lived, rather than hypothetical philosophical and ethical motivating factors that may or may not have existed for them.

Martines's conscious efforts to self-fashion her social persona as *publicly private*, that is someone who found herself repeatedly in the public eye but presented herself as an exclusively private person, need to be understood in the larger socio-political context of late 18th-century Vienna. In order to comprehend what it meant for someone like Martines, a member of (eventually) lower-ranking Austrian aristocracy, to be unmarried, the unique socio-political and legal reality of the Habsburg empire will be explored in detail. Therefore, this chapter will look at some of the legislatures passed as part of the legal reforms under Maria Theresia and Joseph II during the second half of the 18th century, as well as many accounts of contemporary writers who responded to new laws or the general state of affairs in Vienna, and examples that reflected and shaped everyday life and attitudes of German-speaking Europe. The chapter will

[513] Miriam Schneir. 2021. *Before Feminism. The History of an Idea Without a Name.* Montclair: Mews Books, p. 3.
[514] Barbara Taylor. 1999. 'Feminism and the Enlightenment 1650-1850' in: *History Workshop Journal* No. 47, pp. 261-272, here p. 264.
[515] See Chapter I.ii.

relay some of the records – contemporary and modern – dealing with Martines's relationship status. As stated above, this investigation acknowledge Martines's *Otherness* and thus marginalisation as an unmarried woman. Being married was evidently seen as an essential part in fulfilling gendered expectations, and failure to do so marked (especially women) as *Other,* was seen as a challenge of 'social and cultural norms, notions of gender, reproductive sexuality and the family.'[516] The chapter will also briefly discuss possible reasons for the virtual absence of Antonia Martines from the archive – and her *Otherness*, mostly captured by silences.[517] From there, it will move on to contextualize these accounts with a detailed social, cultural, and legal historical analysis.

The remarkable essay by Frau T.R.v.N., published in 1782, vehemently pleads against systemic disadvantage and oppression of women, especially when it comes to finding a marriage match. It will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. This remarkable essay should be understood as belonging to the canon of early first-wave feminist writings, such as those by Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) or Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793), and warrants further research and contextualisation, especially since the author's identity remains somewhat anonymous for now. The case of the marital status of the Martines siblings will be cast in higher relief through comparisons to two of her contemporaries, Josepha Aurnhammer and Maria Theresia Paradis. Marriage – or lack thereof – was one of the defining foundations of women's lives. As Katie Roiphe pointed out, it is not prurient to study people's marriages and relationships, but gives unique insight into how people's lives were structured – after all, 'we do it all the time in less explicit ways'. It is 'perpetually interesting' and 'the novel that most

[516] Cherry Smyth. 1997. 'Queer Notions' in: Sandra Kemp, Judith Squires (eds.). *Feminism*. Oxford University Press, p. 362-364, here p. 362.
[517] See Jennifer W. Reiss. 2024. 'Disability in the Archives' in: The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Vol. 148 No. 3, pp. 238-254.

of us are living in,'[518] which makes those who exist outside that structure even more fascinating to study.

A spinster with blue stockings

In his 1995 article, Godt describes Martines as having 'spent her entire life with her family' and states that she seemed to have had the 'sheltered, formal life of an unmarried court lady.'[519] Godt's posthumous monograph on Martines makes multiple references to the 'three of the four Martines brothers who reached maturity', and 'remained unmarried,'[520] while only one brother, Dionysius, married and 'fathered legitimate children.'[521] Fremar does not specifically refer to Martines's unmarried status, but cites instances where Martines's single status is alluded to and her advanced age is emphasized. [522]

There is as yet no mention of the other sister, Antonia, although she lived in the same household. The consistent omission of any comments by contemporary writers about Antonia in connection with or independent of remarks about Marianna in semi-public social settings, nourishes my suspicions that Antonia may not have joined most of these social events – possibly due to physical or mental ailments. There is yet no concrete evidence to confirm my hypothesis. However, her omission from historical accounts (including the most detailed ones dealing with the Martines circle, for example those by Michael Kelly, Charles Burney, Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, and Pietro Metastasio (except for the latter's will, where he bequeathed both Marianna and Antonia part of his fortune[523]) suggest a more tangible reason

[518] Katie Roiphe. 2008. *Uncommon Arrangements. Seven Portraits of Married Life in London Literary Circles 1910-1939.* London, p. 7.
[519] Godt 1995, p. 547.
[520] Godt 2010, p. 33.
[521] Ibid., p. 16.
[522] Fremar1983.
[523] d'Ayala 1795, *Opere* Vol. 3, pp. 6f.

than the vague assumption that Antonia was simply 'overshadowed' by her older sister and thus overlooked by contemporary commentators. Godt stated that, 'we know almost nothing about Antonia except that she always lived with her older sister, she learned a little music, could sing, led the social life of an upper-class lady, and died just two days before Marianna in 1812.'[524] However, I would argue that we do not actually know that she 'led the social life of an upper-class lady.' The Martines family's status in Viennese society and their project of social mobility, both of which often put them in the spotlight among the Viennese upper class, makes it very unlikely that Antonia should not have been mentioned at least somewhere by someone, given how often her siblings found themselves subject of discussion – based on surviving documents. That there was not a single mention of Antonia in any of the reviews of Martines's popular salons and her many social connections is suspicious. The sole reference to Antonia, outside of Metastasio's will, is an indirect reference to her by Hester Piozzi, who brought up the two Martines sisters as being among Vienna's most fashionable ladies.[525] Yet it is not clear whether she ever actually spoke to Antonia directly, or if this statement was merely in superficial recognition of there having been two sisters. The only other mentions of Antonia are by Marianna Martines herself, in her correspondence with Aurelio de' Georgi Bertola. In her letter from 2 August 1784, Martines wrote:

> Everyone in the house asks me to pay you a thousand respects, and especially my sister, who is very disappointed that you are forgetting your German and – worse – our own pretty phrases.[526]

[524] Godt 2010, p. 16.
[525] Piozzi 1789, p. 306.
[526] Godt 2010, p. 237.

One of those ‘pretty phrases’, seems to be quoted in Martines’s prior letter from 21 June 1784, in a two-line German post script (to an otherwise Italian letter):

> nichts Tropfen? nichts
> schon widerum? Nein.[527]
>
> nothing drop(s)? nothing
> already again? No.

This somewhat nonsensical string of words can only be derived from something like an inside joke between people who enjoy great familiarity with each other. It is unclear under what circumstance they were developed and if the infantile-level German was for the benefit of the Italian priest and his (apparently) non-existent foreign language skills, or if they stemmed from a speech or learning impediment of Antonia – who seemed to have been particularly attached to ‘their’ phrases, according to Martines’s letter.

An indirect reference to Marianna’s and Antonia’s unmarried status came from Metastasio, their paternal friend and lodger in their house. In his will, Metastasio wrote:

> Of the six Martinez children, male as well as female, that were tenderly recommended by their worthy father, at the point of his death, the firstborn, signor councillor *Giuseppe Martinez*, my heir, friend, and son by choice, albeit not by blood, he– with his distinguished, well-employed talents, and uncorrupted morals – has already earned from the enlightened and beneficial justice of our most majestic rulers the fulfilment of my solicitude, and of my promises to him; and all three of his other younger brothers *Dionisio, Giovanni*, and *Carlo* have already been employed for a long time, and that with recognition that justifies the hope of their [career] progression; but to their two sisters, more in need of subsistence than the others, and less capable than the others, owing to their sex, to honestly procure it, fortune did not do them the least of its favours; so they have no other capital left

[527] Ibid., p. 235.

> than their irreprehensible morals and my due care to save them, as far as I can, from painful poverty.[528]

When Metastasio refers to the two sisters for whom 'fortune did not do the least of its favours', he appears to refer to their unmarried status – which directly affected their financial stability – combined with the lack of parental provision. Their inability 'to honestly procure' subsistence 'owing to their sex' needs to be understood intersectionally with their status in society, namely their eventual 'membership' in the lower-ranking Austrian nobility. It was mostly seen as inappropriate for aristocrats (whatever their financial means) to earn their own keep through paid work, and women (especially unmarried women) faced serious restrictions on their life and mobility. All the more so, as Metastasio continues in his will, because the two Martines sisters now had to rely on their 'irreprehensible morals' – their reputation – to survive: this appears to be among the central reasons why Martines clung to the label of the dilettante throughout her life. Unlike modern interpretations of this term, this was purely a reference to her social standing rather than her musical abilities.[529]

Even for an unmarried 18th-century aristocratic woman, Antonia's life, as far as it can be reconstructed through sparse archival documents, appears overly sheltered. The *silences*[530] around her may be explained in the realm of historical disability studies, and warrants further research. Martines, on the other hand, was a lot more active within Vienna's social scene, though the archive here is by no means overly extensive either. The last known account of Martines while she was still alive refers to her as a 'beautiful whitehaired lady'[531]. As the story goes, Joseph Haydn spotted a 'whitehaired lady', whom he 'had given piano lessons sixty years

[528] d'Ayala 1795 *Vol*. 3, pp. 356f – full transcription see Appendix 1.
[529] Cypess 2022, pp. 42f.
[530] Trouillot 1995.
[531] Heinrich Eduard Jacob. 1950. *Joseph Haydn. His art, times, and glory*. London, pp. 332f.

earlier'[532] as he was entering a Viennese concert hall where, in 1808, his *Schöpfung* was performed.[533] Also, Michael Kelly recorded his visit to one of Martines's soirees where he met the siblings Joseph and Marianna Martines. He conveyed his visit to the Martines house, stating:

> I had the pleasure, about this time,[534] to be introduced to Monsieur Martini [sic].[535] He was a very old man. His sister, nearly his own age, kept his house for him. She was reckoned a deep blue, and very well versed in all the arts and sciences. The great poet Metastasio had lived sixty years in her brother's house, upon the most friendly terms, and died in it. […] When I was admitted to her conversaziones and musical parties, she was in the vale of years, yet still possessed the gaiety and vivacity of a girl, and was polite and affable to all. Mozart was an almost constant attendant at her parties, and I have heard him play duets on the piano-forte with her, of his own composition. She was a great favourite of his.[536]

Assuming that Kelly's first meeting with the Martines siblings was during the beginning of his Viennese stint, around 1785, Joseph Martines would have been about 56 years old and Marianna 41. Kelly's description of them as 'very old' may be expected in the context of the late 18th century. With respect to gender(ing), it is even more significant that he described her age through a paradox: 'in the vale of years, yet still [possessing] the gaiety and vivacity of a girl'. Although Kelly does not explicitly refer to her unmarried status, the common trope of infantilising older, unmarried women does not leave much room for doubt that he would not have likened her to a 'girl' had she been a (respectable) married woman. Additionally, the characteristically anglophone reference of bluestockings can be read not only as a reference to her education but also to her relationship status. 'Widowhood, spinsterhood, partial estrangement […] runs like a binding thread through the lives of the women who became the

[532] Ibid.
[533] The credibility of this account is somewhat questionable.
[534] Kelly was in Vienna in the early 1780s due to a singing engagements.
[535] Sic – he meant Joseph Martines.
[536] Kelly after Fremar 1983, p. 36.

first bluestockings.'[537] Hence, a woman who would be described 'reckoned a deep blue' was stereotypically not only smart, but also single. Overall the account remains polite, though, and a sense of veneration for this highly educated woman shines through. Less concerned with niceties was Edward Holmes who mentioned Martines in his Mozart biography of 1845:

> One of the friends with whom the composer was accustomed to play his four-handed pieces for the pianoforte, was a Signora Martinas [sic], an old lady, who kept house for her brother, a man of a great age. This ancient spinster, we are told by a contemporary,[538] was reckoned a deep *blue*,[539] and had even a reputation for proficiency in the arts and sciences. […] Although far advanced in life, she still possessed the gaiety and vivacity of a girl. Mozart was a constant attendant at her parties, and greatly admired her extraordinary musical taste, which Metastasio had had a large share in forming.[540]

Holmes did not know Martines personally but instead used existing texts – mainly (or perhaps only) Kelly's account – as his sources. The tone of his description of her is significantly less favourable than that of Kelly and others who had met her. It is possible that Holmes came across Martines's name in Caroline Pichler's *Denkwürdigkeiten*;[541] the two volumes published just a year before his Mozart biography. Familiarity with Pichler's writings would explain why Holmes may have felt validated in his slightly hostile portrayal of Martines. Otherwise, one can only speculate that a general deprecation of women composers, rather *en vogue* as the 19th century progressed, led to his dismissive tone and the deliberate tweaks to the Kelly quote that was his main source on Martines.[542] Where Kelly described Martines as 'nearly [her

[537] Sylvia Harcstark Myers. 1990. *The Bluestocking Circle. Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England.* Oxford, p. 119.
[538] The only (indirect) reference to Michael Kelly.
[539] Original Italics.
[540] Edward Holmes. 1845, 2009 (digital reprint). *The Life of Mozart. Including His Correspondences.* Cambridge, p. 255.
[541] See Chapter I.ii.
[542] Though, without citation.

brother's] own age', Holmes made her into an 'ancient spinster,' representative of a sentiment that de Beauvoir described:

> Many men today are sexually repulsed by older virgins; psychological reasons alone do not explain why 'old maids' are regarded as bitter and mean matrons. The curse is in their very flesh, this flesh that is object for no subject, that no desire has made desirable, that has bloomed and wilted without finding a place in the world of men; turned away from her destination, the old maid becomes an eccentric object, as troubling as the incommunicable thinking of a madman.[543]

While Kelly acknowledged Martines being 'very well versed in all the arts and sciences', Holmes felt it necessary to hedge 'she had a reputation for proficiency' of the same. The reference to Martines's girl-like 'vivacity' was kept unaltered, but Mozart's apparent adoration for Martines was subverted. Kelly's claim that she was 'a great favourite of his', was transformed by Holmes into 'Mozart […] greatly admired her extraordinary musical taste, which Metastasio had had a large share in forming'. Holmes consistently avoids giving the impression of Martines as a capable composer, and instead paints a ridiculing portrait of her as a cheerful old hag who surrounded herself with *other* famous artists, and benefitted from their reflected splendour.

Martines herself does not refer to her marital status in any of the currently known surviving documents, but does mention the 'weakness of her sex,'[544] suggesting that she was very much aware of gender differences and limitations placed upon her. Any serious attempt to comprehend her living reality holistically will need to understand the importance and role of marriage in 18th-century Vienna. We have to be cautious not to make assumptions based on changes and developments of marital habits and patterns during the past century, and project

[543] De Beauvoir, Borde (transl.), p. 95.
[544] Godt 2010, pp. 233f.

these modern assumptions onto Viennese society of the time. In fact, the 18th century, with its contested ideas of Enlightenment and what may be described as 'early feminism' (*avant la lettre*), constituted a pivotal moment – including in the realm of marriage practices. Only against the backdrop of a detailed understanding of what it actually meant to be or not to be married as a woman in 18th-century Vienna can we gauge the significance and implications of Martines's marital status.

Advocate of the fair sex

> We are not infrequently called the **weak sex**. […] If] mockers wish to imply with the expression **weak sex** something like: **women are by nature stupid, inept, and inclined only towards trifles and frippery**, then I beg no offense be taken when I most solemnly protest against it. The powers of the mind are not bound to the shape of the body, and the difference between the two sexes does not extend to the soul.[545]


Der Sachwalter
des
Schönen Geſchlechtes.

Oder
Verſuch eines Beweiſes,
daß es der Ehre, dem Glücke, dem Vergnügen und den Rechten des weiblichen Geſchlechtes höchſt nachtheilig, ſo lange zu warten, bis ein Freyer kömmt, und daß es ſo ſchicklich als nothwendig ſey, daß Frauenzimmer ſelbſt auf das Freyen ausgehen.

Herausgegeben
von
P. M. Schmid.

Wien 1782,
bey Sebaſtian Hartl in der Singerſtraſſe.

Image 5: T.R.v.N., P.M. Schmid (ed.), Advocate of the Fair Sex, title page.[546]

[545] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 19 – all original emphases.
[546] Full essay plus translation – see Appendix 1.

Coontz identifies the spread of market economy and Enlightenment thought as driving forces for the fast-paced developments and changes to marriage in European societies.[547] In many ways, the 18th century was a crucial time in the development of marriage – in its purpose, motivation, and execution. A common misconception of the development of marital age stems from a false assumption of history as consisting of linear developments. During the 1950s, women in Western Europe and the United States would usually get married during their early twenties or not at all. It does not follow that marital age among women was necessarily even younger the further one goes back in history. In fact, during the 16th and 17th centuries, lower-class women often waited until their thirties or forties to get married. This was due to economic considerations – which, at the time, constituted the prevalent motivation behind marriages, even more so than procreation. The aim of being able to reach sufficient financial stability to support a partner before entering into a marriage had a strong impact on society – particularly lower classes. The high aristocracy was, of course, generally unaffected by these financial restrictions and was instead concerned with increasing their wealth through well-calculated matches. It is interesting to note that the introduction of the church's incest rules also led to a mixing of the classes – especially for lower-ranking nobility, who would increasingly often intermarry with government officials or merchants. Joseph II's marriage reform doubled down on this.[548] The need to be financially settled before marriage meant that (North-)Western Europe saw higher marriage ages than anywhere else, as well as extremely high rates of unmarried adults, particularly women. According to Coontz, between the 14th and 17th centuries 10-20 percent of women in (North-)Western Europe remained unmarried throughout their

[547] Stephanie Coontz. 2005. *Marriage, a History. How Love Conquered Marriage.* New York, pp. 145f.
[548] See e.g. Unknown. 1784. *Anmerkungen über die K.K. Verordnung in Ehesachen, für sämmtlichen christlichen Religionsgenossen, vom 16. Jänner 1783*. [Vienna], p. 17.

lives. Despite those high numbers – or perhaps because of them – unmarried women were targets of much ridicule and disapproval.[549]

Unsurprisingly, after a plethora of military conflicts (such as the War of Succession caused by Maria Theresia's claim of the Austrian throne), local authors noted a similarly large surplus of unmarried women in 18th-century Vienna, which often meant that these women were not or only poorly provided for. Frau T.R.v.N., author of the 1782 essay *Sachwalter des schönen Geschlechtes* ('Advocate of the fair sex') – see Image 5 – cites war as being among the main reasons for depopulating a society, bemoaning the '**many thousand** men' that are 'being sacrificed.'[550] She gave the following account of the state of affairs:

> In a certain big and densely populated city (if one were to imagine **Vienna** in this context, it would not affect comprehensibility badly) a vast surplus of women was discovered in the very first official population census; for, in order to fully conceive of the relation between one sex to the other, every **male soul**, without consideration of age or class was put together with a **female** one – thus as many pairs as possible were formed. […] There is not a joke, but it is a sad, dejecting truth that 40.000, in words **forty-thousand female souls net remained**. Now, if one were to add all that were paired up with those men that **cannot** marry either for moral, political or physical obstacles, or **do not want to** because of caprices or otherwise founded reasons, then one will unfailingly arrive at (I am calculating with great moderation) at least 70.000, in words **seventy-thousand unmarried and therefore not provided for people of the female sex**.[551]

To contextualize T.R.v.N.'s numbers, the overall population of Vienna during the 18th century grew quite quickly, at a rate of 0.5-1% per year. Between the years 1700 and 1800, the population more than doubled from 125,000 inhabitants to 260,000.[552] The numbers given by

[549] Coontz 2005, pp. 125f.
[550] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 12.
[551] T.R.v.N. 1782, pp. 12f.
[552] Source: https://wien1x1.at/bev-entwicklung-1/ (accessed 2023-06-17).

Frau T.R.v.N. are hard to verify. Still, even if they were not wholly accurate, they give a sense of the extremely high (perceived) rate of unmarried women in Vienna at the time.

The 18th century saw a shift away from marriage as a purely economically motivated institution. By the end of the century, love matches and personal choice were the dominant driving forces behind decisions to marry, according to Coontz.[553] Though Coontz is presumably correct in their retrospective analysis of the developments during the 18th century, we also get different, perhaps more nuanced, accounts from contemporary sources. In 1786, Johann Pezzl wrote a chapter on love in his *Skizze von Wien* ('Sketch of Vienna') and mourns the lack of love (or more precisely infatuation) during this time:

> Noch im Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts war man mächtig verliebt. Man schlug sich für seine Schöne auf Leben und Tod; man heirathete, bloß um das eingebildete Glück zu geniessen, diesem oder jenem spröden, aber hübschen Lärvchen den Gürtel aufzulösen.
>
> At the beginning of the century, one was still mightily in love. One would fight each other to the death for one's sweetheart, one would marry, only for the fanciful joy of opening the girdle of this or that prim but pretty little nymph [i.e. larva].[554]

While Pezzl concedes that 'true love' still existed among the Viennese, it was largely a lower class affair: '[…] true so-called love,' so Pezzl 'is not entirely foreign here [in Vienna]. One can find it often among the middle and lower classes.'[555] The upper classes were different. 'Love has vanished from these.' In its place are 'galantry and flirtation,' states Pezzl.[556] The reason for this was that marriages were calculated and used as a tool controlled by ambitious

[553] Coontz 2005, p. 146.
[554] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 87.
[555] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 88.
[556] Ibid., p. 93.

parents.[557] This, as we have learned above, was of course not unique to the 18th century. The *Mittelstand*, as Pezzl calls it, which included lower-ranking nobility, as well as merchants, were seeking financial stability, but not ready to completely renounce love: 'Under the umbrella of love, and the ensuing marriage, [the middle-class seeks] either a position or a capital that will comfortably feed and support [them].'[558] Pezzl comes to the bleak conclusion that everyone within this class is so transparent about these intentions that no one is under any misconception that marriage would be just for the sake of love:

> Da diese Absichten offenbar sind, und die Braut selbst wohl weiß, daß es nicht bloß um sie, sondern noch um eine wichtige Nebensache zu thun ist: so macht sie auch keine Ansprüche auf die ächte Liebe ihres Erklärten, und wird keines wegs in ihren Erwartungen getäuscht. Sie heirathet ihn, weil sie dadurch eine Frau wird,[559] freier leben, ein Haus kommandieren – *Ce qui plait aux Dames* – und regieren, und verwirren kann; und die Wahl hat, sich einen Liebhaber zu halten, der sie für die gleichgültige Gesellschaft des Herrn Gemahls entschädigt.
>
> Since these intentions are obvious, and the bride is well aware of the fact that this is not just about her but additionally about an important secondary matter, she does not make any demands for true love of her declared [husband] and will not at all be deceived in her expectations. She marries him to become a woman and to have the ability to live more freely, command – as it pleases women – reign over and mismanage a household; and she has the option of taking a lover who would compensate her for the indifferent company of her husband.[560]

[557] Ibid., p. 89:'Ganz anders verhält sich die Sache in den Zirkeln der höhern Stände. Aus diesen ist die Liebe verschwunden. Alle Verbindungen werden dort von rechnenden Vätern oder ehrgeizigen Müttern gestiftet: das junge Paar ist bloß das Werkzeug, womit die Alten ihre Absichten ausführen.'
[558] Ibid., p. 90: 'Die Leute aus dem Mittelstand […] suchen unter dem Schirm der Liebe, und der darauf folgenden Ehe, entweder eine Stelle, oder ein Kapital, das sie bequem nährt und versorgt.'
[559] An indirect reference to the infantilisation of unmarried women (we saw a real-life example above in the Kelly quote about Martines). Only through marriage does a 'girl become a woman.'
[560] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 90.

Franz Gräffer, who published his five volumes of the *Josephinische Curiosa* between 1848 to 1850,[561] included and expanded several excerpts by Pezzl – among them a description of the 'mature girls' of Vienna. The excerpt teaches us that Vienna saw a high number of older, unmarried women, especially among the 'secondary aristocracy' and the 'common man.'[562] The topic of ageing features among the core concerns of T.R.v.N., who states that for a woman 'who was once well-educated, no greater mortification can be imagined than when she sees the dreadful epoch of aging approaching and hears others say of her: **She used to be beautiful**.'[563] Perhaps surprisingly, part of the problem according to Gräffer were the men of Vienna. Oftentimes, they held a position (of some kind of administrative nature) at the court. Though there were many of these positions, advancing one's career was an extremely slow process, which is why these men often – against their will, for the most part – turned forty before they found themselves in a position that would allow them to marry. This rings true, even if not directly related to marriage, when reading Joseph Martines's job application letters for a promotion at the Imperial Court Library, in April 1758.[564]

While the details of Joseph Martines's personal life and romantic attachments are not known, it is clear that he found himself in one of the slow-moving court-adjacent careers that Gräffer mentioned. This is also faintly alluded to in Metastasio's will when he chose Joseph as his main heir, justifying the choice by saying that 'his other younger brothers Dionisio, Giovanni and Carlo have all three of them already been employed for a long time, and that with recognition that justifies the hope of their progress[…].'[565] Godt speculated that some of the Martines

[561] Franz Gräffer. 1848-50. *Josephinische Curiosa; oder ganz besondere, theils nicht mehr, theils noch nicht bekannte Persönlichkeiten, Geheimnisse, Details, Actenstücke und Denkwürdigkeiten der Lebens= und Zeitgeschichte Kaiser Josephs II* Vol. I-V. Vienna.
[562] Gräffer 1860, *Curiosa* Vol. 5, pp. 86-110. This essay on 'The Viennese men and women under Joseph II's reign' divides Viennese society into high aristocracy, secondary aristocracy (which includes those who were knighted, such as the Martines siblings), and the 'common man'.
[563] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 19.
[564] See Chapter I.i.
[565] See footnote 528.

brothers, as well as Metastasio (who, upon his arrival in Vienna, decided to move into a household of a former soldier and his wife, as well as quite a few young, unattached men), might have been gay. While that is of course a possibility,[566] it is at least equally likely that the brothers found themselves stuck in the process of trying to accumulate enough wealth to take a wife. Many bachelors, according to Pezzl, remained unmarried against their will and ended up entertaining long-term affairs, growing old together with their lovers.[567] Naturally, the two options are not mutually exclusive.

While Martines's success as a composer is often partly attributed to her single status, this station came with severe restrictions, compared to married life. According to Gräffer (also confirmed above by Pezzl's description of middle-class women and their lovers), married women lived quite freely. In any case they were freer than single women, who were consigned to a 'boring' life, unable to ever venture out into society without a chaperon:

> So frey und flüchtig die verheirateten Weiber leben, so gezwungen und langweilig ist hingegen die Lebensart der ledigen erwachsenen Mädchen. Es jammert einen ordentlich, sie keinen Schritt machen, in keine Gesellschaft kommen zu sehen, ohne eine grämliche Tante, eine hämische Gouvernante, oder die Mama selbst mit der Miene ihrer ganzen mütterlichen Autorität zur Forscherinn aller ihrer Worte und Aufseherinn aller ihrer Blicke an der Seite zu haben. Man lehrt sie die Regel des Putzes, der Gefälligkeit; alle Beschäftigungen zielen dahin, um ihnen die Kunst zu gefallen einzupflanzen, natürlich zu machen, und dann fordert man, daß sie die Spröde spiele, daß sie bey den Siegen ihrer Reitze fühllos bleibe!
>
> In der That ist auch ihre Conversation ziemlich trocken. Eine sogenannte Unschuld – nach dem alten Begriff von diesem Worte – ist leider in den Zirkeln der großen Welt nach dem heutigen Tone ein Geschöpf, das mehr zur Belästigung als Belebung der Gesellschaft beyträgt. Man unterhält sich lieber mit Weibern. Das Wesen eines Mädchens hat etwas gezwungenes, ängstliches, leeres und geziertes, das in die Länge nur ein in sie Verliebter aushalten kann. […]

[566] Gay identity during the 18th century with its time-specific 'compulsory heterosexuality' would have been very different to that of gay men nowadays. Peakman points out that the actual 'term heterosexuality [- also in opposition to homosexuality - was] not always useful in determining sex or sexuality in the Enlightenment, a period when the laws of nature were seen as essential guidance in what is "normal" or "natural".' see: Julie Peakman (ed.). 2014. *A cultural History of Sexuality in the Enlightenment*. London, p. 2.
[567] Pezzl 1886, *Skizze* Vol 2, p. 427.

> Die Mädchen kenen die Vorzüge der Weiber; daher trachten sie so sehr nach diesem Stande.

> As freely and fleetingly married women live, as constrained and dull is the way of life of single adult girls. It is really lamentable to see them not making one step or enter any social circles without a morose aunt, a malicious governess or even mama herself, with a countenance of full maternal authority as the inquisitor of all her words and inspector of all her glances, by her side. One teaches them the rules of finery, courtesy; every effort is aimed at bestowing in them, and develop into a second nature, the art to please, and then they are required to play coy, so that they will remain indifferent to the victories of their attractions.
>
> Indeed, their conversation is rather dry, too. A so-called innocence – in the old meaning of the word – is considered by the circles of high society nowadays a creature that makes for an annoyance rather than stimulation of a society. One would rather converse with women. There is something forced, timid, vacuous and artificial in the character of a girl so that they can be tolerated in the long run only by a lover. […]
>
> The girls know the advantages of women; therefore, they strive so much for this status.[568]

This uncomplimentary depiction of unmarried women does not fit the picture we have of Martines. She was, from all accounts, neither a dry conversationalist, nor did her life seem to have been the least bit boring – even based on the limited documentation that survives. Whether she found herself constantly under the watchful eye of a governess or her mother (while she was still alive) is unclear, but some restrictions were likely in place. Later in life, it would appear that it was her siblings who were her permanent companions – her sister at least in private. As speculated earlier, her sister may not have ventured out into society and companionship may have been limited to the home. This might also explain a seeming lack of regret in Martines about her own unmarried status, seeing as that would have taken her away from her sister, whom she may have felt responsible for. A hint towards the cohabitation of the three Martines siblings at least being discussed amongst themselves can again be found in Metastasio's will, where he urges the sisters to 'continue to cohabitate and live with […] their

[568] Gräffer 1850, *Curiosa* Vol. 5, p. 102.

older brother.'[569] Regardless, a general consensus regarding unmarried women, as Pezzl and Gräffer describe it in the above quote, would have affected how Martines was met in society and certainly did affect the reception history of her life and work.[570] T.R.v.N. adds how unfairly old maidens were being treated – despised for something they often had no control or agency over:

> One knows, without my reminder, how despised old maidens are. Without examining whether they joined this wrinkly guild of their own fault or just because of lapsed prejudices, one vilifies them; one charges them for the shame of having grown grey, without having been able to bring a male creature to enter matrimony. Truly! these considerations alone could suffice to make the most gentle unmarried woman indignant.[571]

It is unlikely that Martines herself ever actively pursued a potential match. That, again, would have been a transgression unfit for someone of her station. T.R.v.N. confirmed what Gräffer briefly alluded to: namely, that women were generally not allowed to make known their preference or have any real say in their choice of partner; a fact that the semi-anonymous author heavily criticized. She opened her essay with the following statement, detailing in a remarkably strongly-worded way the plight of women as she saw it, placing this essay among the remarkable early-feminist writings of the 18th century:

> If one gazes over the entirety of humankind, it is not difficult to note that the destiny of one half, I mean the female one, is very sad. Benevolent nature, that was surely no stepmother to us, saw us be born just as free and independent as males; we possess intellect and reason like them; in some things we are even ahead of them: irrespectively, the latter have set out, curtailing our rights both different and those we have in common with them, and positioned themselves as sovereign judges of

[569] D'Ayala 1795, pp. 356f.
[570] Example above, Holmes 1845 quote.
[571] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 10.

> all our doing, so that we must endure our lives under their heavy tyranny, regardless of whether we are single or married.
>
> I do not feel any desire to detail many a custom they introduced to our disadvantage; this would lead too far away from my ultimate purpose. I only wish to try to write down my thoughts on one of them that appears worthy of closer examination, it consists hereof: **that one limits the female sex in their choice of spouse, and wants to bind her to formalities that are highly detrimental to the joy, the honour, the reputation, the luck and the rights of the same.**[572]

T.R.v.N. – who was in a (self-proclaimed) happy marriage – further elaborated on the absurdity of the expectations and restrictions placed upon women. According to her essay, these only seemed to contradict each other and worked towards the severe detriment of women whose free choice and agency was being undermined – or better yet, completely negated – when it came to marriage matches:

> […] if there ever was a business in the world where a smart choice was necessary, it is indisputably here where it comes down to an unbreakable bond; and since both parts share an equally strong interest in the matter, it remains an irrefutable truth that both should also enjoy the same rights and must execute them, at least they should, in this choice themselves opposite the other. But, alas, how much does one seek to diminish, or rather even destroy them! the so-called **feminine modesty** and the strict **laws of habit** that one deigns to call **prosperity**, condemns us unlucky ones to entirely suppress our tenderness. A truly tyrannical implementation does not permit us to make the **first step**, if ever we feel inclined towards a man, in whose company we can hope to spend our life in a comfortable manner. The fear the world might think maliciously of us dictates suffocation of all – even the most innocent – feeling; just as if it were nefarious for a woman, who, after all, originates from man, to seek their origin. […]
>
> But granted that we benevolently submit to these rough customs, granted that we wait until a suitor comes; how will that have improved us? […] who indemnifies us if we sacrificed our peace and the true happiness of our life to these tin gods, I mean the **opinion of the world**?[573]

[572] T.R.v.N. 1782, pp. 5f.
[573] T.R.v.N. 1782, pp. 8f.

Despite the lack of agency women were given in their choice of husband, they were expected to 'achieve' the unwritten social protocol of finding a man to marry. Baumgarten detailed many traditions and customs involving the mockery, ostracising, and sometimes even assault of particularly older unmarried women ('alte Jungfern;'spinsters) and men ('Hagestolz;' confirmed bachelors) that were recorded in anecdotes, songs, stories, and depictions. That 'a female creature who does not bear any children simply does not conform with her destiny and essence of being,'[574] as Pezzl put it, seemed to have been the general consensus.

In urban spaces, speculations surrounding the salvation of unmarried (predominantly) women's souls were common. It was believed that such women would spend their afterlife 'as useless' as their mortal unmarried and (therefore presumed) barren existence, performing pointless tasks. The sole exceptions to this fater were those who committed their lives fully to the church and forsook marriage in favour of a life in service to god. But, as T.R.v.N. noted: 'Many a girl is not rich enough to take the vow of poverty in a convent.'[575] These afterlife occupations were often connected to landmarks in the respective city. According to Viennese lore, for instance, 'old maidens' swept the tower of St Stephen's Cathedral in all eternity. The phallic symbolism behind the cathedral tower, so Baumgarten states, was obviously no coincidence.[576] T.R.v.N. had a slightly different approach to religion and women, framing Eve as the pinnacle of divine creation:

> Is not the woman, as it were, the final masterpiece and the crown of all creation? And would this, without Eve, not have been entirely incomplete?
>
> Nothing came after her; did then not all created **before her** – and among them, undeniably, also man – seem to exist only **for her sake**?[577]

[574] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 101.
[575] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 45.
[576] Baumgarten 1997, p. 27 – after a 19th-century caricature.
[577] T.R.v.N. 1782, pp. 39f.

Another seemingly common practice for unmarried women was asking for divine intervention. Yet, old maidens were also subject to religious superstitions. Satan himself was said to be close by wherever one of them lived, and saints, such as St Andreas, were called upon to help those seeking a marriage match. Even today, some folk beliefs suggest that during the *Andreasnacht* ('Night of St Andreas'), girls of marriageable age are able to see their future husband in a mirror.[578] Many a song and poem was written that appeals to god's and the saints' benevolence. A German song from the 18th century contains a particularly desperate plea to St Andreas, sometimes referred to as the patron saint of marriage. The song reads very ableist today, as it describes the 'worst' possible husband imaginable, defined as someone with a series of disabilities, that is still 'good enough' for the pleader:

Table 3: St Andreas Song.[579]

Andreas, du gepriesner Mann,	Andreas, you praised man,
Ich bitte, was ich bitten kann,	I beg, as best I can,
Verleih mir doch in kurzer Frist,	grant me shortly
Warum du oft gebeten bist.	what you are often asked for.
Errette mich aus meiner Not	Save me from my misery,
Und nimm mir lieber Bier und Brot;	I'd rather be deprived of beer and bread,
Hingegen gib mir einen Mann,	but please give me a man
Den ich zu was gebrauchen kann;	who will be of use to me.
Er mag nun kurz, dick oder klein,	He may be short, fat or small,
Arm, häßlich und ein Krüppel sein;	poor, ugly or a cripple;
Er habe gar kein Bein nicht mehr,	he may have lost both legs,
Er sehe nicht, er höre schwer,	he may be blind or hard of hearing,
Ach ja, er sei auch noch so schlecht,	oh dear, he may be as bad as he can,
So ist der doch für mich schon recht.	yet he will still do for me.
Fällt dir nun bald ein Freier für,	Should you soon happen upon a suitor,
So schieb ihn doch zuerst zu mir.	nudge him towards me.
Zu dir steht meine Zuversicht,	I am putting my faith in you,
Vergiß es ja beileibe nicht.	do not forget it.

[578] Joachim Schäfer. 2024. 'Andreas' in: *Ökumenisches Heiligenlexikon*, source: https://www.heiligenlexikon.de/BiographienA/Andreas.htm (accessed 2025-03-03).
[579] After Baumgarten 1997, p. 51.

Folk songs that insisted – even if ironically – that a 'crippled husband' was better than none are of course proof that the exact opposite was the generally accepted opinion. The song, though not specifically Viennese, reflects a general attitude present in Europe at the time towards disability and disfigurement. If the woman was disabled, she was likely considered even less 'marriageable.' The case of Maria Theresia Paradis, a blind musician, who remained unmarried, supports this hypothesis.[580] Interestingly, Paradis had a partner with whom she lived in a marriage-like relationship, yet they did not legally marry[581] (because of her disability, there was most likely no expectation put on her to marry).[582] Similarly, Martines's sister Antonia, should she have indeed been disabled: these widespread attitudes towards impairment would explain why she did not seem to have been actively participating in Viennese society, let alone getting married.

Legislating marriage

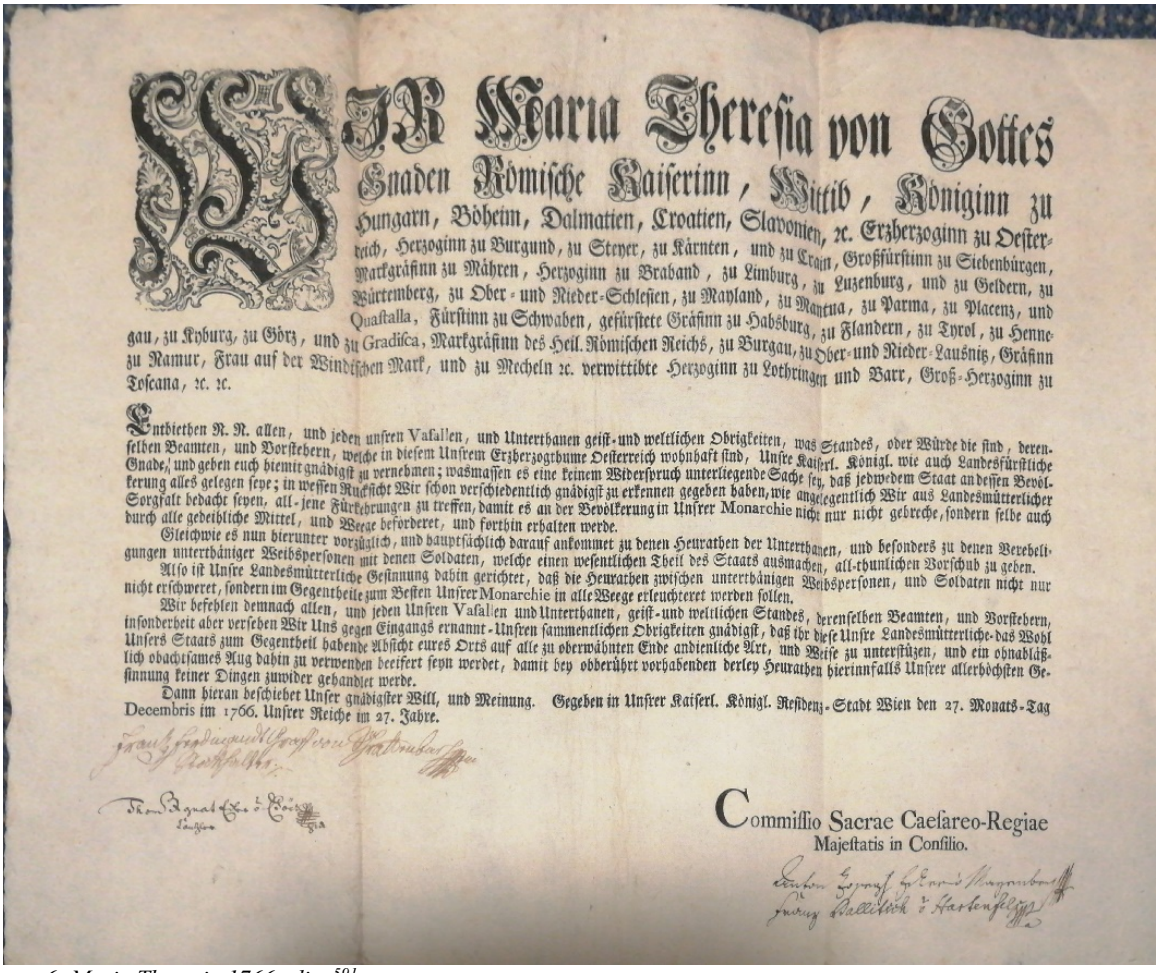
T.R.v.N. recounts of ancient times when 'encouragements to marry were supposedly a matter of the state,' and there existed 'laws made against those men who had not married by a certain age.' She adds that she does not think much of compulsion and violent means, but asks whether it should 'not be possible to find a gentler, less attention-drawing means of promoting marriages, without needing the compulsion of laws?'[583] Yet, one may argue that this is exactly what the Habsburg monarchs of Enlightenment Vienna did. Social consequences and vitriolic mockery were not the only measures taken against 'old maidens' and 'confirmed bachelors.' Vienna – and the Habsburg lands – saw many legal reforms. Always concerned with population

[580] Paradis – see Chapter III.i.
[581] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/paradis-theresia (accessed 2023-09-25).
[582] Marriage and disability – see Chapter II.i, i.a. Archduchess Maria Anna.
[583] Ibid., pp. 43f.

growth, Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II passed a large number of laws and regulations pertaining to marriage, as part of their general systematisation and reform of the Austrian legal system. Maria Theresia, with her *Keuschheitskommission* ('chastity commission') might seem the one most likely to have wished to regulate marriage. Maria Theresia was, in the words of Pezzl, 'a limitless promoter of marriage.'[584] The *commission de chasteté*[585] that Maria Theresia instituted was 'a genius mix of church, police, and censorship authority,' fittingly described as such by Streeruwitz.[586] The campaign was particularly aimed at policing goings-on during the carnival season and 'seeing that all clandestine gatherings are prevented and disrupted.'[587] Masked balls that were practically an 'invitation to vice'[588] were specifically targeted. These new guidelines were followed with such vigour that Maria Theresia soon had the reputation of being rather prudish and bigoted. Alfred Ritter von Arneth retrospectively commented that she was concerning herself with matters that 'were too trivial for one in her lofty position,' or that 'a woman of her purity of character should better have kept at arm's length.'[589] The real scandal about the chastity commission was that the 'morality policing' applied to everyone regardless of social standing (though it is difficult to reconstruct how severely – if at all – members of the highest aristocracy would really have been punished):

> […] Maria Theresa had broken with a tacit moral consensus among the aristocratic elite. It had always been taken for granted that grandees, unlike commoners, were exempt from governmental oversight in questions of morality.
>
> […] The all-embracing chastity campaign was the equivalent in the moral realm to what nobles in the hereditary lands were simultaneously faced with in the area of finance policy. […] In both cases, Maria Theresa defied expectations that she would show solidarity with her aristocratic peers.[590]

[584] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 104.
[585] Stollberg-Rilinger, Savage 2021, pp. 273f.
[586] Streeruwitz 1997, p. 19.
[587] Khevenhüller-Metsch after Stollberg-Rilinger, Savage 2021, p. 275.
[588] Ibid., p. 274.
[589] Arneth after ibid., p. 278.
[590] Ibid., pp. 275f.



WIR Maria Theresia von Gottes Gnaden Römische Kaiserinn, Wittib, Königinn zu Hungarn, Böheim, Dalmatien, Croatien, Slavonien, ꝛc. Erzherzoginn zu Oesterreich, Herzoginn zu Burgund, zu Steyer, zu Kärnten, und zu Crain, Großfürstinn zu Siebenbürgen, Marckgräfinn zu Mähren, Herzoginn zu Braband, zu Limburg, zu Luzenburg, und zu Geldern, zu Würtemberg, zu Ober- und Nieder-Schlesien, zu Mayland, zu Mantua, zu Parma, zu Placenz, und Quastalla, Fürstinn zu Schwaben, gefürstete Gräfinn zu Habsburg, zu Flandern, zu Tyrol, zu Hennegau, zu Kyburg, zu Görz, und zu Gradisca, Marckgräfinn des Heil. Römischen Reichs, zu Burgau, zu Ober- und Nieder-Lausnitz, Gräfinn zu Namur, Frau auf der Windischen Mark, und zu Mecheln ꝛc. verwittibte Herzoginn zu Lothringen und Barr, Groß-Herzoginn zu Toscana, ꝛc. ꝛc.

Entbiethen N. N. allen, und jeden unsren Vasallen, und Unterthanen geist- und weltlichen Obrigkeiten, was Standes, oder Würde die sind, derenselben Beamten, und Vorstehern, welche in diesem Unsrem Erzherzogthume Oesterreich wohnhaft sind, Unsre Kaiserl. Königl. wie auch Landesfürstliche Gnade, und geben euch hiemit gnädigst zu vernehmen; wasmassen es eine keinem Widerspruch unterliegende Sache sey, daß jedwedem Staat an dessen Bevölkerung alles gelegen seye; in wessen Rücksicht Wir schon verschiedentlich gnädigst zu erkennen gegeben haben, wie angelegentlich Wir aus Landesmütterlicher Sorgfalt bedacht seyen, all-jene Fürkehrungen zu treffen, damit es an der Bevölkerung in Unsrer Monarchie nicht nur nicht gebreche, sondern selbe auch durch alle gedeihliche Mittel, und Wege beförderet, und forthin erhalten werde.

Gleichwie es nun hierunter vorzüglich, und hauptsächlich darauf ankommet zu denen Heurathen der Unterthanen, und besonders zu denen Verehelichungen unterthäniger Weibspersonen mit denen Soldaten, welche einen wesentlichen Theil des Staats ausmachen, all-thunlichen Vorschub zu geben.

Also ist Unsre Landesmütterliche Gesinnung dahin gerichtet, daß die Heurathen zwischen unterthänigen Weibspersonen, und Soldaten nicht nur nicht erschweret, sondern im Gegentheile zum Besten Unsrer Monarchie in alle Wege erleuchteret werden sollen.

Wir befehlen demnach allen, und jeden Unsren Vasallen und Unterthanen, geist- und weltlichen Standes, derenselben Beamten, und Vorstehern, insonderheit aber verseben Wir Uns gegen Eingangs ernannt-Unsren sammentlichen Obrigkeiten gnädigst, daß ihr diese Unsre Landesmütterliche das Wohl Unsers Staats zum Gegentheil habende Absicht eures Orts auf alle zu oberwähnten Ende andienliche Art, und Weise zu unterstützen, und ein obnablaßlich obachtsames Aug dahin zu verwenden beeifert seyn werdet, damit bey obberührt vorhabenden derley Heurathen hierinnfalls Unsrer allerhöchsten Gesinnung keiner Dingen zuwider gehandlet werde.

Dann hieran beschiehet Unser gnädigster Will, und Meinung. Gegeben in Unsrer Kaiserl. Königl. Residenz-Stadt Wien den 27. Monats-Tag Decembris im 1766. Unsrer Reiche im 27. Jahre.

Commissio Sacrae Caesareo-Regiae Majestatis in Consilio.

Image 6: Maria Theresia 1766 edict.[591]

Maria Theresia introduced new marriage regulations. For instance, she passed an edict on 27 December 1766, not just allowing but encouraging soldiers in active duty to marry, since 'soldiers make up a significant part of the population' (see Image 6). Pezzl noted that, 'as strict as she [Maria Theresia] was in her crusade against non-sacramental pleasure of love, as actively she supported the sacramental one.'[592] The 1766 edict makes no secret of her motive, which was to increase the realm's population. Referring to herself as *Landesmutter* ('mother of the realm'), she frames these legal interventions and guidelines as a sign of her diligent care.

Yet, when it came to actual legislature, it was Joseph II who passed the most marital laws. During the mid-1780s, a great many publications were printed as a reaction to Joseph II's

[591] Source: private.
[592] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, p. 104, 'So streng sie gegen den unsakramentalischen Genuß der Liebe eiferte, so thätig unterstützte sie den sakramentalischen.'

marriage regulations, which were passed in 1783.[593] While Maria Theresia's main contribution was to systematize the legal corpus of the realm, and her legislations had a strong emphasis on religious rejection of Enlightenment thought,[594] Joseph II was more inclined towards legal innovation. Between the years 1752 to 1819, the four Habsburg Emperors who reigned Austria during that time – Maria Theresia, Joseph II, Leopold II, and Francis II (I) – passed just shy of 150 laws and regulations pertaining to marriage. Leading amongst them was Joseph II with 80 decrees, followed by Francis who passed 41 rulings. They include all kinds of topics from infidelity, marriage contracts, marital dispensations, marriage obstacles, marriage patents, divorce, and several sections on broad topics like spouses, and 'conjugal issues' (including children and births).[595] Matters like infidelity, 'poly-marriage' (polygamy), and abortion were also regulated under criminal law, in the *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*.[596] While abortion was a punishable offence under criminal law, pregnancies not just out of 'wedlock' but outside of a marriage with the biological father of the embryo were legislated in a punitive way. Several laws regulated what should happen after a marriage was dissolved, considered invalid, or if a woman became a widow. They all centred around making certain that the woman was not 'with child' from the previous relationship before entering into a new marriage.[597] § 120 of the *Allgemeines österreichisches bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* specifies that in cases where a pregnancy is unlikely, the woman may marry after three months have passed. If there is any

[593] See e.g. August Ludwig Schott. 1802. *Einleitung in das Eherecht*. Nürnberg: Felßecker, p. 51; Unknown. 1784. *Neueste juristische Literatur: für das Jahr 1784*, Vol. 3. Munich.; Franz J. Münch. 1784. *Oberste Gewalt des Staats in Rücksicht auf die Ehen*. Vienna; George Poulett Cameron, Friedrich von Parrot. 1783. *Betrachtung über die k. k. Verordnung in Ehesachen vom 16. Jänner 1783*. Vienna; Unknown. 1783. *Anordnung über die K.K. Verordnung in Ehesachen, für die sämmtlichen christlichen Religionsgenossen, vom 16. Jänner 1783.* [Vienna]; Unknown. 1784. Auch etwas über die K.K. Verordnung in Ehesachen, für die sämmtlichen christlichen Religionsgenossen, vom 16. Jänner 1783. [Vienna].

[594] Katrin Weinberger. 2012. Die Entwicklung des österreichischen Strafrechtswesens bis zur Zeit Maria Theresias unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana PhD Diss. Johannes Kepler Universität Linz, p. 8.

[595] Joh. Nep. Fr. v. Hempel-Kürsinger (ed.). 1825. *Alphabetisch= chronologische Übersicht der k. k. Gesetze und Verordnungen vom Jahre 1740 bis zum Jahre 1821, als Haupt= Repertorium über die theils mit höchster Genehmigung, theils unter Aufsicht der Hofstellen in 79 Bänden erschienenen politischen Gesetzsammlungen. E, F und G bis Geisv* Vol. 3. Vienna, pp. 8-29.

[596] Weinberger 2012, p. 28.

[597] Unknown (ed.). 1786. *Handbuch k. k. Gesetze*, Vol. 10. Vienna, §111.

doubt regarding a pregnancy, the woman must wait six months. If she is in fact pregnant, the woman must give birth before being permitted to remarry. Any infractions regarding these laws would not make the new marriage invalid but may result in 'appropriate punishment.'[598] Having a child out of 'wedlock' was heavily disapproved of. However, in instances where individual women's lives may have been in danger by being 'outed' as single mothers, measures were taken to prevent some of the danger. For instance, a 1784 law stated that church blessings for mothers should not, contrary to what certain churches had been practicing, differentiate between those who gave birth to 'legitimate' or 'illegitimate' children, for 'this treatment is very shameful and could become dangerous as a result.'[599]

Joseph II's legislation, in particular, actively wrenched control of marital affairs from the jurisdiction of the church and decreed that, if the church could not be taken out of the equation, it should be decided locally, outside of Roman/papal influence. He therefore implemented laws that would keep these issues under local (even if sometimes still ecclesiastic) jurisdiction. One of the court decrees from 1781, for instance, expressly authorised bishops on Austrian territories to exercise their power without the need to consult Rome.[600] Joseph II, in his 1783 reform, emphasised again that marriages work under the principles of a civil law contract, thus local sovereign courts are to be responsible for it:

> §1 – Die Ehe an sich selbst als ein bürgerlicher Vertrag (Kontrakt) betrachtet, wie auch die aus diesem Vertrage herfliessenden, und den Vertragerrichtenden gegeneinander zustehenden bürgerlichen Gerechtsame, und Verbindlichkeiten erhalten ihre Wesenheit, Kraft, und Bestimmung ganz, und allein von unsern landesfürstlichen Gesetzen: die Entscheidung der hierüber entstehenden Streitigkeiten gehöret also für unsere landesfürstliche Gerichtstellen.

[598] Unknown (ed.). 1853. *Allgemeines österreichisches bürgerliches Gesetzbuch.* Vienna.
[599] *Handbuch k. k. Gesetze* Vol. 4, p. 558.
[600] Unknown (ed.). 1785. *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die K.K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1780 bis 1784* Vol. 2. Vienna, pp. 294f, court decree 4 Sept. 1781.

> §1 – Marriage itself is viewed as a civil agreement (contract), as are, arising from this contract, to which the contracting parties are each entitled, the civil rights and obligations, that receive their essence, force and determination entirely and solely from our sovereign laws; hence the decision of the disputes arising in this regard therefore belong to our sovereign courts.[601]

Interestingly, in her essay, published a year before Joseph II's reforms, T.R.v.N. also emphasises repeatedly the contractual nature of marriage.[602] Another decree from 26 March 1782 added that divorce cases, one of those issues still under the church's jurisdiction, were not to be decided by Rome and its delegates any more either:

> […] in ienen Fällen, welche dem geistlichen Gerichte noch überlassen bleiben, über Streitigkeiten in Ehesachen, und wegen Trennung von Tisch und Bette alle Rekurse nach Rom, oder die von daher kommenden delegationes aufgehoben sein[…].

> […] in those cases, still at the discretion of the ecclesiastic court, regarding disputes of marriage matters concerning the separation of table and bed, all appeals to Rome and delegations coming from there shall be rescinded […].[603]

These reforms, that drastically reduced the church's – and especially papal – influence on matters of marriage, seemed to elicit strong reactions among the citizens. One of the responses in defence of the new laws came from Ferdinand Krsowsky von Krsowitz, who published a whole book of *Necessary supplement to the Imperial-Royal marriage provisions* in 1783.[604] Krsowsky defines marriage as the 'contract to beget children,'[605] much in accordance with the

[601] Unknown 1784, *Anmerkungen*, p. 6.
[602] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 51.
[603] Ibid., p. 296.
[604] Ferdinand Krsowsky von Krsowig. 1783. *Nöthige Beylage zu der k.k. Eheverordnung, oder Merkwürdige Erklärung der hierdurch aufgehobenen, sowohl leidentlichen, als unzuläßlichen Kirchengebote, und eingeführten neuen Ehehindernisse; Beweis des landesfürstlichen Rechtes hiezu, und interessante Erläuterung der gegenwärtig fürstlichen in Vergleichung mit den kanonischen Ehegesetzen aus dem Kirchen= Natur= und allgemeinen Staatsrechte in helles Licht und bündige Kürze gestellt*. Vienna.
[605] Ibid., p. 23.

Catholic definition of the time. However, unlike Catholic doctrine, he argues that 'religion is no more or less than a particular way of directly worshipping god.' Anything else does not fall under the jurisdiction of religion. 'The contract of begetting and raising children' does not in the least represent a way of directly worshipping god, for 'even those can enter into [this contract] who, out of great ignorance or an inclination towards nefariousness and a licentious life, do not know the creator.' He contends that marriage is not in the least a business of religion and does not belong under the control of 'religious servants.' [606] On the contrary, he sees it as the right and obligation of the monarch to decree all laws regarding marriage with the aim of reaching the highest possible degree of civic welfare.[607] Though his ideas appear quite enlightened, his conception of 'civic welfare' included restriction of the 'right' to get married to those who 'possessed the ability to beget healthy, strong children and raise them as such and form them into upright, hardworking citizens'[608] – a rather problematic, and at its core eugenic, qualifier. Procreation as the main purpose of marriage was also well-documented in the actual legal texts, aligning with ideals of 'natural law' that the church espoused. §22 of the section 'In Ehesachen wurde für Böhmen, für die österreichischen deutschen Erblande, dann für Gallizien und Lodomerien folgende Verordnungen gegeben' – in the *Handbuch der k. k. Gesetze* reads:

> Der Ehevertrag selbst wird geschlossen, wenn eine Manns= und eine Weibsperson einwilligen, miteinander in eine unzertrennliche Gemeinschaft zu treten, um Kinder zu erzeugen, und der diesem Stande anklebenden Gerechtsame zu geniessen.
>
> The marriage contract is entered into if a man and a woman agree to join in an inseparable companionship in order to beget children and enjoy the rights associated with this status.[609]

[606] Ibid., pp. 4f.
[607] Ibid., p. 13.
[608] Ibid., p. 6.'[…] nur denen den Ehestand erlauben, welche die Fähigkeit besitzen, gesunde, starke Kinder zu erzeugen, als solche zu erziehen, und zu rechtschaffenen, arbeitsamen Bürgern zu bilden.'
[609] Unknown (ed.). 1785. Handbuch k.k. Gesetze Vol. 2. Vienna, p. 308.

While Krsowsky focused on ecclesiastic jurisdiction in marriage, he did not go into detail regarding interfaith marriages. They were, of course, also regulated at the time. One possible occurrence (likely the only possibility of this happening) of a Jewish-Christian marriage covered by the legislation was if one of the spouses of a Jewish couple were to convert from Judaism to Christianity – this alone in and of itself, according to the legal text, would not be cause for a dissolution of the marriage.[610] The bulk of the legislation was concerned with forming and keeping marriages together, which would lead to population growth as a bottom line. The legislation on marriage also cemented gender roles in legal text. In line with the prevailing system of patriarchy, it saw the husband as head of the family:

> Der Mann ist das Haupt der Familie. In dieser Eigenschaft steht ihm vorzüglich das Recht zu, das Hauswesen zu leiten; es liegt ihm aber auch die Verbindlichkeit ob, der Ehegattinn nach seinem Vermögen den anständigen Unterhalt zu verschaffen, und sie in allen Vorfällen zu vertreten.
>
> The man is the head of the family. In this role, he has the right to lead the household; but he also has the obligation to provide alimentation to his wife to the best of his abilities, and to represent her in all matters.[611]

One aspect where men and women were equal was their obligation to hold 'above all […] marital duties, faithfulness, and proper convention.'[612] However, as stated above, the husband was the 'head' of the household, which was built like a 'mini-monarchy:'

[610] Unknown (ed.). 1812. *Das Eherecht für die gesammten deutschen Erbländer der österreichischen Monarchie. Aus dem allgemeinen bürgerlichen Gesetzbuch, zum Behufe der Seelsorger, unter öffentlicher Aufsicht besonders abgedruckt.* Vienna, p. 39: '§. XCIII. Durch den Uebertritt eines jüdischen Ehegatten zur christlichen Religion wird die Ehe nicht aufgelöst […].'
[611] Ibid., p. 19.
[612] Ibid., p. 18: 'Vor allem haben beyde Theile eine gleiche Verbindlichkeit zur ehelichen Pflicht, Treue und anständigen Begegnung.'

> Die Gattinn erhält den Nahmen des Mannes und genießt die Rechte seines Standes. Sie ist verbunden, dem Manne in seinen Wohnsitz zu folgen, in der Haushaltung und Erwerbung nach Kräften beyzustehen, und so weit es die häusliche Ordnung erfordert, die von ihm getroffenen Maßregeln sowohl selbst zu befolgen, als befolgen zu machen.
>
> The wife receives the name of the man and enjoys the rights of his status. She is obligated to follow the man to his domicile, to endeavour to support the household and earnings, and as far as the domestic order requires it, to both follow and have others follow the measures decided by him.[613]

Through these detailed legal reforms, ideas and ideals of gender roles in relationships were solidified in legal text. What men and women should and could do, even in the (supposed) privacy of their own home, within their intimate relationships, was not purely their concern. Instead, it was a matter of state law. The private is political – even in the 18th century.

Vile men and first-wave feminism

With the development of Enlightenment ideals, individuals started to question the idea of the husband as 'ruler' over a family. Mary Astell, for instance, queried 'if Absolute Sovereignty be not necessary in a State, how comes it to be so in a Family?'[614] and Mary Wollstonecraft outright demanded 'complete equality within marriage.'[615] Voices like these were the exception in Europe at the time. The much-celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was a proponent for love marriages, still maintained that 'women should be trained to docility.'[616] T.R.v.N., probably one of the most outspoken defenders of women's rights in marriage, had strong opinions about the Genevan philosopher. She wrote:

[613] Ibid., p. 19.
[614] Astell after Coontz 2005, p. 148.
[615] Ibid, p. 149.
[616] Ibid.

> Rousseau, the vile person, whom so many men admire as a great philosopher, dared to assert in one of his writings: **that women will never become anything more than a big child.**
>
> Is this supposed to be philosophy? how silly, how shallow! he may keep his philosophy to himself, no one will envy him for it.[617]

Understanding a people and their individuals through the legal system that regulates their life is a well-established method in sociology.[618] The general concept remains applicable in different historic contexts, also with a constitutional legal system. This is especially important to address here, considering accounts of the time specifically refer to instances where the inequality of men and women before the law was instrumentalised against women, leading to their continued debasement and oppression. T.R.v.N. included two anecdotes in her essay regarding a (probably not uncommon) case of extreme misogyny which details an attempt to deprive women of their humanity – as in, claiming they should not count as human beings. When asked to explain himself, the man of one anecdote did not retract his statement but backtracked a little by giving the apologetic explanation that 'women can under no circumstances be counted among human kind, naturally the reason being that they are all – angels.' [619] Less apologetic about his misogyny was another individual. T.R.v.N. reports of a woman challenging him by saying 'We speak, and possess reason, […] therefore we belong just as much as men among human kind and not animals to which you wish to degrade us.'[620] This provoked the retort:

> O this does not prove anything at all. Cannot animals speak also? […] Speaking without reason is as good as not speaking. But if women were able to speak with reason, would the great man have indeed asked her to hold her tongue in the

[617] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 21.
[618] Particularly noteworthy to this method is the work of Renisa Mawani, though her writing focuses on colonialism and common law – see Renisa Mawani. 2018. *Across oceans of Law: The Komagata Maru and Jurisdiction in the Time of Empire.* Durham.
[619] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 25.
[620] Ibid., pp. 26f.

> congregation? Is she not prevented by law to fill public positions and services that depend on speaking? Even the most adept and eloquent cannot pose as an advocate before the court; nor can she occupy a judicial position; in ambiguous matters she cannot even be a simple arbitrator; it is forbidden […] to testify before a court, and another hundred things are prohibited to them. Would one really exclude them from all these endeavours if they possessed reason?[621]

Both instances infantilised women who dared to challenge the misogynist statements. Dodging the question by comparing women to angels (or devils), they revealed their lack of respect for the woman challenging their point as a fully-fledged verbal sparring partner. The second anecdote is particularly relevant in the context of a gendered legal system. 'Is she not prevented by law to fill public positions and services that depend on speaking,' and 'would one really exclude them from all these endeavours if they possessed reason?' These two sentences expose what was certainly not just an individual's opinion, for T.R.v.N. to include them in her essay. Implied is also that to challenge the legal text would be to challenge the 'infallible' wisdom and power of the rulers responsible for these regulations. T.R.v.N. did not respond to these claims directly, but simply said one should not stoop so low as to engage with someone who questioned what she saw as fact, namely that nature bore women 'just as free and independent as men' and that women 'possess intellect and reason like them.'[622]

Unfortunately, the political system operating in Vienna that regulated the job market was not particularly enlightened regarding these things either. There was a strict gender division of labour within court positions. Weigl et. al. point out that, in theory, court jobs in pre-industrial Vienna did not have any gender pay gap. 'The wage level was the same or comparably high for men and women in the same or comparable positions: no gender pay gap.' However, a monumental gender pay gap was created by restriction of certain positions to certain genders; especially since 'the better and best paying administrative, economic and military positions

[621] T.R.v.N., pp. 28f.
[622] Ibid., pp. 5f.

were almost exclusively occupied by men, therefore the overall earnings of women at the court made up a vanishingly small percentage of the overall earnings of men.'[623]

The exceptionally profound essay by T.R.v.N. is so far an un(der)-explored example of Viennese first-wave feminism. In a greater European context, many of the early harbingers of first-wave feminism were concerned with suffrage, yet considering the socio-political climate and legal reforms in Austria, it makes sense that *early-feminist* writings from Vienna would also concern themselves with marriage and both written and unwritten laws of social conduct. Thus far, I was not able to decipher the full name of T.R.v.N., nor the identity of Herr P. M. Schmid who published the text on her behalf in Vienna with Sebastian Hartl (a publisher who also released a number of other volumes dealing with 'gender' differences and opinions at the time). Except for a single book review in 1783, in the *Wöchentliche Nachrichten von Gelehrten Sachen,*[624] there does not seem to be any mention of this essay in popular or academic literature at any point in history. This is surprising, for the vehemence with which T.R.v.N. demands – and unapologetically premises – equality between the sexes is reminiscent of, and sometimes even far exceeds, other more well-known examples of first-wave feminism. Some of the topics she addresses, like personal freedom, agency, and free choice for women, her general stance of equality as a law of nature, as well as a proposition for a kind of universal sisterhood, anticipate much later feminist voices.

It is unclear whether T.R.v.N. might be a pen name, similar to Maria Antonia Walpurgis, who published under the pseudonym ETPA, short for Ermelinda Talea Pastorella Arcadia.[625] Assuming that T.R.v.N. are the author's actual initials, one may speculate that the 'R.v.' in the

[623] Andreas Weigl, Peter Eigner, Ernst Gerhard Eder (ed.). 2015. *Sozialgeschichte Wiens 1740-2010. Soziale und ökonomische Ungleichheiten, Wanderungsbewegungen, Hof, Bürokratie, Schule, Theater*. Innsbruck, Vienna, Bozen, pp. 85f.
[624] Unknown. 1783. 'Von gelehrten Büchern und Schriften. In Teutschland. Wien' in: *Wöchentliche Nachrichten von Gelehrten Sachen. Auf das Jahr 1783. XLII^tes Stück. Im Monate October.* Regensburg, pp. 325-329.
[625] See e.g. Walpurgis ca. 1747. *6 Arias*. SLUB, Mus.3119-F-11.

initials of the *Sachwalter*'s author refer to 'Ritter von', which would mean she was likely married to one of Austria's lower-ranking aristocrats (assuming that she used the initials of her married name). In any case the lower-case 'v.' is short for 'von' which would make her a noble woman. Of all the Austrian noble families whose names start with 'N,' the Neupauer family could be a possible contender. Franz Xaver, Edler von Neupauer was born in 1753, and died in the 1830s in Styria. He was a legal scholar who spent several years in Vienna and published multiple volumes pertaining to contemporary issues of Austrian society. His views and opinions were seen as quite modern and caused a stir both in and outside of Austria.[626] Among them are several that deal with marriage laws. His brother, Mathias Joseph, a Viennese merchant, was a Ritter von Neupauer. Another argument in favour of the Neupauer brothers is the highly skilled, lawyer-like reasoning implemented by T.R.v.N. in her essay that suggests socialisation around someone of that profession. Her emphasising the legal basis of marriage and speaking of bringing 'burden of proof'[627] for her various arguments would suggest as much. At this point I have not been able to verify if and when either of the Neupauer men married and whether their wives' initials would match that of our mysterious author. State archives did not conserve information pertaining to women and wives nearly as well as that of men of the time. Frau T.R.v.N.'s association with the Neupauer family is not implausible but at this point only speculative.

Publicly Private

This section paints a picture of the conflicting opinions surrounding the binary model of 'the sexes' present during the late 18th century in Vienna. Voices like that of T.R.v.N. calling for

[626] Constant von Wurzbach. 1869. *BLKÖ* Vol. 20, Vienna, p. 296, and: Johann Jakob Heinrich Czikann, Franz Gräffer. 1836. *Oesterreichische National=Encyklopödie* Vol. 4. Vienna, p. 45.
[627] T.R.v.N. 1782, p. 7.

more equality and freedom of women, especially regarding their choice of life partner, could explain why, in response, increased emphasis was placed on female purity and chastity towards the end of the century.[628] While the Martines brothers presumably could not marry young, because their slow-moving careers did not allow them to gain sufficient financial means, the Martines sisters present a more complex case. Their marriage prospects (if there were any) could have been stuck in stagnant court careers, similar to the Martines brothers. Alternatively, they may not have found a match they (or their family) deemed suitable or desirable. Furthermore, the Martines family's financial situation perhaps did not provide the Martines sisters with the possibility of coming up with the necessary dowry when they were 'of marriageable age.' Dowries were regulated in Austria, so that the groom had the right to decide whether or not he insisted on one. The size of the dowry would be decided according to the wealth of the bride or, if the bride did not have any fortune of her own, the bride's family.[629]

The Martines's financial situation during the early years is difficult to reconstruct. Joseph, Marianna, and Antonia would certainly have been quite well off once they inherited Metastasio's estate. Prior to that, however, while the Martines parents were still alive, to what degree the family would have been considered 'wealthy' is unclear. Joseph's letter from 1758 alludes to potential financial struggles that the family experienced, as he references the need to support his 'poor family, that is, an incapacitated father [and] a sick mother'[630] to bolster his application for a promotion at the Imperial Court Library. If Antonia, as suggested earlier, was indeed mentally or physically disabled or disfigured (and therefore hidden away from society), that would presumably also have precluded her from marrying. If that was the case, her sister Marianna may have felt obligated or may have wished to stay with and take care of her sister

[628] Also see Coontz 2005, p. 159.
[629] Margareth Lanzinger. 2010. 'Mitgift, Heiratsgut und Ehegüterregime' in: GR/SR Vol. 19, pp. 123-143, here p. 127.
[630] See Appendix 1.

rather than getting married, as getting married would have required her to move into her husband's household.[631]

Some scholars proposed the term 'lesbian-like' for single women in history, to avoid heteronormative assumptions about them and the resulting distortions of their stories, which is a useful exercise in framing women's histories.[632] However, this thesis is not hypothesising about Martines's sexuality. Rather, it emphasises that it would be unhelpful to view Martines's unmarried status as a failed heterosexual relationship, based on normativity of heterosexual intercourse and childbearing that pities anyone having 'to do without these purported joys.'[633] As stated in Chapter I.i, I propose acknowledging the marginalisation that came with Martines's relationship status, without applying concrete labels. As far as one can guess, Martines's life was quite fulfilled and her close relationship with her sister – the single most consistent and long-lasting relationship of her life – provided a rich emotional and social life with friendships and acquaintances (of various genders) in Vienna's artistic-intellectual circles.

There is nothing to suggest that Martines bemoaned her single status. However, the various accounts above demonstrate how society at large perceived women in general and unmarried women in particular. Some of the glowing reviews of Martines – in this case of her person rather than her music – take on even higher significance in light of the outrageously prevalent base-level misogyny of the time. While staying unmarried meant that Martines could manage the household for her brother,[634] and look after her sister, it also severely restricted her personal freedom to move about and pursue social interactions on her own accord. Being unmarried and belonging to the 'secondary aristocracy'[635] came with certain expectations that Martines had

[631] Unknown 1812, *Eherecht*, p. 19.
[632] Judith M. Bennett. 2000. '"Lesbian-Like" and the Social History of Lesbianisms' in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality* Vol. 9 No. 1/2, pp. 1-24.
[633] Ibid., p. 4.
[634] Fremar 1983, p. 36.
[635] Following Pezzl's categorisation.

to navigate: she had to be conscious of 'how' she was a woman and was being assessed as such by others.[636] Part of her navigation of these gendered expectations was Martines's curation of her *publicly private* persona: her conscious self-fashioning as someone who was a private individual while also finding herself repeatedly in the public eye. She did not pursue a career in music, but rather clung to the label of the dilettante, and did not perform publicly but instead used her salons – a liminal space between the private and public[637] – as her space of agency that she could navigate as a single woman without risking transgressions. The accolades she collected drew attention to her and several newspaper articles reported on them, for example when she became a member of the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*. Despite being thus 'in the public eye,' she maintained her identity as a private person.

The lack of concrete evidence about the life choices of Martines makes it advisable to compare her circumstances with those of other Viennese women composers/musicians whose lives were somewhat similar to hers, through comparable social standing and occupation. Similar to Martines, Josepha Aurnhammer and Maria Theresia Paradis were both members of the upper-middle class (though were not ennobled).[638] However, neither of the two was as careful as Martines about curating their *publicly private* persona, who very consciously steered clear of venturing too far into the spotlight. Aurnhammer had the ambition to pursue a career as a virtuoso performer of professional standing. Mozart, Aurnhammer's teacher, wrote in one of his letters to his father that Aurnhammer had plans to 'diligently study another 2 or 3 years, and then go to Paris to make a profession out of it.' She didn't want to 'marry some petty clerk,' adding that she would 'rather stay single and make a living off [her] talent.'[639] Marriage did not seem to play into these original plans of being a travelling artist, but they never came to

[636] West, Zimmerman 1987.
[637] See Cypess 2022, e.g. p. 29.
[638] More on the individual biographies of the two composers, see Chapter III.i.
[639] Spaethling 2000, p. 270.

fruition. However, she continued to perform in concert locally, in Vienna, after marrying Johann Bessenig, with whom she had three children.[640] Aurnhammer's marriage presumably terminated her ambitions of pursuing an international artistic career; however, enjoying the security that came with marriage, she was able to actively participate as a virtuoso in Viennese music life.

Though Paradis was not born blind, it was presumably her disability that made her 'undesirable' for the marriage market. An educational book from the *Blinden-Institut* ('Institute for the Blind') in Vienna from 1817 records educational materials, including many songs, that the students were to learn. The overwhelming majority of them seek to foster religiosity and trust in god. There is not a single song that has an inkling of romantic or relationship-adjacent topics (otherwise the most popular topic for everyday, popular songs), suggesting that relationships and disability may have been a taboo.[641] As laid out above, 'natural law' that was to ensure the continuation of 'healthy, strong children'[642] heavily influenced marriage decrees, regulations, norms and customs. Paradis, who was likely not expected to find a husband by her 18th-century contemporaries, was able to focus on her career as a travelling artist. Though she eventually found a partner, she remained unmarried. It is safe to assume that she was quite aware of limitations placed upon her by her being blind and (officially) single, particularly once she had returned to Vienna and its strict (written and unwritten) relationship rules. Her move away from public performances and an increased focus on teaching, together with compositional activities, would support this hypothesis.

Being unmarried, yet certainly having the expectation of finding a husband placed on her, Martines was under different kinds of pressure to carefully curate her single persona.

[640] https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/auernhammer-josepha (accessed 2023-07-11)
[641] Unknown (ed.). 1817. *Gesänge für die Zöglinge des Blinden-Institutes in Wien.* Vienna.
[642] Krsowsky 1783, p. 6.

Displaying herself as a private person – curating her *publicly private* persona – she steered clear of public performances and anything that would have put her too much in the spotlight. Though she did perform her keyboard and vocal music in the privacy of her home (and salons),[643] the only music of hers that was publicly performed during her lifetime was her sacred music.[644] Martines's 'irreprehensible morals,'[645] that Metastasio praised and which she herself fostered (together with his monetary bequest), seemed to serve her as an alternative to the security that otherwise would have come with a marriage match. Nonetheless, one must remember T.R.v.N.'s assertion that automatically equated 'unmarried' with 'support seeking women.'[646]

[643] See e.g. accounts by Burney (1775) and Schönfeld (1796).
[644] E.g. in 1782 the *Tonkünstler-Gesellschaft* performed her oratorio *Isacco, figura del Redentore* – see: Fuchs, Schmid 1842.
[645] d'Ayala 1795, pp. 356f.
[646] T.R.v.N. 1782, pp. 10f.

III. Agency and Self Fashioning

III.i Spheres of influence and activity

Outline

Notwithstanding the way music history has been written, women were very much part of the development of music in Europe throughout history, and particularly during the 18th and 19th centuries. Women's agency can be found in all areas of music production. They were performers, composers, educators, and patrons or organisers of music – often taking multiple roles at once. The substantial part women played in sustaining and furthering music has time and again been dismissed as secondary to that of men. However, honest analysis of archival sources provides a wealth of evidence of women's active participation in the shaping of musical life that cannot and should not be ignored. Cypess notes that salons – and I would argue women's musical contributions in general, among which salons played a central role – have not been sufficiently studied thus far, stating, 'only in a handful of cases have these musical salons been considered at any length on their own terms, and from the perspective of the salonnières who hosted them.'[647]

The reception of the late 1700s, during subsequent centuries centred on the creation and cult-like worshipping of (almost exclusively) male 'genius,' supposedly possessed only by a select few.[648] Despite this reception and historiographical processing, the reality of musical life in Enlightenment Vienna was rich and varied. While women were often (but not always!) discounted in their abilities to produce music – be it as composer, performer, or organiser – it does not follow that their contributions were in any way insignificant or negligible. Their active contribution to the production of music and their agency in music fundamentally shaped how music was 'lived' and sustained. Due to the often severe constraints put on women to pursue

[647] Cypess 2022, p. 8.
[648] See e.g. Zenck 1997, and Stinson 2020.

music, such as the quasi-ban on professional activity for upper-class women, it was necessary for their involvement in music to happen under the guise of the non-professional. Yet again, the archives provide clear evidence that both the amount and quality of their work was *quasi-professional*. The fact that people – even in the 21st century – believed them when they purported to be *dilettantes* says more about these women's ability in 'public relations' than it does about the quality and impact of their work.

Many women composers, including Martines, wished for themselves 'to be understood as an amateur.'[649] The latent misogyny that shaped centuries of music history writing meant that music historians were only too willing to believe that the term *dilettante* necessarily meant lesser-quality music. It is time to readjust our understanding. This chapter will delve deeper into the make-up of Martines's salon, as well as her various musical identities and how she curated them between public and private spheres. It will further provide two brief portraits of contemporaries of Martines who pursued music on a professional level in a more overt way, despite being members of the upper-middle class (though, not lower-ranking nobility, like Martines). The two composers are Maria Theresia Paradis (1759-1824) and Josepha Aurnhammer (1758-1820). They are interesting contrasts to Martines. Despite being born into somewhat comparable family circumstances, Martines – whose family was eventually ennobled, but was not born an aristocrat – never pursued a public career like Aurnhammer and Paradis. Further, as the previous chapter discussed, while Martines was single, Aurnhammer was married (and Paradis was exempt from the expectation of getting married due to her disability),[650] providing her with additional social (and presumably financial) security. Subtle differences in family status and ambitions around social mobility evidently effected massive contrasts in how their lives in music played out.

[649] Cypess 2022, p. 157.
[650] See below.

Salons and Academies

Any discussion of Martines's musical accomplishments would not be complete without acknowledging her role as a salonnière and organiser of academies. Salons were at the core of Viennese concert life, which was, for modern standards, structured in a seemingly 'inadequate and haphazard'[651] way due to its lack of purpose-built concert halls. The first 'specifically designated music room or concert hall' in Vienna was not opened until 1831; though this development was very likely slowed because music was already omnipresent in Vienna. Gräffer, famous for his writing on Josephinist Vienna, illustrates this point fittingly in a chapter titled 'Wien wie es nicht ist' ('How Vienna is Not'), in which he set out to humorously describe the exact opposite of Viennese realities and histories:

> Musik. Man weiß nichts davon. Diese Töne sind nicht Ton. Stundenlang mag man durch die Straßen wandeln, durch das Innere der Häuser oder auf Spaziergängen: kein einziger musicalischer Laut. Nur die ältesten Leute spielen ein wenig Clavier oder Geige, und schlecht. Musik ist die allerletzte aller Nebensachen. Man legt gar keinen Werth darauf; sie gewährt nicht den mindesten Vorzug. Ja es ist Manie, nicht musicalisch zu seyn; es wäre das unfehlbarste Mittel, unglücklich zu werden.
>
> Music. One knows nothing of it. These sounds are not sound. One may wander for hours through the streets, through the interiors of houses, or on walks: not a single musical note. Only the oldest people play a little keyboard or violin, and poorly. Music is the most insignificant of all trivial matters. No value is placed on it; it offers not the slightest advantage. Indeed, it is almost a mania not to be musical; to be so would be the surest way to become unhappy.[652]

This is also echoed in Burney's account of the city:

[651] Morrow. 1989, p. xv.
[652] Franz Gräffer. 1845. *Kleine Wiener Memoiren* Vol. 2. Wien: Beck's Universitäts=Buchhandlung, p. 11.

> […] Vienna is so rich in composers, and incloses within its walls such a number of musicians of superior merit, that, it is but just to allow it to be, among German cities, the imperial seat of music, as well as of power.[653]

The organisational structures of musical life in Vienna functioned even without designated concert halls,[654] due to aristocratic patronage and (semi-)private spaces being made available for musical happenings.[655] Central among them were salons of both aristocrats and, as the 18th century progressed, also increasingly members of the upper-middle class.

The development of the division between public and private life is central to the work of Habermas.[656] However, his perhaps overly clear-cut conception of this division is not the most, or at least not the only, useful one in this context. The emergence of a European bourgeois public sphere, and its transformation through the developing industrial capitalism and the modern state shaped the structuring of European societies and the awareness of the separation of public and private life. Agency within these areas of society was distributed and dictated along class and gender divides. Martines was both aided and impeded by her high social status, a situation further complicated by the double-edged sword of being a single woman.[657] While her connections to the Habsburgs and eventually becoming a member of the Austrian aristocracy presumably opened many doors for her, [658] it also meant she could not pursue music in a professional capacity. And, even before the ennobling, the Martines siblings' ostensible striving for social mobility seemed to inscribe in them a *habitus* of the social standing they wanted; more so than the one they necessarily had at birth.

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[653] Burney 1775, p. 368.
[654] Other major cities, like London, already had a much more developed infrastructure for commercial concerts at that time (see Susan Wollenberg, Simon McVeigh. 2004. *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Routledge).
[655] Morrow 1989, pp. xviif.
[656] Jürgen Habermas. 1990, 2021. *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* 17. Edition. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.
[657] See Chapter II.ii.
[658] 1774, elevated to the *Ritterstand*.

The salon and Martines's academies need to be understood as a liminal space in which Martines had agency to present herself *publicly private*. It was a way for her to self-fashion and perform her stage persona and music in front of others, while not transgressing into the public.[659] The historian and philosopher Hannah Arendt, discussed agency within the public sphere and thereby is useful in understanding Martines's agency within the salon.[660] According to Arendt, a fulfilled human existence is to be situated not only in the private but also in the 'public sphere.'[661] Thuma argues that Arendt makes the case for public spaces to be defined as a 'spaces of freedom and spaces of action.'[662] Under these criteria the salon can be understood as a (if not entirely public, then at least) non-private space. For Arendt, agency is closely tied to public space. It is defined by the subject's visibility and appearance within this space, where the subject 'performs' their individuality. This is bound up with the individual's capacity for initiative. Here, it is vital to note that 'acts of alignment, conversion, or even submission' do not necessarily 'amount to a loss of subjectivity and agency,'[663] but can also be understood as acts of agency under certain conditions. I argue that Martines's salons should therefore be seen as spheres of individual agency, in which the actor could step away from the confines of the private home while not physically transgressing into the public domain.[664] Salons formed a liminal space in which 'women themselves were free to display their own musical talents.'[665] Though not all salons were necessarily run by women, they granted women in particular a kind of freedom that was otherwise largely inaccessible beyond the confines of these (semi-)private spaces. Thus, salons not only provided a stage for musical happenings but also served a crucial

[659] For a discussion of women in the salon also see Cypess 2022.
[660] I specifically follow the scholarhip on Arendt by: Andrea Thuma. 2011. Vom Wunsch, die Welt bewohnbar zu machen. Hannah Arendt und der öffentliche Raum. PhD Diss. Universität Salzburg; and Andrea Thuma. 2011. 'Hannah Arendt, Agency, and the Public Space' in: Maren Behrensen, Lois Lee, Ahmet Selim Tekelioglu (eds.). IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference Proceedings Vol. 29. Vienna: IWM, n. pag.
[661] Thuma 2011, Diss., p. v.
[662] Ibid., p. vi, 'Freiheits- und Handlungsräume'.
[663] Thuma 2011, *IWM conferene*, p. 5.
[664] Also see Chapter IV.ii.
[665] Cypess 2022, p. 4.

social function. They were so inextricably bound to Vienna's class structure and hierarchy, and prescriptive gender roles, 'that their role cannot be evaluated without examining them from a social as well as a musical perspective.'[666] Salons aided in cementing people's position within the social strata, also opening potential avenues for individuals to establish themselves on their upward trajectory of social mobility. Martines's salon and the positive reception it received amongst contemporaries further fixed her role in everyday Viennese musical life. The regularity with which her salon was held – every Saturday night in 1796 – suggests that they were a *jour fixe* in Vienna's cultural scene.

> Fräulein von Martines. Bei dieser geschickten Tonkünstlerinn ist alle Sonnabende sehr große Gesellschaft, bei welcher Gelegenheit immer viel gesungen und auf Flügel gespielt wird. Auch findet man zuweilen an diesen Tagen eine Harmoniebande daselbst, welche den ganzen Abend durch bläst.

> Fräulein von Martines. At this skilled musician's home, there is a large gathering every Saturday night, during which a great deal of singing and piano playing takes place. Occasionally, a wind ensemble is also present on these days, which plays throughout the evening.[667]

Cypess states that Martines 'was able to experience social success, despite her potentially risky status as a composer, in large measure because of her musical salon.'[668] Although, it would seem that her role as a performer was the 'riskier' one in its social framing. This would explain why Martines never appeared 'publicly' in the capacity of a performer, whereas she did earn some public recognition as a, albeit dilettante, composer. Regardless, Martines's salon is where her musical worlds converged and she was able to present herself as the multi-role actor she was.

[666] Morrow 1989, p. xviii.
[667] Schönfeld 1796, p. 71.
[668] Cypess 2022, p. 154.

Laudatory mentions of her by contemporaries suggest that Martines earned the appreciation of Vienna's musical (and social) elite. Schönfeld lists Martines's among the most prominent salons in Vienna. He adds that she had something of an open-door policy, with strangers and visitors to the city of Vienna always welcome:

> Unter den Privatakademien zeichnen sich einige darinn aus, daß Fremde, welche hieher kommen, leicht Zutritt daselbst finden und sehr gefällig aufgenommen weren. Hieher gehören Nachstehende: bei Hrn. v. Henikstein, Herrn Hofrath von Greiner, bei Fräulein von Martines, und bei Hrn. von Schönfeld aus Prag.
>
> Among the private academies, some stand out in that foreigners who visit here can easily gain access and are received very courteously. These include the following: at Hrn. v. Henikstein, Herrn Hofrath von Greiner, at Fräulein von Martines, and at Hrn. von Schönfeld from Prague.[669]

With her salon as a platform for artistic self-fashioning and presentation, Martines could engage in high-level music-making, sharing her own creations with an audience as composer-performer, while still retaining her private and dilettante status.[670] Status likely also played a role in her pursuit to establish the salon. Though we lack Martines's own voice regarding her motivation for opening a salon, her siblings' and her own life-long pathway of collecting accolades, recognition, and connections – a habit seemingly instilled in them by Metastasio – suggest that her salon was (at least in part) in service of the project of social advancement. Hence, Martines's motivation for avoiding social transgressions was likely not only for her own sake, but also for her siblings; at least those still living in Vienna.

Remaining a dilettante was important, because failing to do so would have threatened their social standing among the Viennese upper-class. Cypess adds that 'not engaging in music for money, but for pleasure,' meant that Martines's 'social position therefore remained

[669] Schönfeld 1796, p. 74.
[670] Unlike her (few) public performances, where she was solely present as a composer of sacred music.

respectable.'[671] As described earlier, when discussing Joseph Martines, respectability and secure social standing were among the core concerns of the Martines siblings. Thus, when Schönfeld mentions Martines's efforts as a vocal teacher, it is not surprising that he goes out of his way to point out that she did this 'for entertainment and out of love for the art,'[672] rather than for money.

Martines's quasi open-door policy (at least concerning members of the upper classes) seems a product of her shared household with Metastasio. Being extremely well-connected, the latter welcomed frequent visitors to his house with whom, consequently, Martines also became acquainted. For example, Burney described how he was introduced to the shared household and both met Metastasio and had a taste of Martines's music.[673] Cypess identifies the joint salon of Metastasio and Martines as a site of collaboration.[674] This collaboration meant a fostering of distributed creativity, emphasising the 'collaborative, distributed and situated character of the creative process in music.'[675]

After Metastasio's death, this spirit of openness – if not direct collaboration – continued as a guiding principle for Martines's artistic endeavours. The cohabitating siblings eventually moved to a more luxurious flat in *Herrengasse* No. 25. Martines described the new flat to Aurelio de' Georgi Bertola, a frequent correspondent of hers, with whom she appeared to share a very amicable discourse, shortly after November 1786:

> You do not yet know that we have moved, exchanging our residence for one that is much more beautiful and convenient, on a first floor, in the Herrengasse, No. 25. I want to give you this information so that when you write me you do not address the letters to the other house.[676]

[671] Cypess 2022, p. 158.
[672] Schönfeld 1796, p. 42.
[673] Burney 1775, pp. 206-372.
[674] Cypess 2022, pp. 196f
[675] Eric F. Clarke, Mark Doffman (eds.). 2017. *Distributed Creativity. Collaboration and Improvisation in Contemporary Music*. Oxford University Press, p. 2.
[676] Godt 2010, p. 240.

Pezzl argues that the first floor is not in fact the most convenient, due to the dust of the street and the usually uninhabited stores underneath on the ground floor which make heating more laborious.[677] Still, it seems plausible that the Martines siblings, now at a more advanced age than during their youth in the *Michaelerhaus*, would prefer only having to climb the one flight of stairs to reach their apartment in *Herrengasse*, choosing low barrier access over easy heating and air quality. It also speaks to Martines's character that she adds her reason for writing should only be to allow Bertola to direct his response to the right address, lest it seem like she was bragging about her new domicile.

Bertola's relationship with the Martines siblings is also enshrined in some of his writings and further highlights the collaboration of Martines and Metastasio. In an ode to Metastasio, written after his death, Bertola states that he felt as if he were seeing Metastasio again looking at his books and speaking with his student, adding a footnote to elaborate that the student in question is Martines:

> La Signora Marianna de Martines, il cui ingegno e saper musicale, e il buon gusto nelle Lettere son veramente di squisitezza metastasiana.
>
> Signora Marianna de Martines, whose ingenuity and musical knowledge, and good taste in literature are truly of Metastasian exquisiteness.[678]

The salon was the perfect setting for Martines's musical ingenuity. Subscribing to the notion that 'music shapes and takes shape in relation to the social settings where it is produced, distributed and consumed,'[679] it is important to explore exactly that. Both Martines's music and the settings and social spheres in which it was produced and which Martines and her music co-

[677] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 2, p. 272.
[678] Aurelio Bertola De Giorgi. 1784. *Osservazioni sopra Metastasio con alcuni Versi.* Venice: Remondini, p. LXIV.
[679] Tia DeNora. 2005. 'The concerto and society' in: Simon P. Keefe (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-31, here p. 19.

produced and shaped, are the subject of this investigation. With Martines's music existing largely in the context of the salon, it is particularly pertinent to not engage with the musical text in a laboratory-like vacuum, but rather to immerse oneself in all facets of life that shaped and were shaped by these creations.

Maintaining a *publicly private* persona, Martines never performed in public as a singer or keyboard player; though she did so within the confines of her home, seemingly with equal measures zest and skill. As already discussed, all of the Martines siblings except Antonia were very active in the family's project of social mobility. As such, all, including Marianna, found themselves somewhat inevitably in the public eye as topics of discussion (judging by the amount of surviving accounts and newspaper mentions). Further, Martines did notably enter the public arena in one of her musical identities: namely that of a composer. Naturally, she did so in a much more restrained way than her professional and/or male colleagues, yet occasionally stepping into the limelight as a composer seems to have been permissible. At the very least, it was a measured risk she was able to take under the guise of dilettante status; especially given other aristocratic women had already done so, too.[680] Martines went one step further, though: with the exception of her published keyboard sonatas, she selected exclusively sacred music as her 'public' compositions and was thus shrouded in the cloak of piety, despite also attracting press attention through her 'public-facing' music.[681] Performing in public as a keyboardist or singer would have threatened the Martines family's hard-earned social standing, whereas stepping into the public as a composer (albeit under the guise of non-professionalism), had been already established as acceptable by other, socially higher-ranking women, such as Maria Antonia Walpurgis.

[680] See Walpurgis – Chapter II.i.
[681] See Maria Theresia's Piety and Politics – Chapter II.i.

Isacco Figura del Redentore

A particularly highly acclaimed achievement of Martines, the 'public-facing' composer, was the 1782 performance by the *Tonkünstler-Societät* of one of her oratorios in Vienna. The oratorio, after a libretto by Metastasio was likely an homage to the poet who died about a month after the oratorio premiered. Martines informed her correspondent Carlo Broschi, better known as Farinelli, of the poet's death, adding that Metastasio had retained a healthy constitution until the end, despite his hypochondriac leanings:

> […] Ma posso bensì assicurarla che il colpo ci riuscì troppo improviso, poiché la vigorosa constituzione del corpo quasi superiore alla età di 84 anni, animata da un sempre eguale vivacità di quello spirito suo impareggiabile, ci prometteva ancora lunga la sua esistenza fra noi, malgrado le abituali affezioni ipocondriche che spesso lo incomodavano, senza per altro togliergli il godimento del commercio, del sonno, dell'appetito, dell'applicazione, e delle altre funzioni vitali.[682]

> […] But I can assure you that the blow was too sudden for us, since the vigorous constitution of the body almost superior to the age of 84 years, animated by an ever equal liveliness of that incomparable spirit of his, promised us that he would still exist among us for a long time, despite the habitual hypochondriac affections that often bothered him, without however taking away from him the enjoyment of business, sleep, appetite, application, and other vital functions.

The *Tonkünstler-Societät,* founded in 1771, was supported through the patronage of Empress Maria Theresia, with the purpose of providing financial assistance to widows and orphans of Austrian musicians. Its funds were deployed to take care of old, sick, and impoverished members. The society was, in a way, an organised professional body for Austrian musicians, predominantly members of the imperial orchestra. The founding statutes of the society specify that anyone 'who is dedicated to free musical art and who is based in Vienna' could join.[683]

[682] Godt 2010, pp. 223f.
[683] The original German quote reads: 'so der freyen Tonkunst zugethan ist, und allhier in Wien sich befindet' (source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Wiener_Tonk%C3%BCnstler-Societ%C3%A4t).

Repertoire-wise, their main focus was large-scale oratorios. Many of their concerts were held at the (old) Burgtheater, on *Michaelerplatz*, opposite St Michael's church.[684]

The Vienna *Tonkünstler* performed Martines's oratorio *Isacco Figura del Redentore* in 1782. She had composed it the previous year. The performance of the oratorio featured an all-star cast, with some of Vienna's most illustrious singers and musicians:

> 1782, 17. und 19. März:
>
> **Isacco Figura del Redentore**, Orat. von Metastasio, Musik von Marianne Martinez. Soli: Cavalieri – Teyber – Mad. Fischer; Hrn. Ponschab und Fischer. Concerte, 1. Abend: (Duo) Wenzel Kauzner (Fagott) und Triebensee (Oboe). 2. Abend: Jos. Hoffmann (Violine).

> 1782, 17 and 19 March:
>
> **Isacco Figura del Redentore**, oratorio by Metastasio, music by Marianne Martinez. Soloists: Cavalieri – Teyber – Mad. Fischer; Hrn. Ponschab and Fischer. Concerts, 1st evening: (duo) Wenzel Kauzner (bassoon) and Triebensee (oboe). 2nd evening: Joseph Hoffmann (violin).[685]

Caterina (or Katharina)[686] Cavalieri, a student of Salieri, was one of the superstar sopranos of her time. Most well-known today as the soprano for whom Mozart wrote the Konstanze role in his *Entführung aus dem Serail*, she was well-known for her virtuosity and great vocal range. She also sang Demoiselle Silberklang in Mozart's *Schauspieldirektor*.[687] Godt proposes that she sang the role of the angel in *Isacco*.[688] Cavalieri was an avid supporter of the Tonkünstler Societät, singing in many of their concerts and performing the soprano solo parts in a large number of their oratorio productions between 1776 and 1792. A review from 1781 lauded her

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[684] Source: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Wiener_Tonk%C3%BCnstler-Societ%C3%A4t (accessed 2025-01-17).
[685] C. F. Pohl. 1871. *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät im Jahre 1862 Reorganisirt als „Haydn", Witwen- und Waisen-Versorgungs-Verein der Tonkünstler in Wien*. Vienna: Haydn, p. 60.
[686] Spelling oft he name after Constantin Wurzbach. 1865. *BLKÖ* Vol. 14, pp. 413f.
[687] Wurzbach 1865, *BLKÖ* Vol. 14, pp. 413f.
[688] Godt 2010, p. 182.

as a singer but added that she was 'frightfully ugly,' for she had 'only one eye.'[689] She remained unmarried throughout her life,[690] for which her disability was at least partially responsible, if the case of Maria Theresia Paradis is any indication.[691] Teyber could have referred to Elisabeth or Therese Teyber who were both sopranos.[692] Elisabeth was *Kammersängerin* of the Prince of Sachsen-Hildburghausen in Vienna. Wurzbach suggests that Elisabeth took a hiatus from singing between the late 1770s and 1784. On the other hand, Therese was apparently in Vienna in 1782, debuting with Mozart's *Entführung* that year, making her the likely contender for Martines's oratorio.[693] She had a particular talent for portraying young women on stage and according to Godt,[694] she likely sang the title role Isacco, a *Hosenrolle*. 'Hr. Fischer' must have been Johann Ignaz Ludwig Fischer, another luminary among Vienna's opera singers. He, too, sang Mozart's *Entführung* with the role of Osmin written with him in mind. His presence in Vienna in 1782 is further confirmed by his performance of Umlauff's *Irrlicht* that same year. Not so well-documented is the identity of 'Mad. Fischer,' however she was almost certainly the wife of Ludwig Fischer; Barbara Anna Maria Fischer, née Strasser, was a singer and actress.[695] Her specialty was portraying maternal figures, according to Godt. As such, she likely sang the role of Sara.[696] The tenor role of Gamari was given by Leopold Ponschab, whose name is mentioned on multiple occasions in Pohl's publication, suggesting he had a successful singing career in Vienna.[697]

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[689] Dorothea Link. 2022. *The Italian Opera Singers in Mozart's Vienna*. University of Illinois Pres, p. 125.
[690] Sterberegister, Erzdiozöse Wien, 01., St. Peter, 1801, 30 June, https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/wien/01-st-peter/03-01/?pg=531 (accessed 2025-04-15).
[691] See below.
[692] Peter Branscombe. 'Teyber, Elisabeth' in: Laura Macy. 2009. The Grove Book of Opera Singers. 2. Edition Online: https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780195337655.001.0001/acref-9780195337655-e-1531?p=emailAmwDOBkMjfDI6&d=/10.1093/acref/9780195337655.001.0001/acref-9780195337655-e-1531 (accessed 2025-01-17).
[693] Constantin Wurzbach. 1882. *BLKÖ* Vol. 44., pp. 109f (accessed at: http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=11646&page=115&viewmode=fullscreen).
[694] Godt 2010, p. 182.
[695] Uwe Harten. 2002. 'Fischer, Familie' in: *Österreichisches Musiklexikon*, source: https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_F/Fischer_Familie_1.xml (accessed 2025-01-17).
[696] Godt 2010, p. 182.
[697] Pohl 1871.

Judging by the programme review in the anniversary publication of the Tonkünstler Society, most of their oratorio productions were performed twice, including *Isacco*. Pohl's report also suggests that the oratorios were not performed on their own but that other compositions were included. In the case of Martines's *Isacco*, that was a woodwind duo one evening, and violin solo on the second night. The first evening featured two of Vienna's most prominent woodwind players, Wenzel Kauzner and Johann Georg Triebensee, both of them employed in various court orchestras. The second evening highlighted Joseph Hoffmann. His identity is a bit more difficult to verify, but he may have been the Joseph Hoffmann born in 1764 and died 20 September 1843 in Vienna. According to Wurzbach he was a chamber musician and member of the Imperial-Royal Court Orchestra.[698]

Pohl points out that Martines, in the 100 years of the society's existence up to that point, was the only woman composer to have an oratorio performed:

> Das im Jahr 1782 aufgeführte Oratorium „*Isacco*" war (der einzige Fall dieser Art in diesen Akademien) das Werk einer Componistin, Marianne Martinez, bei deren Eltern Metastasio über 50 Jahre gewohnt und für die musikalische Ausbildung der Marianne Sorge getragen hatte. Haydn und Porpora waren ihre ersten Lehrer.

> The oratorio *Isacco*, performed in 1782, was (the only case of its kind in these academies) the work of a woman composer, Marianne Martinez [sic], at whose parents Metastasio lived for over 50 years and cared for the musical education of Marianne. Haydn and Porpora were her first teachers.[699]

Table 4: Martines's and Mozart's singers.

	Martines *Isacco*	Mozart *Entführung*
Caterina Cavalieri (/Catharina Magdalena Josepha Kavalier)	Angelo (highest note: D''')	Konstanze (highest note: D''')
Ludwig Fischer	Abramo (highest note: F', lowest note: F)	Osmin (highest note: F', lowest note: D)
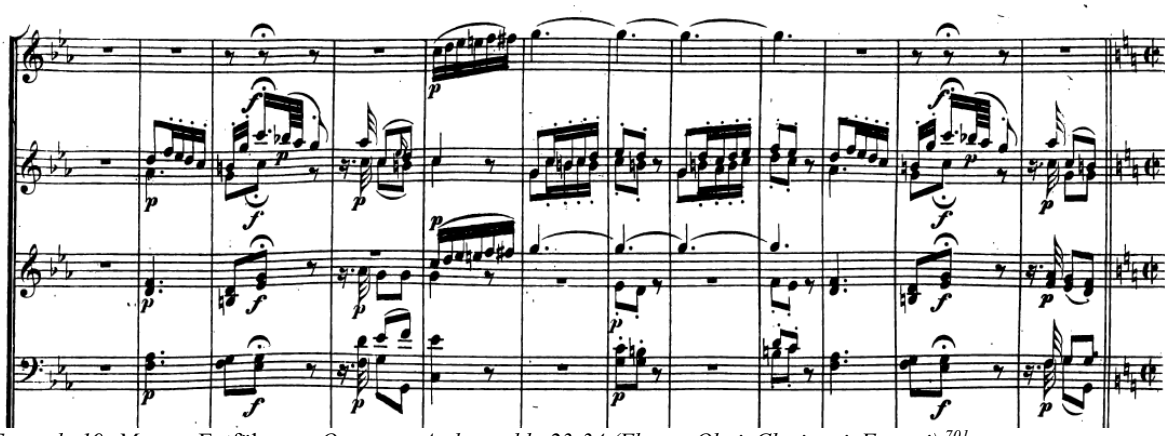
[698] Constantin Wurzbach. 1863. *BLKÖ* Vol. 9., p. 174 (accessed at: http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=11812&page=184&viewmode=fullscreen).
[699] Pohl 1871, p. 48.

As mentioned above, two of the singers who premiered Martines's *Isacco* were also involved in the premiere of Mozart's *Entführung*. Godt, among others, points out the individual singers and their roles (see Table 4). Both roles of Konstanze and Angelo require the soprano to sing a high D'''. The roles of Osmin and Abramo are similar in tessitura. Abramo is set relatively high, ranging from the low F to F'. Osmin, too, requires the bass to sing a high F', however this role also descends all the way to the low D. While the cast of soloists certainly connects *Isacco* and the *Entführung*, further parallels exist between the two compositions that have thus far gone unmentioned. These parallels pertain to the music itself.
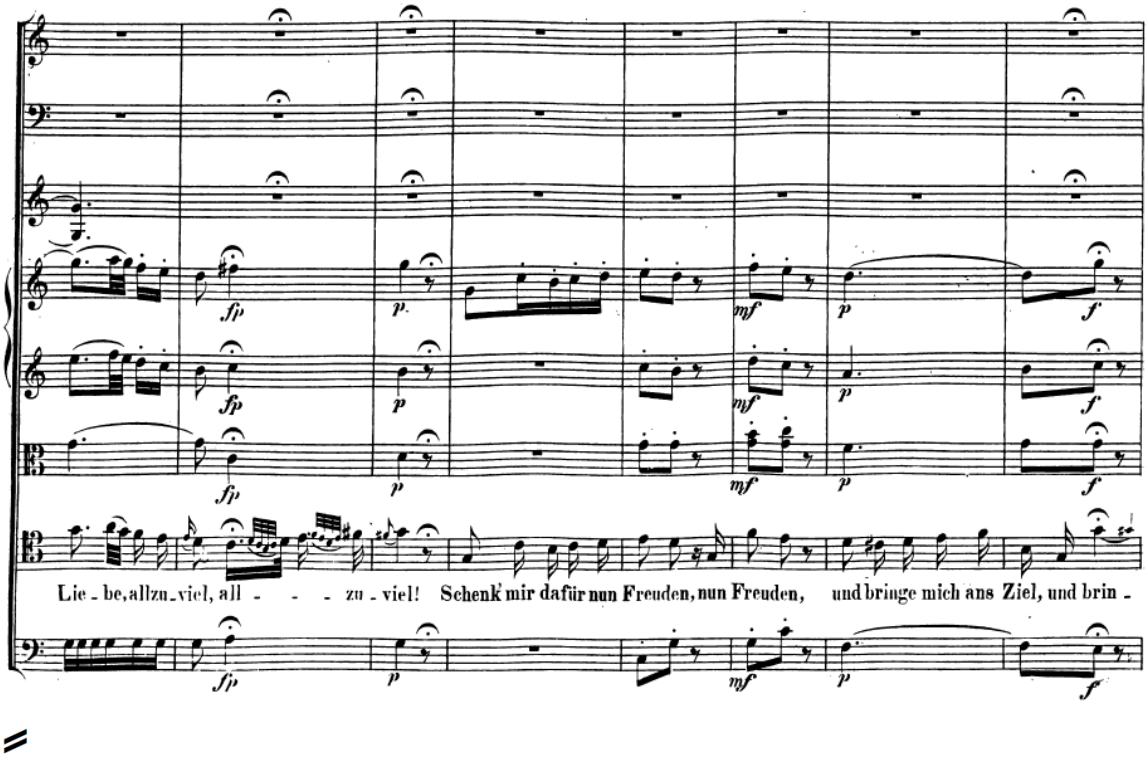
One of the most memorable virtuosic vocal moments in the opening aria of Mozart's *Entführung* is a high G'' held by Belmonte for several bars (bb. 42-45), above melodic material in the orchestra. This is a variation on the phrase sung just before, which culminates in b 34. However, in this earlier phrase, the G'' is held with a fermata (see Example 20). A third connected passage is seen in the ouverture's *andante* which foreshadows Belmonte's opening aria (see Example 19). In bb. 28-31 of this *andante*, the traverse flute and clarinet in C hold a high G'', while oboes (and violins I and II in unison) play the 'Wie soll ich dich denn finden' staccato motif. This motif is the one the orchestra picks up when, in Belmonte's aria, the tenor holds their high G''.

To sum up, instance *A* comprises woodwinds imitating a singer and holding a high note while other instruments take over with melodic material. Thematically connected section *B* exchanges the woodwinds for a singing voice but keeps the melodic material in the instrumentation. The third instance, *C* (located between *A* and *B*) refers to sections *A* and *B* but is notably different. Still, *C* is important to the musical layout, as it heightens the listener's awareness of *A* and *B* by repeating and highlighting characteristic elements. This exact road map can also be found in Martines's *Isacco* aria.[700]
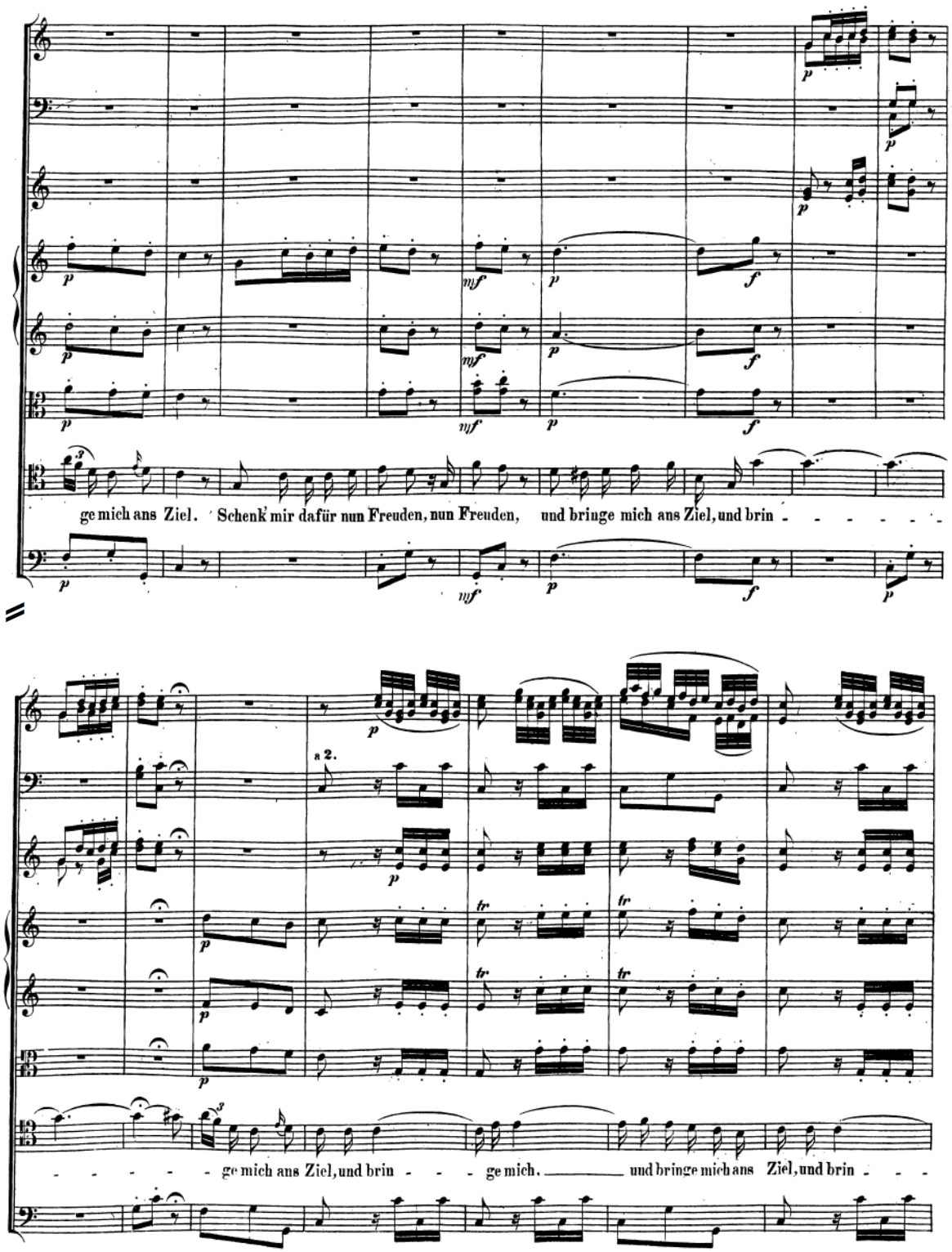
[700] Full transcription of the aria – see appendix.



Example 19: Mozart, Entführung*, Overture: Andante, bb. 23-34 (Flauto, Oboi, Clarinetti, Fagotti).*[701]
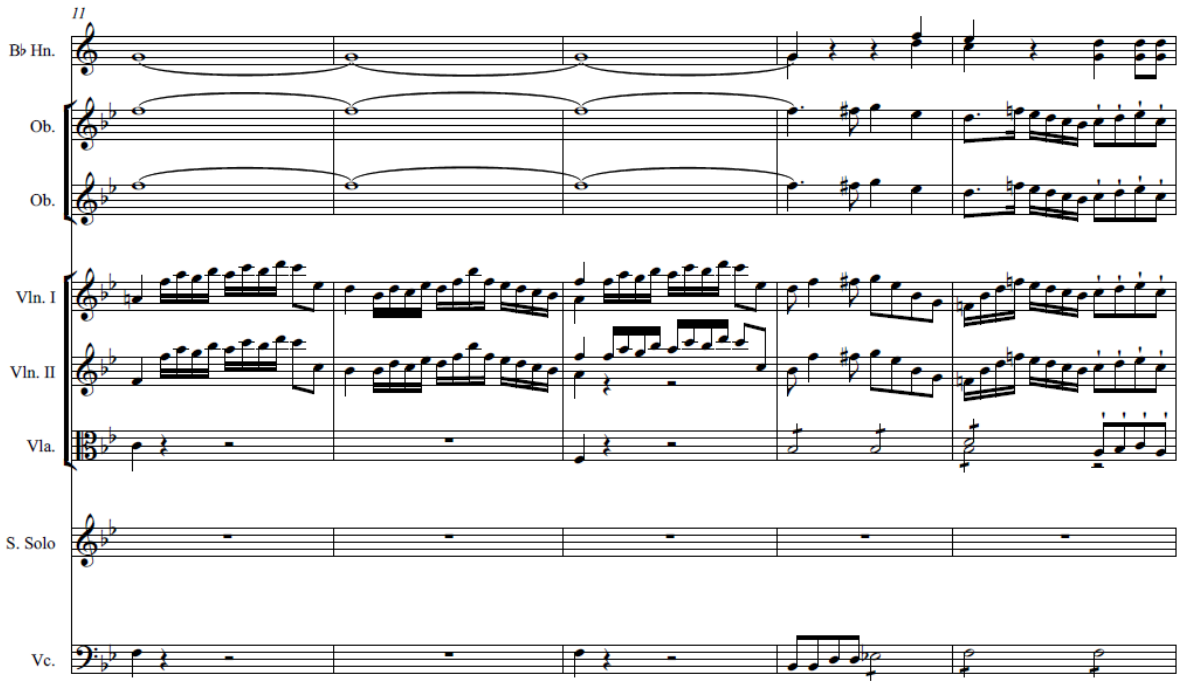


[701] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe Serie 5 Opern Partitur, No. 15 Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 15.
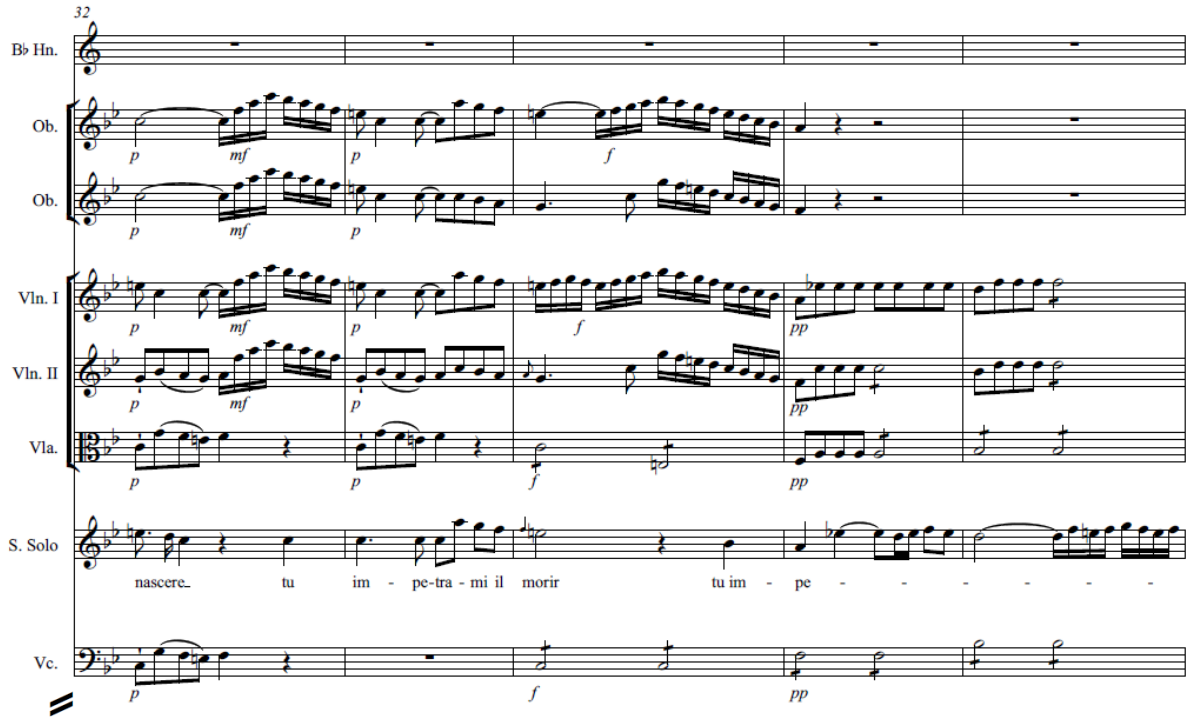


Example 20: Mozart, Entführung*, Aria 1 Belmonte, bb. 27-50.*[702]
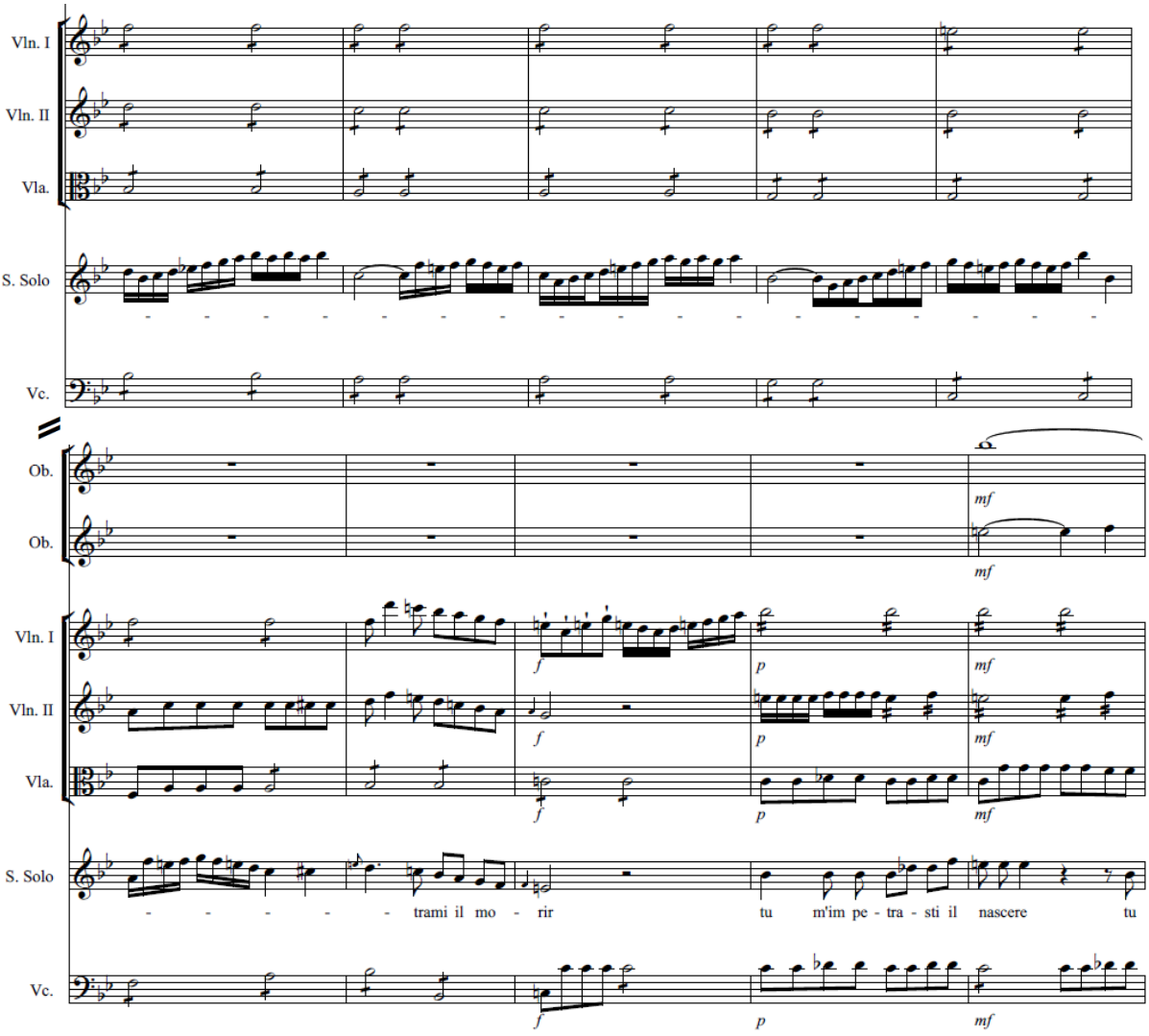
[702] Ibid., pp. 26f.
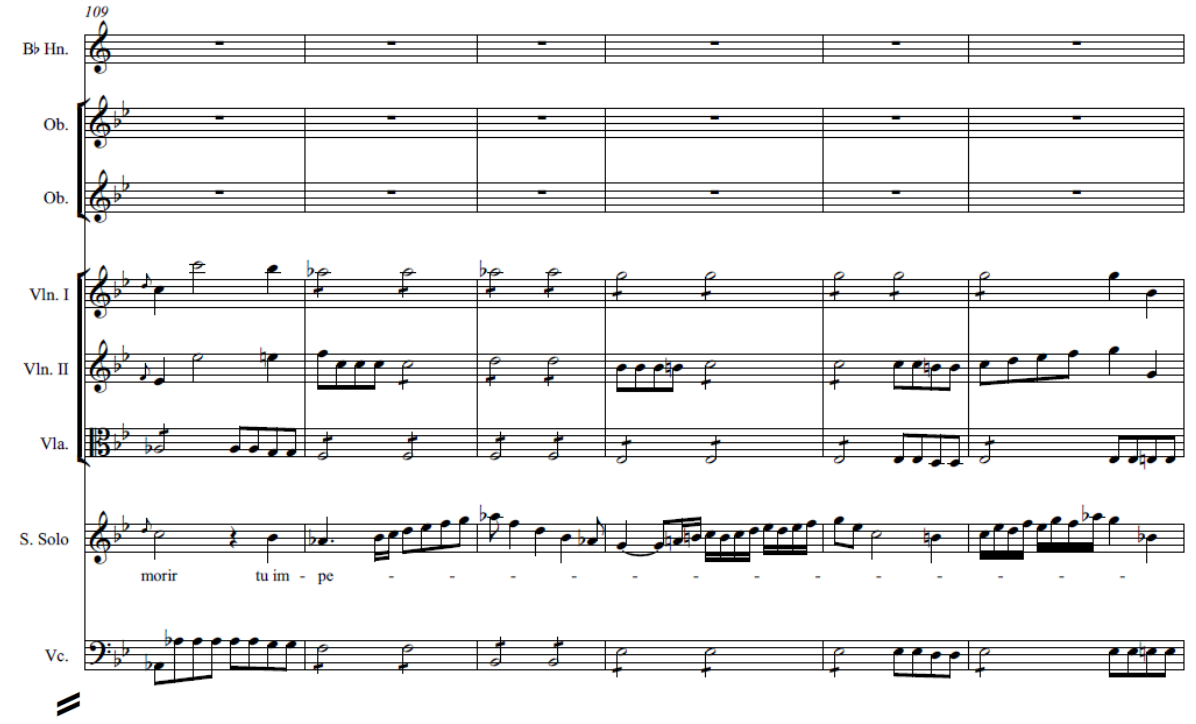


Example 21: Martines, Isacco*, Aria 1 Isacco, bb.11-15.*[703]
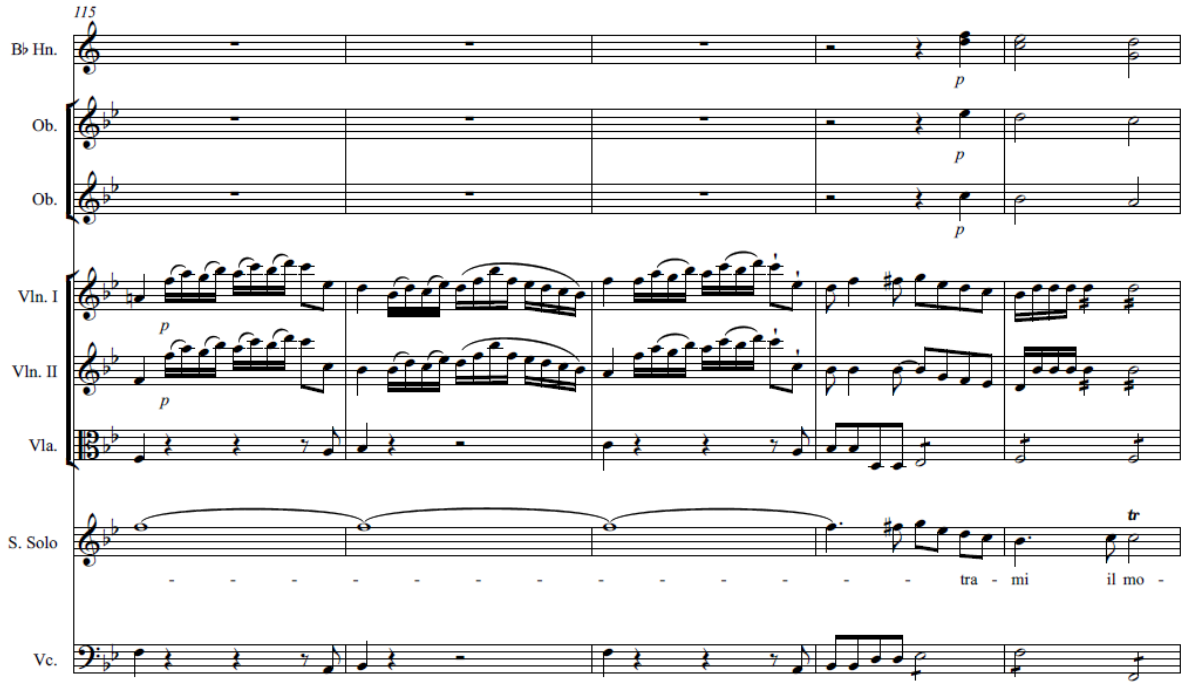


[703] All excerpts of *Isacco* transcribed from SBB, Mus.ms. 13680. Full aria transcription – see Appendix 2.



Example 22: Martines, Isacco*, Aria 1 Isacco, bb. 32-46.*





Example 23: Martines, Isacco, Aria 1 Isacco, bb.109-119.

The first aria in Martines's *Isacco*, sung by the titular character, and Belmonte's entrance in the first aria of Mozart's *Entführung*, contain similar musical elements (despite featuring different voice types). Specifically, an interplay where voice and woodwinds trade motivic material. Both pieces were premiered in 1782. However, Martines had written *Isacco* the year prior,[704] and it premiered in March, while Mozart's *Entführung* premiered in July 1782. This individual case (see Table 5) shall serve as one example of Martines's musical influence on her contemporaries. Mozart and Martines were known to be associated. Mozart regularly attended the latter's academies and the two of them performed together.[705] Hence, it is entirely plausible that Mozart could have heard the Isacco aria (and other parts of the oratorio); he may even have attended one of the *Isacco* performances by the Tonkünstler. Close analysis of works would likely reveal more parallels between Martines's music and that of her contemporaries, including (most likely) other instances of Mozart copying from her.[706]

[704] Godt 2010, p. 258.
[705] Michael Kelly. 1826. *Reminiscences*. New York: Harper, p. 157.
[706] Another example of Mozart quoting Martines – see Example 53.

Table 5: Martines/ Mozart Aria Roadmap.

Section	Martines *Isacco*, Aria 1 Isacco	Mozart *Entführung*, Aria 1 Belmonte
A	See Example 21, bb. 11ff Sustained F'' over (just under) 4 bars, Oboes, Horns; Violins I&II melodic-rhythmical motifs	See Example 19, Overture: Andante bb. 28ff Sustained G'' over 4 bars, traverse flute and oboes; Clarinets, Violins I&II melodic-rhythmical motifs taken from Belmonte aria
B	See Example 23, bb. 115ff (da capo section) Sustained F'' over (just under) 4 bars; Violins motifs like in Section *A* 3-note chromatic element: ascending semitones (F-F#-G) and descending sixth arpeggio (G-C), resolving to tonic B during following two bars (bb. 191-120); Lyrics: 'tu impetrami'	See Example 20, bb. 42ff Sustained G'' over 4 bars + fermata; Clarinet motifs like in Section *A* 3-note chromatic element: resolution through ascending semitones (G-G#-A) and descending sixth arpeggio (A-C); Lyrics: 'und bringe mich ans Ziel'
C	See Example 22, b. 35 Pedal point on F'' in Violin I (together with Violin II, Viola, Bass sustained chords B major, F major, G7, C7, F major); 3-note chromatic element: voice and Violin II resolve coloratura passage with ascending semitones (C-C#-D), followed by descending scale (D-F), resolving to E in the following bar (b. 44); Lyrics: 'tu impetrami'	See Example 20, bb. 34ff G'' briefly sustained (crotchet + fermata); 3-note chromatic element: resolution through ascending semitones (G-G#-A) and descending arpeggio (A-C); Lyrics: 'und bringe mich ans Ziel'

Writing held vocal lines above orchestral melodic material is not unique to Mozart and Martines; nor are these two individual arias the only instances where either of them use this technique. In the same opera, Mozart has Konstanze sing a held G'' over orchestral melodies in 'Martern aller Arten.' Yet, contextually the 'Martern' aria is very different from the Isacco and Belmonte arias. The way this compositional element was implemented in very specific and

similar ways suggests that this was indeed Mozart quoting (intentionally, or subconsciously) Martines.

As demonstrated in Table 5, both composers draw particular attention to sustained notes in these sections, before a resolution consisting of a 3-note chromatic ascending element and a descending arpeggiated/scalic element, spanning a sixth or seventh. Further, the characteristic sustained note is traded between voice and a blend of woodwinds.[707] Thereby, the ability of wind instruments to imitate the human voice is highlighted, as well as the quasi-instrumental capabilities of the voice.

Working Women

Gendered language around women's contributions to music shaped (and shapes) people's perception. An investigation of gendered music-writing found, for example, that women composers are more likely to be spoken of as diligent worker-bees, while men's equivalent work is seen as the result of a creative act deriving from an irresistible compulsion and natural urge.[708] Even around the turn of the 19th century, there seems to have existed an implicitly agreed-upon vocabulary of 'acceptable ways' to speak of women's music in Enlightenment Europe.[709] One such word – across languages – was 'brilliant'. It appears to have been acceptable for women's music to sound (but not to be?) brilliant – which was a laudatory statement but not too profound or serious. 'Brilliant' was a sonority and aesthetic that did not threaten the binary convention of gendered music reviews.[710] Burney, in an apparent effort to

[707] Martines's 'blend' includes horns, which are obviously not part of the woodwind family. However, they were commonly mixed in with woodwinds, as their timbres mix particularly well.
[708] See Treydte 2017.
[709] This topic would warrant its own thesis. This is merely a brief discussion, added for context.
[710] 'Brilliant' was not limited to this one use – see e.g. *quatuor brilliant*; however, these were also often criticised for 'easy lyricism' and lacking 'concise, characteristic themes' (see Allan Badley. 'His Master's Voice? Ries, Reputation, and the String Quartet' in: Nancy November. *String Quartets in Beethoven's Europe.* Boston: Academic Studies Press, pp. 14-42, here pp. 28f).

pay Martines a high compliment for her outstanding abilities as a pianist, refers to her 'very brilliant finger.'[711] Similar comments can be found in reviews of other women's works of the time and a little later. For instance, the Jewish composer Helene Liebmann, née Riese and raised in Berlin in 1795, was very active as a composer early in life. She published many works and was described as a *Wunderkind* pianist. When she released her *Grande Sonata* op. 3 in 1811,[712] a reviewer tried to put her in her place, suggesting she would be better served sticking with something that is 'pleasant and brilliant,' for she is not 'made for the grand.' She would need, said the reviewer, 'more originality of sentiment, more power of feeling, more depth of execution, than she has available.'[713] Yet, taking a look at the music of Liebmann, the sonata proves a rich and astonishingly imaginative piece of music – and she subsequently would write several more 'grand' pieces. This rings even more true when considering that the composer was a teenager when she wrote her op. 3.[714] Gendered language was very much present in he 18th and 19th centuries.[715] As such it is all the more interesting to see where contemporaries did or did not opt to make use of these phrases, and where they sometimes instead opted for male-coded descriptions.

An exhaustive discussion of all women who participated in the production of music – as composers, performers, educators, and organisers – even if limited to late 18th-century Vienna, would warrant a separate study and one thesis alone could not do them justice. Some of the visiting artists are especially worth further exploration. A particularly interesting example of professional travelling women is the virtuoso duo of Therese Demar (1786-1856) and Rosalie Tognini (unknown), touring Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. This duo is all the more fascinating because their main instruments were harp (Demar), *Waldhorn,* and violin

[711] Burney 1775, p. 312.
[712] Published in 1811, according to the Drinker Institute article; certainly no later than 1812, the date of the review. Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/liebmann-helene (accessed 2024-01-25).
[713] *AmZ*, 9. September 1812, p. 614, source: https://anno.onb.ac.at/.
[714] Source: https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/865248850/ (accessed 2024-01-25)
[715] See Chapter II.i.

(Tognini). Demar also published a harp manual, *Méthode de Harpe*, and some of her compositions. Whether Tognini did so is currently unknown. Newspaper reviews from 1812 and 1813 suggest enthusiastic approval from audiences and critics in Vienna.[716]

The following selection highlights two of the many fascinating women active in the Viennese *music worlds*,[717] namely Maria Theresia Paradis and Josepha Aurnhammer. It is worth noting that both Paradis and Aurnhammer were much less concerned with avoiding a 'professional' label than Martines appears to have been – or even the famous dilettante pianists Kurzböck and Spielmann.[718] In fact, both of them actively pursued a musical career; but then again, Paradis and Aurnhammer were not part of Vienna's nobility. Hence, their following aristocratic decorum and maintaining *publicly private* appearance was less of a concern.

Maria Theresia Paradis (1759-1824)

2024 marked the 200th anniversary of Maria Theresia Paradis's death. In 2027 Ludwig van Beethoven will have the same anniversary. While in 2024 there are already announcements for celebrating the upcoming Beethoven year, there are hardly any mentions of Paradis and her present anniversary anywhere. While people are presently looking forward to celebrating 'Beethoven's life and work and the cultural identity of Europe that he helped to forge,'[719] Paradis seems not to be celebrated for any of her achievements. Public memory still tends to 'promote historical narratives that are inherently conservative in nature.'[720] In order to inscribe

[716] See e.g. *ZeW*. 10 Jan. 1812, col. 56; *AmZ*. 29 Jan. 1812, col. 77f; *AmZ*. 11 March 1812, col. 174f; *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt zur Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen privilegierten Wiener Zeitung*. 27 March 1813, p. 495; *AmZ*. 16 June 1813, col. 397f; etc.
[717] Becker 2008.
[718] See Chapter II.i.
[719] https://www.beethoven27.com/programme (access 2024-02-10).
[720] Tasha N. Dubriwny, Kristan Poirot. 2017. 'Gender and Public Memory' in: *Southern Communication Journal* Vol. 82 No. 4, p. 199-202, here p. 199.

women into memory culture, fields that have been 'connoted with femininity,' such as 'historical anthropology or cultural history,' need to be taken up increasingly.[721] Otherwise, the status quo will continue, where 'the masculine imbuement of national cultures of memory is reflected in the prevailing concepts of research into cultural memory.'[722] Though Beethoven's music undeniably influenced the course of music history, the legacy of genius, bordering on mystical adulation, that was created around him (and continues today) could benefit from being treated with a healthy dose of critical engagement. One must remember, as DeNora argued, that Beethoven's success is a history of the creation of a culture and representation of reputation, rather than merely of reputation.[723] One can hope that this approach might encourage a broader audience to actively engage with music from a more diverse variety of composers.

Maria Theresia Paradis was highly active in the production of music in 18th century Vienna and wider Europe. Sainsbury praised her for being able to perform a large amount of repertoire from memory, as well as being generally highly educated:

> […] notwithstanding her privation of sight, she soon became capable of playing the harpsichord, (on which she could perform from memory the most difficult fugues and concertos of Bach, Handel, &c.) also to sing, compose, speak several languages, perform the usual operations of arithmetic, understand geography, dance, &c.[724]

She was primarily active as a performer, composer, and (later in life) an educator. Several newspaper reviews suggest that she was an exceptional performing artist. Schönfeld cites her as 'famous in half of Europe' and praises her abilities on the fortepiano:

[721] Schraut, Paletschek 2008, p. 281.
[722] Ibid., p. 268.
[723] DeNora 1995, pp. 187f.
[724] Sainsbury 1824, Vol. 2, p. 261.

> Ihr Anschlag hat nicht das geringste Schülerhafte, sondern verräth eigenen Meisterkarakter; ihre Forderungen und Ansprüche im Spiel sind weder Gauckeley, noch lärmende Geschwindigkeiten, sondern Geist= und Herzensnahrung. Dahero lobt man besonders an ihrer Spielart: Empfindung, Geschmack, Nüauce, Deutlichkeit und Präzision. Besonders stark ist sie in dem sogenannten perlirten Spiel (Giuoco granito) in welchem alle Noten in einem Laufe in genauestem Verhältniß von Stärke, Rundung, Klarheit und Zeitmaaß mit einander stehen. Das Tempo Rubato pflegt sie mit Häuslichkeit und zweckmässig anzubringen. Im Adagio schweben ihre Töne beinahe wie die Stimme im Gesange. In ihrer Komposizion vermeidet sie mit ängstlicher Sorgfalt alle Kopie, und pflegt als ein Kind der Natur ihren eigenen Gang zu gehen; um so mehr strebt sie nach Wahrheit im Gefühl, und sucht alle Leidenschaften, Naturereignisse u. dergl. so viel als möglich durch Melodie auszudrücken. Da dies der Hauptzweck ihrer Komposizion ist, so achtet sie wenig auf die hohen Künste der Gramatik, und beobachtet nur die nothwendigen Regeln.

> Her touch has not the least bit of student-like character, but rather reveals her own masterful character; her demands and aspirations in playing are neither theatrics nor noisy speed, but rather nourishment for the mind and heart. Hence, her way of playing is particularly praised for: sensitivity, taste, nuance, clarity and precision. She is particularly strong in the so-called pearly play (Giuoco granito) in which all notes in a passage are in the most precise relationship to one another in terms of strength, roundness, clarity and timing. She uses the tempo rubato with efficiency and practicality. In the Adagio her notes float almost like the voice in song. In her compositions she carefully avoids all copying and, as a child of nature, goes her own way; she strives all the more for truth of feeling, and seeks to express all passions, natural events, and the like as much as possible through melody. Since this is the main purpose of her composition, she pays little attention to the high art of grammar and only observes the necessary rules.[725]

Paradis received an excellent musical education and was an accomplished pianist, organist, and singer. Her parents enjoyed social proximity to the Habsburg court in Vienna, though they themselves did not belong to the nobility. Despite Paradis often being referred to as 'von Paradis' nowadays, the family did not use any title of nobility. Equally, rumours stating that Empress Maria Theresia was Paradis's godmother prove nothing more than fabrication.[726] Her father, Joseph Anton Paradis, was a court secretary and her mother, Rosalia Maria Paradis (née

[725] Schönfeld 1796, pp. 46f.
[726] Marx, Haas 2001, p. 296.

Levassori della Motta) brought with her a family legacy of court dancers and dance teachers. Paradis enjoyed early fame as a child prodigy – a *Wunderkind* – on the keyboard and organ.

Paradis went blind at the age of three. As she was an only child, she was not sent away to live with childless relatives, such was common in bigger families who lacked resources to look after a disabled child, but remained with her parents.[727] They saw that she received an excellent musical education. Her first formal lessons were given at the age of seven or eight, on the spinet. Soon after, she switched to piano and organ under the tutelage of highly sought-after keyboard pedagogue Franz Josef Fuchs. After several years with Fuchs, she continued her studies with Dutch pianist and composer Georg Friedrich Richter, and also Leopold Koželuch. The latter was particularly famous in Vienna; among his students were his daughter Katharina Koželuch and Josepha Aurnhammer. Paradis further received composition and theory lessons from Karl Friebert.[728] Friebert, too, was a popular teacher in Vienna. Schönfeld mentions him among Vienna's 'Virtuosos and Dilettantes.' His ability to write for voice particularly appealed to Schönfeld. He reviewed Friebert's compositions as: 'very pleasant for ear and heart, and without being overladen;' he 'follows a deeply felt aesthetic.'[729] This 'natural' aesthetic with an emphasis on (voice-like) melodies was also praised in Paradis's compositions.[730] Paradis's training as a singer was overseen by the Italian singer and composer Vincenzo Righini and (potentially also) Antonio Salieri. The latter wrote an organ concerto for Paradis. Due to Paradis's blindness, her keyboard teachers in particular developed special methods that made studying new repertoire accessible to her. In 1780, she described a keyboard lesson in a letter:

[727] Waltraud Maierhofer. 2023. Maria Theresia Paradis and Blindness as Opportunity, in: *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* Vol. 52, pp. 281-287, here pp. 281f.
[728] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/paradis-theresia (accessed 2023-12-26).
[729] Schönfeld 1796, p. 17.
[730] See footnore 725.

> Ich habe zween vortreffliche Flügel: Man spielt mir das Stück vor, und ich versuche es gleich nachzuspielen. Man verbessert etwas den Fingersaz, und ich lerne in einer Lection oft anderthalb Soli, ohne viele Mühe. Zuweilen werden mir auch die Tasten genent, besonders bei Erlernung von Ritornellen. Mein Gehör ist ziemlich richtig. Ich kann mich auf selbiges mehr verlassen, als auf die Tactierung mit der Hand. Ich spiele Concerte von P. E. Bach, Reichart, Wolf, Müthel, Richter, Benda, Schobert etc.
>
> I have two excellent pianos: The piece is played to me and I immediately try to replay it. My fingering is improved a little, and I often learn one and a half solos in a lesson without much effort. Occasionally the keys are told to me, especially when learning ritornellos. My hearing is quite accurate. I can rely on it more than on the timing of the hand. I play concertos by P. E. Bach, Reichart, Wolf, Müthel, Richter, Benda, Schobert etc.[731]

Paradis toured Europe between 1783 and 1786, performing both at aristocratic lodgings and in public concerts. She was accompanied by her mother. In Berlin, for instance, she performed several times in the palais of the Jewish banker Daniel Itzig, several of whose daughters had made a name for themselves in music and society.[732] Among them were the Viennese salonnière Fanny von Arnstein and her sister Zippora Wulff, also known as Cäcilie von Eskeles. Music was highly valued among the Jewish bourgeoisie of Germany (and Austria) and served as a vehicle for increased assimilation and negotiation of European culture, as it was seen as an essential part of elite education.[733] Their salons often centred around music being, 'performed, listened to, and discussed by the salonnières and their guests, carefully chosen cultured individuals who could appreciate what was being played.'[734] Paradis dedicated a vocal-orchestral work, titled *Das Wiedersehen* to the Itzig family.[735] An avid collector of music and a keyboardist herself, Zipporah Wulff held some of Paradis's compositions in her

[731] After *Drinker Institute* – see footnote 728.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Nancy Sinkoff. 2018. 'Introduction. Experiencing Sara Levy's World' in Cypess, Sinkoff (eds.). *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin*. University of Rochester Press, pp. 1-18, here p. 2.
[734] Sinkoff 2018, p. 3.
[735] SBB, SA 1406.

possession; as did the Arnsteins.[736] Paradis's connection to the Jewish salonnières has yet to be properly investigated.

Paradis spent a significant amount of time in Paris during these years, where she received additional composition lessons with Georg Joseph Vogler. Together they developed a new method for setting music in a way that was accessible to a blind composer, which Vogler described in great detail in a letter printed in the *Journal aller Journale*.[737] Paradis's blindness was undoubtedly part of her public persona. Not unlike public figures who are blind in the 21st century,[738] Paradis too was accused by some of faking her blindness. Among her accusers was her own physician, Franz Mesmer, who claimed to have cured her of her blindness but when her musicianship seemed to suffer simultaneously, she stopped his treatments and 'relapsed' into blindness. He then started rumours that she was only pretending to be blind.[739]

Maierhofer argues that her blindness not only intersected with her public persona as a performer but, using the 'social model of disability,' aided her in pursuing music to such an exclusive degree.[740] Being disabled allowed her to avoid normative expectations placed upon upper-middle-class women, such as focusing exclusively, or predominately, on finding a suitable marriage match. Not marrying saved her career from being cut short by an unsupportive husband – a sad fate that several of her students faced, including Henriette Paris, who had a promising start to a career in music but gave up all professional aspirations when she got married.[741] On the other hand, as was demonstrated with Martines, not marrying often also came with severe restrictions placed upon whoever dared to break this unwritten social

[736] 'Madame Arnstein in Wien' is listed as a subscriber in the print publication of Paradis's 'Leonore' Cantata.
[737] Georg Joseph Vogler. 1786. 'Lübeck, den 29 Mai 1786' in: Unknown(ed.). *Journal aller Journale oder Geist der vaterländischen und fremden Zeitschriften.* 1786, Vol. 4. Hamburg: Chaidron und Comp, pp. 158-170.
[738] YouTuber Molly Burke has addressed the matter repeatedly – see e.g. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhhBQ4T2LWU (accessed 2025-04-14).
[739] Maierhofer 2023, p. 281.
[740] Ibid., p. 283.
[741] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/paris-henriette (accessed 2024-02-10).

law and defy gender roles.[742] However, Paradis did not have these same expectations placed upon her as a disabled woman. Maierhofer suggests that 'disability (then called a defect or deformity) overrode gender expectations. […]' Being blind minimised Paradis's 'desirability as a woman […].'[743] The socially accepted 'goals' for upper-middle class women were first and foremost marriage and motherhood. These were the commonly agreed upon 'usual sources of happiness' for women at the time.

For Paradis though, they 'were not only unavailable, but unthinkable.' Even though she lived together with her partner Johann Riedinger, her contemporaries did not acknowledge the romantic nature of their relationship, perceiving it as nothing more 'than an asexual friendship.'[744] Beyond the fact that they lived together, judging by surviving documents where each Paradis and Riedinger wrote about the other, it does not take much stretch of the imagination to read between the lines. Riedinger wrote in Paradis's *Stammbuch* ('friendship album'): 'Que dis-je admirer de plus en Mademoiselle de Paradis la grandeur d'âme, la force d'esprit ou les talens surprement?'[745] Paradis, on her part, made Riedinger her main heir – though he only survived her by three years – writing:

> [...] so benenne und setze ich zu meinem wahren Universal-Erben, den Herrn Johann Riedinger, k. k. Hauptzollamtsexpedienten ein; und diess zwar aus dem Beweggrunde, weil er auf meiner musikalischen Reise mich und meine Mutter begleitete als ein uns ganz fremder Mann unser Bestes ohne allen Eigennutz besorgte, nach meiner Eltern Tod aber sich für mein Wohl ganz aufopferte, auch seit mehreren Jahren zu unserer gemeinschaftlichen Haushaltung, und an den eingeschafften und vorhandenen Möbeln, Effekten und Fahrnissen die Hälfte beytrug.

[742] See chapter II.ii.
[743] Maierhofer 2023, p. 283.
[744] Ibid., p. 285.
[745] 'What shall I admire more in Fräulein von Paradis, the greatness of her soul, the strength of her mind, or her astonishing talents?' – Ottokar Wanecek. 1956. 'Das Testament der Maria Theresia von Paradis und ihr Haupterbe' in: *Der Blindenfreund* Vol. 6, pp. 172-178, here p. 175.

> [...] thus, I name and appoint Mr. Johann Riedinger, Imperial and Royal Chief Customs Office Agent, as my true universal heir; and this, indeed, for the reason that, during my musical journey, he accompanied my mother and me as a complete stranger, selflessly taking care of our best interests. After my parents' death, he entirely devoted himself to my well-being and, for several years, contributed half to our shared household as well as to the acquired and existing furniture, belongings, and possessions.[746]

Further destinations on Paradis's European tour were London, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Mannheim, and Prague. Early in her travels, in 1783, she had met Johann Riedinger in Mannheim. He was a librettist, who travelled together with Paradis and her mother from 1785 onwards. After returning to Vienna mid-1786, Paradis only rarely played in public concerts, preferring (semi-)private salon and academy settings. As a composer, she then ventured into territory of large-scale works, writing several cantatas and operas of which many were unfortunately lost.[747] One of the works associated with her travels – and equally under-explored in scholarship thus far – are her *12 Lieder*. Inspired by a travel-themed novel by Johann Timotheus Hermes, *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*, the twelve songs appear to capture intimate emotions of a traveling artist. The first song in particular, 'An das Klavier' ('Ode to the piano'), is a deeply heart-felt and emotional number which warrants exploration similar to later Lied repertoire, for example by Robert Schumann, which is nowadays more commonly 'conceived as vehicles for personal expression, and […] heard as reflections of the composer's psyche.'[748] The lyrics of Paradis's strophic song derive from volume three of Hermes's novel – Paradis tweaked them slightly:

[746] Wanecek 1956, p. 173.
[747] Drinker institute, see footnote 728.
[748] Laura Tunbridge. 2007, 2009 (reprint). *Schumann's Late Style*. Cambridge University Press, p. 14.
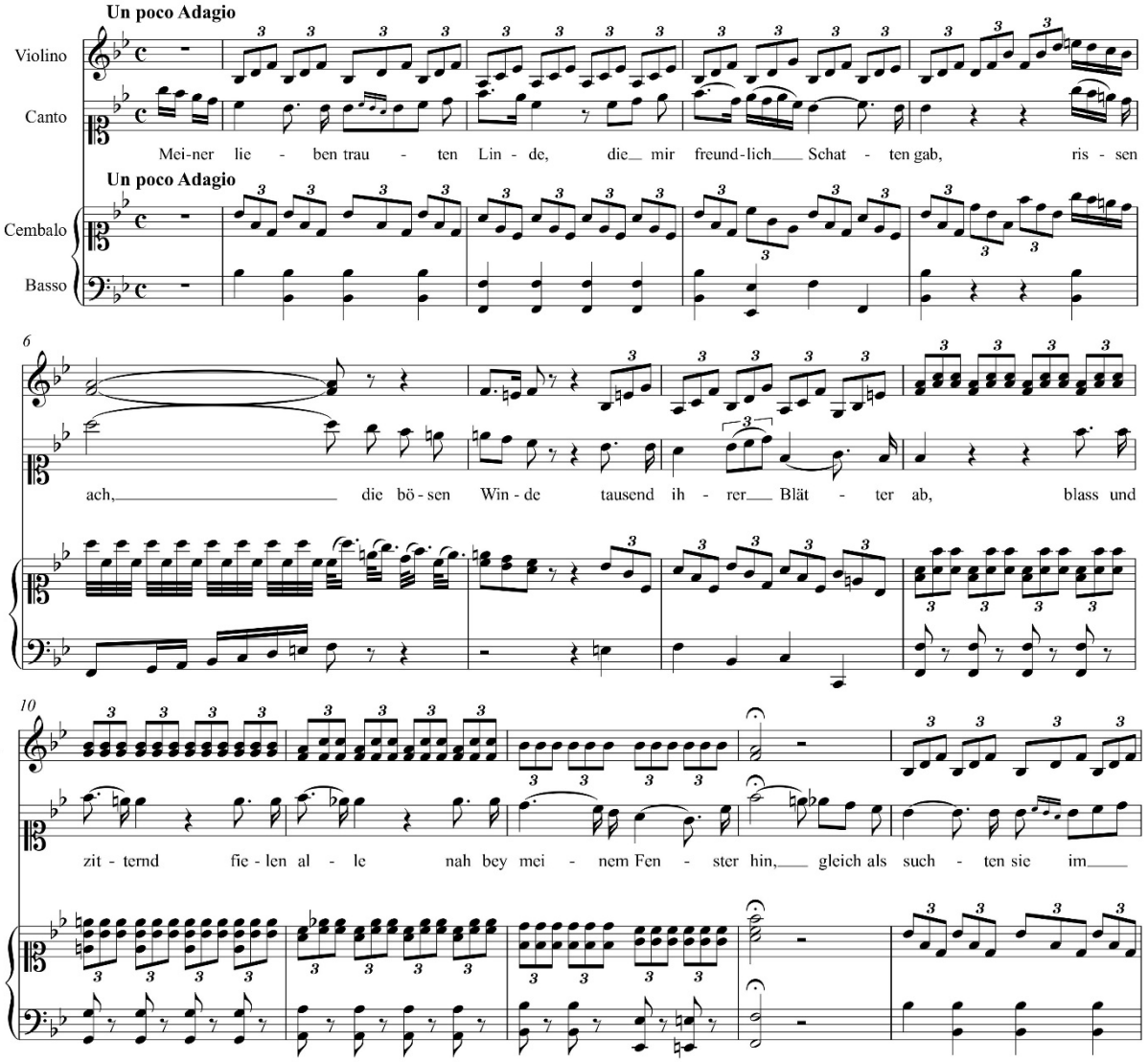
Table 6: Paradis, Zwölf Lieder No. 1, An das Klavier.[749]
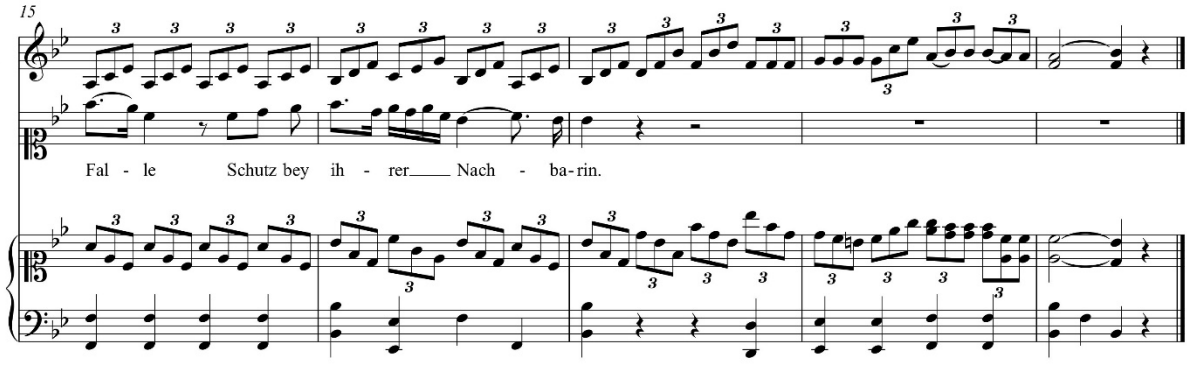
Sey mir gegrüßt [gegrüsst,] mein schmeichelndes Klavier [Clavier!], Was keine Sprache richtig denkt [nennt], Die Krankheit tief in mir, Was nie mein Mund bekennt, Diess [die] klag ich dir!	Greetings to you, my adulating piano, What no language properly conveys, The sickness deep within me, What never my mouth confesses, This I lament to you!
Dich[,] o Klavier [Clavier], erfand ein Menschenfreund, Ein Mann, der traurig war, wie ich;[.] Er hat, wie ich[,] geweint,[!] Voll Kummer schuf er dich Für sich, und auch für mich [für sich und mich].	You, o piano, were invented by a philanthrope, A man who was sorrowful, like me; He wept, like me, Full of grief he created you, For himself, and also for me.
Und Heil sey [sei] ihm, Vertrauter meiner Brust, Heil sey [sei] dem Mann[,] der dich erfand! Hat ihn, der Schmerz und Lust An deine Saiten band, Kein Stein genannt?	And blessings upon him, confidant of my heart, Blessings upon the man who invented you! Has he, who bound pain and joy To your strings, Not been called a stone?

While Beethoven's song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte* is considered the 'first true song cycle'[750] – mostly in non-academic contexts (hopefully) – that is, of course, untrue. A more nuanced and scholarly robust approach may frame it as the first musically unified cycle. Paradis's *12 Lieder* were written much earlier and published in 1786, whereas Beethoven's op. 98 was not written until 1816. Though Paradis's songs are not played *attacca* like those of Beethoven (the *attacca* creates an intriguing sense of continuity),[751] they are connected through their travel-themed conception, forming a kind of 'topical cycle.'[752] Paradis's first song stands out by its deeply felt lyrics that reveal the emotional landscape of a travelling pianist. Other songs present unique

[749] Maria Theresia Paradis. 1786. *Zwölf Lieder auf ihrer Reise in Musik gesetzt*. Leipzig: Breitkopf; and Johann Timotheus Hermes. 1778. *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*. Vol. 3. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, p. 162. The version below is that of Paradis, the alternatives in square brackets are by Hermes (literal translation added for context, not to be used with the music when singing).
[750] https://lvbeethoven.com/ludwig-van-beethoven-exploring-his-song-cycles/ (accessed 2025-03-07).
[751] See e.g. Luise Eitel Peake. 1982. 'Antecedents of Beethoven's Liederkreis' in: *Music & Letters* Vol. 63, No. 3/4, pp. 242-260.
[752] Laura Tunbridge. 2010. *The Song Cycle*. Cambridge University Press, p. 3.

compositional choices, such as No 8 *Erinnerung ans Schicksal*, which is somewhat of an outlier, as it is the only song for keyboard and voice with the addition of a violin part (see Example 24). The violin is set unusually, as it does not lend itself for particularly comfortable playing by modern standards. The four-stanza poem, written by Madame de la Roche, appears like a precursor to Whilhelm Müller's (set to music by Schubert) *Lindenbaum*, expressing a sense of nostalgic mourning through nature imagery.





Example 24: Paradis, Zwölf Lieder*, No. 8 Erinnerung ans Schicksal.*[753]

Back in Vienna, Paradis also opened her home to students. She taught many girls in voice and keyboard – the start of her private music school. Among Paradis's students were several who pursued music with great success, such as Henriette Paris, and Nanette Sprinz. The latter was the dedicatee of one of Paradis's keyboard solo pieces from 1811, a *Fantaisie* in C major.[754] Lessons were initially free, but later charged. An anonymous report from 1810 suggests that she began asking to be remunerated for lessons because she required income after her father passed away. The report states that this made it excusable that she engaged 'in commerce;'[755] which was otherwise frowned upon for a woman of her station.

Scholarship varies in its assessment of Paradis as a composer. A 1989 dissertation on Paradis concludes that 'she was not a major composer', citing Pichler (whose misogynistic stance on women, other than herself, in the arts has already been discussed)[756] to emphasise this point. This thesis concludes that:

> Paradis's accomplishments should not be judged solely on her existing compositions, but on her life's achievement. First, her struggle to overcome blindness, surviving disastrous treatments and triumphing over her condition by means of education, is an inspiration to handicapped and disabled people.[757]
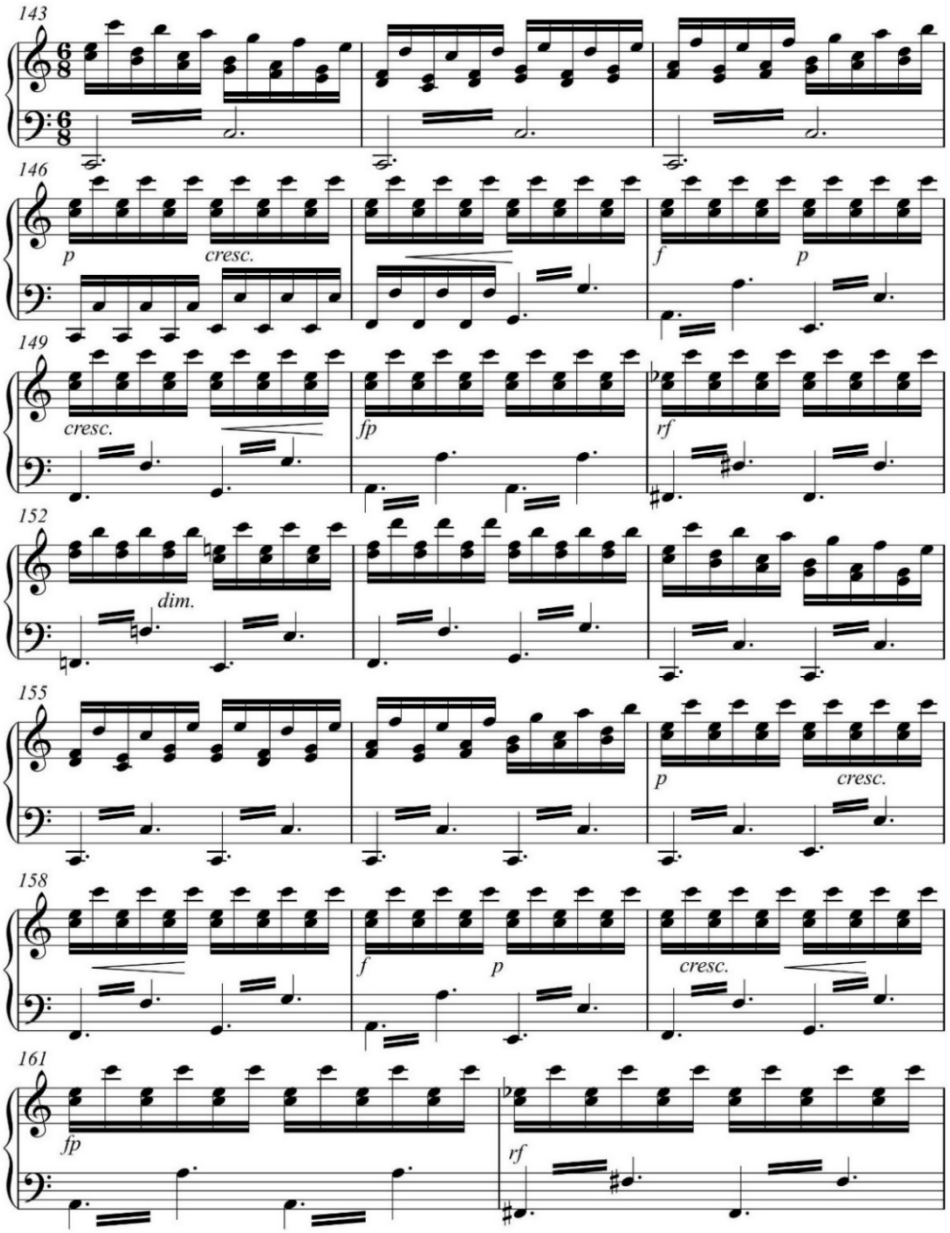
[753] Transcribed from hist. print edition: Paradis 1786, *Zwölf Lieder*, pp. 10f.
[754] See Appendix 2.
[755] Maierhofer 2023, p. 284.
[756] Chapter I.ii.
[757] Hidemi Matsushita. 1989. The musical career and compositions of Maria Theresia von Paradis (1759-1824). PhD Diss. Brigham Young University, p. 206.

The rather patronisingly ableist tone of this statement is likely a product of its environment, though Matsushita is by no means the only proponent of this opinion. Unfortunately, both Pichler's comments and the negative stance towards Paradis's music were – and are – not uncommon. Yet, in an honest attempt to receive her compositions without any preconceived notions of what and how music should be, one will be surprised by the fountain of creative ideas erupting from every bar.

Taking Paradis's two surviving keyboard *Fantaisies* as an example, her pianistic abilities, praised by her contemporaries, become quickly apparent. The somewhat rhapsodic *Fantaisie in G*, dedicated to Georg Joseph Vogler and published by the *Chemische Druckerey*, is both virtuosic and melodically appealing. The many modulations, chromaticisms, and chordal progressions, alongside beautiful *cantabile* phrases and melodic material, are testament to Paradis's radiant burst of imagination. The *Fantaisie in C*, dedicated to Paradis's student Nanette de Sprinz for her birthday on 26 July 1811, is delightfully witty, seeing as the vast majority of the piece is not actually in C major. Rather, after an introductory cadence, which immediately modulates from C to G within the first five bars, most of the piece is spent in far-off tonal areas, including an Adagio in E-flat major, until eventually C major is re-established in the final *allegro* section. The harmonic layout of the *Fantaisie* forestalls later compositions, such as Schumann's op. 17 C major Fantasy which uses a similar harmonic idea for its first movement in avoiding the tonic key until the very end.[758] Both Paradis's *Fantaisies* pay tribute to her personal style of *accessible virtuosity* (see Example 25 – an excerpt of the Allegro section). In a kinesthetically linear way, Paradis still writes in a highly expressive, technically impressive and sufficiently challenging way, without requiring the performer to execute large

[758] Though, in Schumann's case this is generally interpreted as connected to his relationship with Clara Wieck – see William Kinderman. 2012. *The Creative Process in Music from Mozart to Kurtág*. University of Illinois Press, p. 77-101.

or counterintuitive jumps that would require visual confirmation. Everything in the keyboard texture makes 'sense' pianistically in its *spatial grammar*.[759]



Example 25: Paradis, Fantaisie in C, bb. 143-162.[760]
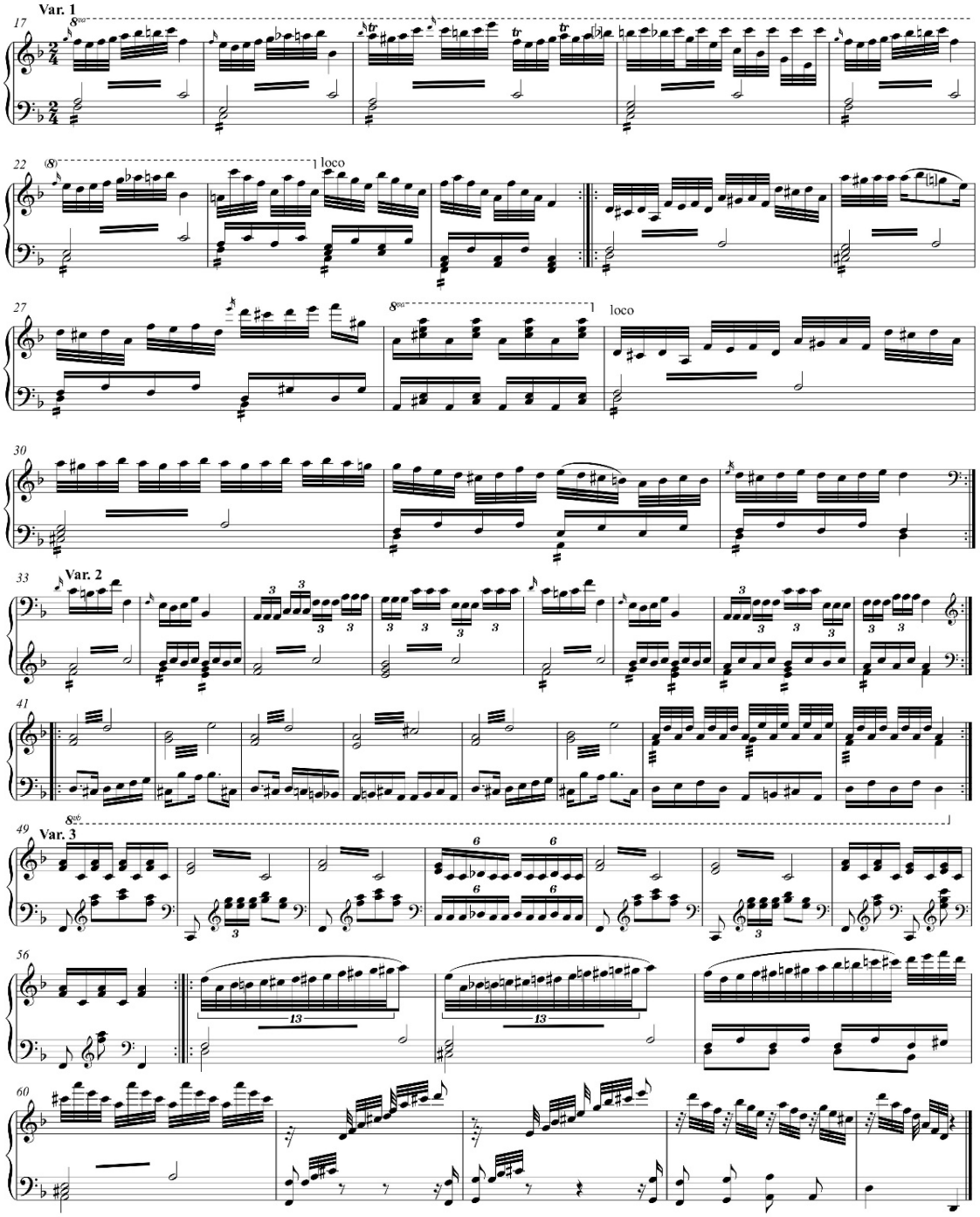
[759] See Chapter IV.ii, footnote 1064.
[760] Transcribed from ONB, Mus.Hs.28299 MUS MAG. Full transcription – see Appendix 2. Full recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qaDhON3ETaw (accessed 2024-11-01).

Josepha Aurnhammer (1758-1820)

Josepha Aurnhammer[761] was another multi-role actor in Vienna's music scene. She was both an extraordinary pianist and composer. She was the eleventh of fifteen children of Elisabeth (née Timmer) and Johann Michael Auernhammer. Despite several modern publications speaking of Aurnhammer (and her father in particular) as belonging to nobility, she actually did not.[762] However, her family was well-connected and part of the (quasi) upper-middle class.

When approaching Aurnhammer via her (surviving) music, the most apparent conclusion is that she was an incredible virtuoso pianist who wrote enticingly challenging keyboard repertoire. Her sets of variations, in particular, bear witness of her pianistic abilities and preferences regarding her self-fashioning as a performer. Example 26, below, is just one of many creatively virtuosic compositions. A detailed analysis, including a technical analysis of the keyboard skills emphasised in her pieces, would likely reveal many more aspects of Aurnhammer's pianistic identity. At first glance, the piece below suggests itself as an example of early 19th century pianisms that went on to be adapted and adopted by performers like Liszt and Thalberg. The excerpt of Aurnhammer's variations are remarkable both for musical creativity and virtuosic-technical content, with almost *Campanella*-like jumps (b. 20),[763] crossing of hands and melodic registers, and left-hand octave runs.[764]

[761] Multiple different spellings exist of the last name. In this thesis, when referring to Josepha, the spelling 'Aurnhammer' will be used, following the signatures on the E and A major cembalo sonata manuscripts, as well as printed music publications (e.g. Artaria's *VI. Variazioni dell'Aria Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja*).
[762] Michael Lorenz. 2006. New and old documents concerning Mozart's pupils Barbara Ployer and Josepha Auernhammer. In: *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3/2, pp. 311-322, here: p. 319.
[763] See Franz Liszt *Grandes Études de Paganini*, S. 141 No. 3 'La Campanella'.
[764] As was common around the time, the 8ve-sign in Variation 2, in the left hand, is likely an indication to play octaves, rather than playing the melody an octave lower.
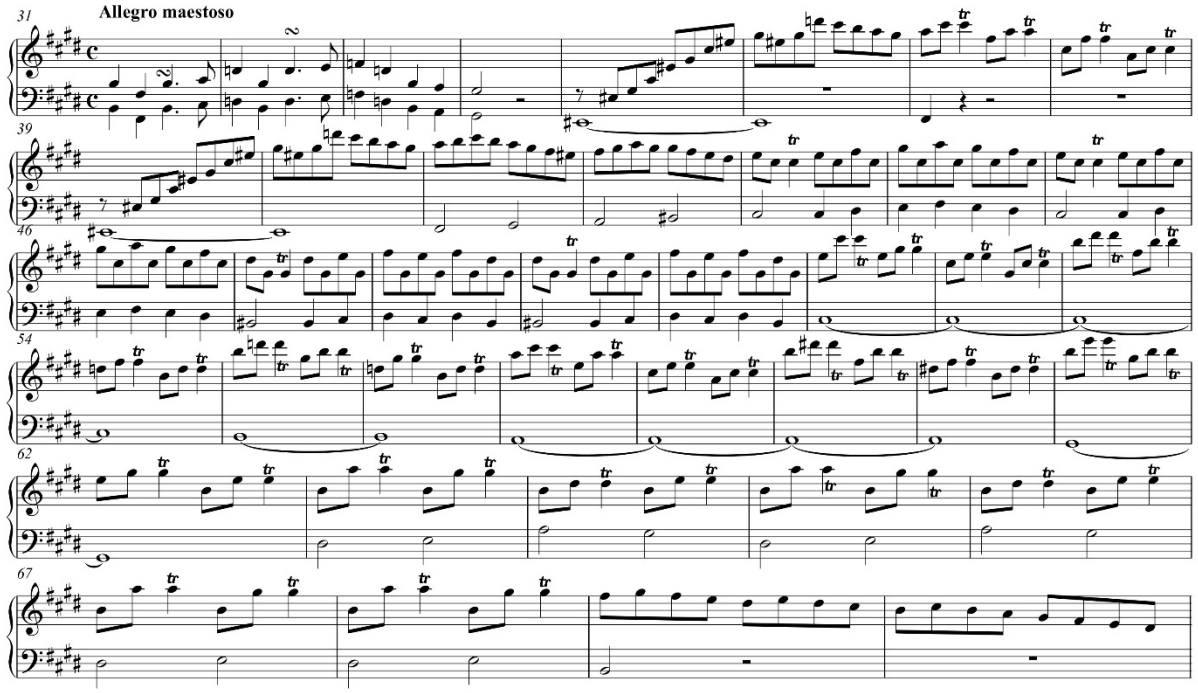


Example 26: Aurnhammer, Six Variations sur un Thême Hongrois, Var. 1-3.[765]

Soloistic-melodic phrases, set in octaves, as well as other technically challenging and independent patterns in the left hand, suggest highly developed ambidextrous skills in Aurnhammer. Her writing is distinctly different from much music written by contemporaries (including Martines), which is decidedly right-hand dominant. Aurnhammer's left hand

[765] Transcribed from hist. edition by Chemische Druckerei.

virtuosity is comparable to the – albeit much later – compositions of Fanny Mendelssohn.[766] Elements like the crossing of hands – for example in the first half of Variation 2[767] – suggests a certain focus on performativity and visual effects. While the right hand bass melody could quite easily have been played in the left, thus avoiding crossing hands, the latter is a much more visually impressive way to perform. Aurnhammer's printed music is strikingly different from (the very few) handwritten manuscripts, some of which appear almost sketch-like, seeming to leave a lot of space for improvisation and ornamentation. One such example can be found in the development section of her E major sonata (Example 27), which also compels with unusual melodic and harmonic progressions.



Example 27: Aurnhammer, Sonata E major, I. mvt., bb. 31-70.[768]

Not entirely unlike Pichler, Aurnhammer's legacy has been distorted through repeated citing and, importantly, unquestioned belief (for the most part) in statements of select contemporaries. In Aurnhammer's case it was her own teacher, W. A. Mozart, who provided historians with

[766] See e.g. left-hand heavy piano part of F. Mendelssohn's Trio op. 11.
[767] See Example 26, bb. 33-40.
[768] Transcribed from manuscript at SBB, Mus.ms. 901.

ammunition against her. Mozart was one of Aurnhammer's keyboard (and probably also theory and composition) teachers.[769] Considering that Mozart and Aurnhammer performed in concert together on multiple occasions, it is doubtful whether he actually had as low an opinion of her as seems in some of his writings. In a letter to his father, Mozart described her playing as, 'enchanting, even though she lacks that true, delicate touch, that singing quality in the *cantabile*; she plucks everything apart.'[770] Though he did not have anything overwhelmingly positive to say about her abilities as a pianist, it was mostly her looks that he berated in the most hostile way imaginable. He also alleged that Aurnhammer was in love with him – though, even judging solely from Mozart's own heavily biased accounts, it appears to the modern reader that she may likely have been more interested in his professional connections, rather than him as a potential romantic partner. An outright hostile description of her can be found in a letter from 22 August 1781 to Mozart's father:

> They [the Aurnhammers] are by and large good and decent people but nothing more; - they have enough sense to realize how useful I am for their daughter, who, as everybody who heard her play before I came to their house agrees, has changed entirely. – I won't even try to describe the mother; […] she is stupid, malicious, and slanders people. Now about the daughter. If a painter wished to portray the devil as lifelike as possible, he would have to seek out her face; - she is heavy like a peasant wench, sweats to make you sick, and walks around dressed so scantily that one can read the message plainly: I beg you all, look right here! True, there's plenty to see, enough to strike you blind; but – if one is so unfortunate as to let one's eyes wander in that direction, one is punished for the rest of the day – Weinstein might be the only cure! – it's all so horrid, filthy, and revolting! – Pfui Teufel! Well, I already wrote you how she plays the piano. – and I have told you why she asked me to help her.[771] – Well, I enjoy doing favors for people, but I don't want to be taken advantage of. – She is not satisfied with the 2 hours I spend with her every day; she wants me to sit there all day. – and she is playing up to me! even more than that; she is in love with me, sérieusement – at first I thought it was a joke, but now I know it for sure; – when I first noticed it – because she took some liberties – for instance, she reproached me tenderly when I was a bit later than usual, or if I couldn't stay very long, and more such things; - so, I was compelled, in order to

[769] Siegbert Rampe. 1995. *Mozarts Claviermusik. Klangwelt und Aufführungspraxis.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, p. 343.
[770] Spaethling 2000, p. 270.
[771] See footnote 773.

> keep her from making a fool of herself, to tell her the truth tactfully; – but that didn't work; she only became more smitten with me than ever; I finally adopted a behavior of distant politeness toward her, except when she came with her stupid talk, at which point I would get rude – with the effect that she took my hand and said: dear Mozart, don't be so angry – you may say what you please, I love you all the same. […] She is nothing more than a lovesick fool. Before she even knew me, she said in a theater where she had heard me play: he is coming to see me tomorrow, and I shall play his variations for him with the very same style and gusto. – For that very reason I didn't go to see her, because it was a boastful remark and – she had lied, – I knew nothing about seeing her the next day.[772]

Several passages in Mozart's letter stand out – perhaps most entertainingly when he accuses someone else of being boastful (the pot calling the kettle black). Less amusing is the vitriol with which he describes the two Aurnhammer women – mother and daughter. Based on Mozart's account, it is doubtful whether Josepha Aurnhammer was actually 'in love' with Mozart. His emphasising this claim with 'sérieusement' does not inspire particular confidence in his ability or willingness to grasp and objectively reflect on the situation. Aurnhammer's aim to professionally develop through her connection with Mozart sounds a lot more plausible. In a previous letter to his father, in June 1781, Mozart had given account of her musical ambitions and her related determination to stay single:

> She let me in on a plan that she keeps a secret, namely that she wants to study hard for 2 or 3 more years and then go to Paris and make piano playing her profession. – She says: I am not beautiful, o contraire, I am ugly; and I don't want to marry some petty clerk in the chancellery with a salary of 300 or 400 gulden; and I don't have a chance of getting anyone else; so I'd rather stay single and make a living off my talent. And she is right; she asked me to help her realize her plan; - but she doesn't want to tell anyone before the time is right.[773]

[772] Spaethling 2000, pp. 279-281.
[773] Ibid., letter from 27 June 1781, p. 270.

Mozart and Aurnhammer performed double concertos and sonatas for four hands together on numerous occasions. In a letter on 26 September 1781, Mozart asked his father to urgently send him two of his double concertos (seemingly unable to resist throwing in a brief anti-Semitic comment, while he was at it): 'Fräulein von Auerhammer[774] and I are still eagerly awaiting the 2 double Concertos – I hope we shall not be waiting in vain like the Jews for their Messiah.'[775] Further mentions of Aurnhammer in his letter continue to reveal Mozart's ambiguity towards her. Several more references to performances with her are interspersed with expressions of his unabashed disgust of her physical appearance (which he apparently felt he was in a position to comment on) and backhanded not-really-compliments of her playing. In a letter to Baroness von Waldstätten in 1782, he added a postscript saying that 'Constanze, my other half, kisses your Grace's hands 1000 times, she also gives a little kiss to the Auerhammer girl, but I'm not supposed to know about it, for otherwise I'll get the creeps.'[776] On another occasion, Mozart writes about another musician's keyboard skills, which displease him, and adds 'I must say, Mad.[selle] Auerhammer is just as good, so, as you can well imagine, my esteem for him sank considerably.'[777]

Mozart is neither a reliable source for judging anything regarding the quality of other people's playing and composition, nor does his undisguised misogyny, marred with unapologetic opportunism for hist own social mobility and support from people in positions of (financial) power, make him a reliable judge of character. Mozart was, of course, in good company with his gendered bigotry. Several publications of the time allow us to glimpse at what was probably only the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Mozart's comments about Aurnhammer's appearance and the legitimacy he appeared to feel in proclaiming judgement on her based on her visual

[774] Mozart consistently uses this (mis-)spelling.
[775] Spaethling 2000, pp. 287f.
[776] Ibid., p. 331.
[777] Ibid., p. 408.

presence may be contextualised with pseudo-scientific schools of thought of the time, which 'analysed' women's physiognomies to gauge their character.

Originally published in 1812 in France, and subsequently translated and disseminated in German-speaking regions, *L'art de connoitre les femmes sur leur physionomie*[778] summarised and specified some common beliefs regarding women's looks and their revelatory qualities about the (mostly misogynistic, sometimes ageist) character traits associated with them. For instance, it states that 'A forehead lined with crooked wrinkles reveals a suspicious character and lack of intelligence.' After a few general statements about foreheads and noses, the volume continues analysing individual portraits, detailing the physical traits central to character 'analysis.' As an example, the images below (Image 7 and Image 8) are, according to the author, to be interpreted in the following way:



Image 7: Édouard Hocquart Plate No. 3 (no pagination).



Image 8: Hocquart Plate No. 14.

[778] Édouard Hocquart. 1812. *Le Lavater des Dames, ou L'art de connoitre les femmes sur leur physionomie*. Paris: Saintin.

Nro. 3. Diese Gesichtsbildung ist eine von jenen, deren Züge in ein unangenehmes Ganzes zusammentreffen, und kein einzelner derselben ersetzt die mangelnde Schönheit des Ganzen. Kleine, runde und hervorragende Augen, eine schmahle und abgerundete Stirne, eine kurze an der Wurzel sehr tief eingedrückte Nase verleiten zu dem Schlusse, daß eine solche Gesichtsbildung einen beschränkten Kopf, einen zum Geitze geneigten Charakter anzeige, um nicht gar zu sagen, zur Selbstsucht, denn dieses häßliche Laster setzt ein gefühlloses Gemüth voraus, und obgleich dieser Mund nicht das mindeste Annehmliche darbiethet, ja, da solcher vielmehr der Abdruck der Fühllosigkeit ist, so darf man doch ohne triftigen Gründe kein schlechtes Herz voraussetzen; aber gewiß ist es, daß man mit einer solchen Gesichtsbildung nie etwas Großes oder Erhabenes vollführen werde.

No. 3. This physiognomy is one of those whose features come together to form an unpleasant whole, and no single one of them replaces the lack of beauty of the whole. Small, round and protruding eyes, a narrow and round forehead, a short and at the root very deeply indented nose lead to the conclusion that such a facial formation indicates a limited intellect, a character inclined to avarice, not to say to selfishness, for these ugly vices presuppose an unfeeling mind, and though this mouth is not pleasant in the least, indeed, it is rather the imprint of insensibility, one should not without good reason make assumptions about a bad heart, but it is certain that with such a facial structure one will never be able to accomplish anything great or sublime.[779]

Nro. 14. Die Gesichtsbildung ist, ohne etwas Auszeichnendem, weder unedel, noch gemein. Die Charaktere derselben sind gesunder und gerader Menschenverstand, der ganze Antheil von Einsicht, der mit der Mittelmäßigkeit verträglich ist, häusliche Tugenden, Liebe der Eintracht, der Ordnung, Reinlichkeit und Arbeit, ein aufmerksamer Geist, viele Anlage von Gelehrigkeit und Aufrichtigkeit, endlich kaltes Blut, ohne Anlage zur Trägheit. Auch trägt solche noch die Spuren der kindlichen Bildung, obgleich alle Züge schon so weit entwickelt sind, daß man über den Ausdruck derselben schon mit Grunde urtheilen kann.

No. 14. The physiognomy, without anything particularly distinctive, is neither ignoble nor common. Its characteristics include sound and straightforward common sense, the full measure of insight compatible with mediocrity, domestic virtues, a love of harmony, order, cleanliness, and work, an attentive mind, a great capacity for teachability and sincerity, and, finally, a composed temperament without any inclination toward sluggishness. The face still bears traces of childlike formation, although all features are already developed enough to allow for a well-founded judgment of its expression.[780]

[779] Édouard Hocquart, unknown (transl.). 1815. *Die Kunst der Frauenzimmer aus ihren Gesichtszügen zu erkennen. Ein physiognomisches Taschenbuch nach Lavater's Grundsätzen*. Pest: Conrad Adolph Hartleben, p. 14.
[780] Hocquart 1815, p. 30.

Hocquart (and his German translators) published their volume on women's physiognomy a few years after Mozart' death. Still, the sentiments and fundamental beliefs they expressed were not in any way new. Judging people – particularly women – disparagingly by their physical appearance was common practice, as was the infantilisation of adult women, as Plate No. 14 suggests.[781] Mozart's vitriol was, at the time, not particularly unusual and he certainly seemed to feel well within his right to pass judgement on Aurnhammer – even when writing to Baroness von Waldstätten who had a close relationship with Aurnhammer, having taken her in after her father passed away. His judgement was based predominantly on her appearance, with a few half-hearted comments about her keyboard skills.

Reading between the lines of Mozart's letters – ignoring all the comments that may have potentially stemmed from feeling threatened by or inferior to Aurnhammer – it can be inferred that Aurnhammer must have been an extraordinary pianist. In support of this assessment are her keyboard compositions, many of which were published during her life. They require serious skill, both in terms of technique and musicality. Her variations in particular are downright fireworks of pianistic bravura. The *ZeW* put it this way, reviewing a concert where Aurnhammer appears: 'The Variations on a theme of a ballet were one of the best things, for what Mad. Aurnhammer composes, only Mad. A. can play.'[782] But still, reviewers targeted her as a woman. Some held her productivity and professional ambition against her and denied her compositional artistry, for instance one 1799 review in the *AmZ* stated:
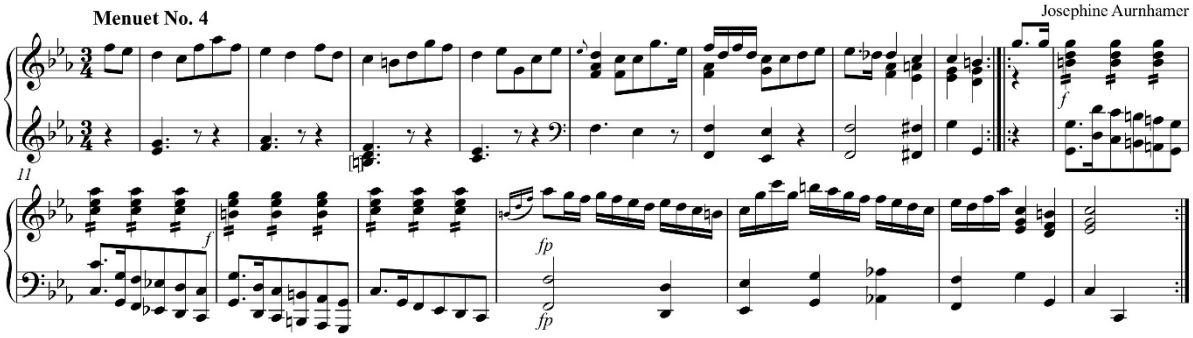
> Das 63ste Werk? – Ey, ey, das ist für den äussern Beruf einer Dame, auch von noch so vielem innern Berufe zu den Musenkünsten, etwas viel! […] das Publikum, das Wiener wenigstens, muss es doch der Mad. Aurnhammer verdanken, dass sie so

[781] A real-life instance of the latter can e.g. be found in Michael Kelly's account on Martines, in which he comments on her girl-like vivacity – see footnote 536.
Another example is e.g. the turn of phrase (used e.g. by Mattheson 1739, p 196) 'männliche Jahre' ('masculine year') to mean adult or grown-up.
[782] *ZeW,* 24 March 1804, p. 284.

> viel zu seinem Vergnügen und seiner Unterhaltung beyzutragen bemüht gewesen ist. Auch diese Variationen lassen sich ganz angenehm spielen und hören, und die dritte kann der linken Hand einige Uebung geben. Künstliche Anlage und Verwickelung des Thema's ist eben nicht darin, indess gut vorgetragen, wie Mad. A. sie wie ungleich andere Sachen gewiss vorträgt, werden sie dennoch gefallen.
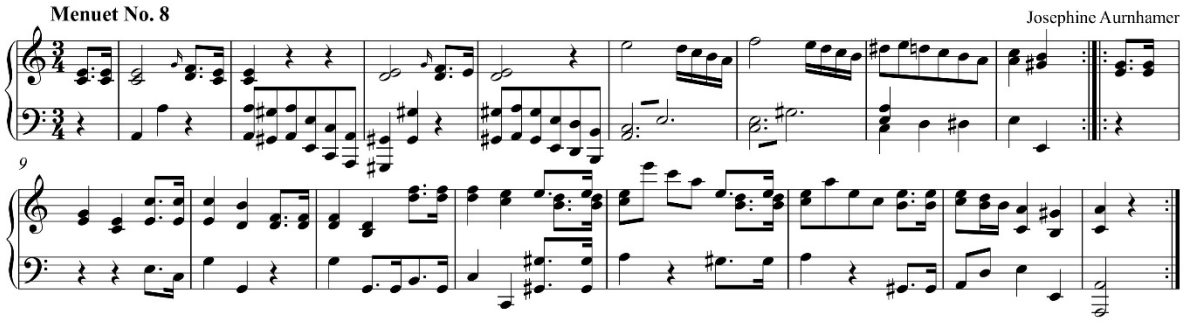
> The 63rd opus? – Well, well, that is a bit much for the public occupation of a lady, even if there is a lot of internal vocation for the arts of the muses! […] the audience, at least the Viennese one, does have Mad. Aurnhammer to thank for putting so much effort into contributing to their enjoyment and entertainment. These Variations [op. 63], too, are quite pleasant to play and hear, and the third one provides a good exercise for the left hand. There is not much artistic potential and realisation of the theme there, but well-performed, like Mad. A. will do, they will surely please nonetheless.[783]

Though Aurnhammer did not fulfil her early-life ambitions of having an international career, she continued to perform in Vienna, both in private settings and public concert halls. Aurnhammer's daughter, Marianna Czegka, was also a musician. She and her mother regularly performed in concert together for several years. Aurnhammer ended her public performance career in 1813,[784] leaving an exceptional legacy as both performer and composer. Her extensive oeuvre is particularly keyboard heavy, including many highly virtuosic sets of variations, but also several sonatas and a collection of *Menuets* that delight with their artful simplicity.



Example 28: Aurnhammer, VIII Menuets, No. 4.[785]

[783] *AmZ*, 30 October 1799, col. 90-91.
[784] Source: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/auernhammer-josepha (accessed 2024-01-23).
[785] All excerpts of VIII menuets (dated 1800) transcribed from manuscript at SBB, Mus.ms. 902.



Example 29: Aurnhammer, VIII Menuets, No. 8.

The minuets in c minor and a minor (Example 28 and Example 29), dedicated to Therese la Baronne de Marquelick and part of a set of eight, are beautiful examples of Aurnhammer using understated technical skill in service of otherwise quite 'pure-sounding' ease. Her pianistic prowess here shines through in small moments, like bb. 2 and 4 of *Menuet* No. 8, with the left hand inserting melodic octave-runs where a simple one-voice melody may have easily done the job. Similar runs also appear at the 'crux' of *Menuet* No. 4; slightly more overtly than in No. 8.

III.ii Identity and Self-Fashioning

Outline

Martines and her siblings were rising through the ranks of Viennese society, seemingly very deliberate about their social mobility goals. Hand in hand with belonging to the upper-middle class / lower-ranking aristocracy of Vienna was keeping up decorum, especially as it pertains to intersectional categories, including gender and class. *Doing gender* in a way that adhered to hegemonic implicit rules of their social environment was vital for continued safety and belonging within this social context. However, 'over-doing' gender could also be fraught with peril. As demonstrated in previous chapters, social interactions were dictated by a plethora of sexist opinions and norms – which were criticised and countered by some of the more

outspoken individuals (often women). On the other side were those who negated women's humanity[786] or, at best, thought them so superficial that:

> Die Eitelkeit der Weiber, ihre unersättliche Putzsucht, ihre ewigen Zerstreuungen, ihre bodenlosen eingebildeten Bedürfnisse, schrecken manchen biedern Mann von den Freuden des Ehebettes zurück.
>
> The vanity of women, their insatiable craving for adornment, their endless distractions, and their bottomless haughty needs deter many an honest man from the joys of the marriage bed.[787]

While Martines did not address 18th-century everyday misogyny in any of her surviving letters, what does emerge from the collective archive is a woman who was very conscious of and deliberate about how she appeared and interacted with others. Beyond claiming the status of a dilettante and only appearing *publicly private* as a musician,[788] she also seemed to avoid a specific kind of stereotype that clung particularly to upper-class women:

> Ich glaube, die ersten Leidenschaften unserer heutigen Weiber der höhern Classe stehen ungefähr in folgender Stuffenleiter;
> Eitelkeit,
> Eifersucht,
> Zerstreuung,
> Liebesgenuß, etc.
> Die Eitelkeit hat den ersten Platz, das ist ausgemacht. Wer die Forderungen derselben ununterbrochen und nachdrücklich befriedigen kann, der ist sicher alle seine Nebenbuhler von der Seite seiner Göttinn zu verdrängen.
>
> Eins der süßesten Eitelkeitsspiele mancher Damen besteht darin, daß sie trachten, so viele Sclaven als möglich an sich zu ziehen, sie an ihren Triumphwagen zu spannen, und damit auf den Lustplätzen und Spectakeln zu paradiren. Da nun Wien beständig von einem Heer müßiger Hohlköpfe wimmelt, die ohnehin nichts besseres zu thun wissen, und sich unendlich gekitzelt finden, wenn sie am Putztisch und in den Logen mit den Weibern tändeln, in den Alleen des Augarten und

[786] See Chapter II.ii.
[787] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 2, p. 102.
[788] See previous chapters.

> Belvedere den Arm herleihen, und ein paar Fächerknippchen erhaschen können: so fehlt es an solchen Geschöpfen nicht. […]
>
> Diese launenhafte Eitelkeit hat natürlicher Weise auch die Männer an eine Flatterhaftigkeit und Geringschätzung der Weiber gewöhnen müssen, die nun unter einer gewissen Classe von Leuten durchaus Ton ist. Da man sieht, daß man bloße Puppen vor sich hat, so will man auch nichts weiters mit ihnen als tändeln und spielen. Man schmeichelt ihren Launen eine kurze Weile, bis man seinen Zweck erreicht hat; dann lacht man über das eitle Geschöpfchen, hüpft von ihr weg zu einer andern; fängt dort die nähmliche Rolle von vorne an, endet sie auf gleiche Weise, und durchläuft so den ganzen Kreis der galanten Weiber.

> I believe the primary passions of our modern women of the upper class follow approximately this hierarchy:
> Vanity,
> Jealousy,
> Distraction,
> Pleasure in love, etc.
> Vanity holds the first place—that is certain. Whoever can satisfy its demands continuously and insistently is sure to outshine all rivals in the eyes of his goddess.
>
> One of the sweetest vanity games of certain ladies consists in attracting as many admirers as possible, harnessing them to their triumphal chariot, and parading them through places of amusement and spectacle. Since Vienna is constantly teeming with an army of idle airheads who have nothing better to do and who find immense delight in flirting with women at their dressing tables and theater boxes, lending their arms in the alleys of the Augarten and Belvedere, and snatching a few playful flicks of a fan, there is no shortage of such creatures. […]
>
> This capricious vanity has naturally accustomed men to a certain fickleness and disregard for women, which has now become the norm among a certain class of people. Seeing that they are merely dealing with dolls, they want nothing more than to flirt and play with them. They indulge their whims for a short while, until they achieve their goal; then they laugh at the vain little creature, skip away to another, begin the same game anew, end it in the same way, and thus make their way through the entire circle of fashionable women.[789]

None of Martines's contemporaries appear to have thought of her as anything like the women described by Pezzl. Judging by their memories of her, she was neither vain nor jealous, nor superficial and overly concerned with vapid luxury. It is not a coincidence that she was, without fail, remembered as such – and, as previously discussed, her polite and humble demeanour was

[789] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 2, pp. 93f.

repeatedly emphasised.[790] This suggests that Martines was aware of common negative opinions and judgement of women and sought to prevent them targeting herself. Cypess highlights that she 'framed her musical life as one characterized by diligent study under reputable teachers, and by the exertion of effort to build upon her natural inclinations in pursuit of higher abilities.'[791] Martines's quasi-meritocratic and demurely learned representation of herself should, I argue, be understood in the context of the heterosexual matrix of 18th-century Vienna,[792] which created specific gender stereotypes and dictated desirable and acceptable ways of *doing gender*.[793] The following section details measures taken and choices made in Martines's self-fashioning. The chapter will include a detailed discussion of Martines's one surviving (and confirmed[794]) portrait as a visual representation of identity.

Likeness and identity

Identity is a concept marked by the existence of a multitude of contradictory theories. Therefore, it is beneficial to evaluate the layers of understanding that inform our discussion of someone's 'identity,' in order to find suitable language,[795] and adequately express it. In this process, post-identitarian models also need to be considered, where 'organising principles' such as 'somatic life, affect, time, space and materiality'[796] are recognised as having formative agency. Alongside this are considerations of 'new materialism,'[797] acknowledging the 'forces, processes, capacities, and resiliences with which bodies, organisms, and material objects act

[790] See footnotes 536, 352.
[791] Cypess 2022, p. 157.
[792] See Patil 2018.
[793] See West, Zimmerman 1987.
[794] A second portrait is said to depict Martines, however there is currently no evidence that it is actually her. See below for more details.
[795] See footnote 47.
[796] Nadine Ehlers. 2015. 'Identities' in: Lisa Disch (ed.), Mary Hawkesworth (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press., p. 346.
[797] Ibid.

both independently of and in response to discursive provocations and constraints.'[798] This is particularly of interest when considering aspects of the embodiment of a historically embedded person, such as Martines, whose (non-)professional practice puts the 'intra-actions between body [and] self'[799] into the spotlight.[800]

Identity comprises the distinct set of qualities that a person consciously, subconsciously, and unconsciously[801]1) *identifies* with (themselves); 2) *is* identified with (by others); and 3) *is being* identified with (through outside forces, such as established institutions, circumstances they find themselves in, etc.). Such a situational framing seeks to extend beyond 'the knowing subject' as the 'centered knower and decision maker to also address and analyse salient discourses within the situation of inquiry.'[802] The passive role within the 'identifying process,' particularly the third pillar mentioned above, may also affect active responses. While one may be willingly or unwillingly victim to certain institutional powers (such as imperialism, patriarchy, family structures, etc.), the exact way in which these powers manifest in one's identity can (to a degree) be manipulated and potentially even used for one's benefit. In feminist discourse, women's identities are commonly defined as 'a woman's conscious sense of herself.'[803] Butler suggests a discursive approach:

> […] the "I" only comes into being through being called, named, interpellated, to use the Althusserian term, and this discursive constitution takes place prior to the "I"; it is the transitive invocation of the "I." Indeed, I can only say "I" to the extent that I have first been addressed, and that address has mobilized my place in speech; paradoxically, the discursive condition of social recognition precedes and conditions the formation of the subject: recognition is not conferred on a subject,

[798] Samantha Frost. 2011. 'The Implications of the New Materialism for Feminist Epistemology' in: H. E. Grasswick (ed.). *Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science: Power in Knowledge*. London and New York: Springer, p. 70.
[799] Ehlers 2015, p. 346.
[800] For a more detailed discussion, see the Chapter IV.
[801] Carl Ratner. 1994. 'The Unconscious: A Perspective from Sociohistorical Psychology' in: *The Journal of Mind and Behavior* Vol. 15 No. 4, pp. 323-342.
[802] Clarke 2005, p. xxx.
[803] Ehlers 2015, p. 347.

> but forms that subject. Further, the impossibility of a full recognition, that is, of ever fully inhabiting the name by which one's social identity is inaugurated and mobilized, implies the instability and incompleteness of subject-formation. The "I" is thus a citation of the place of the "I" in speech, where that place has a certain priority and anonymity with respect to the life it animates: it is the historically revisable possibility of a name that preceded and exceeds me, but without which I cannot speak.[804]

We need to add another dimension to the model: time. Time acts as a filter, and the picture of someone's surviving 'identity' will be condensed, or manipulated. Depending on the specific local and temporal circumstances, and potentially the amount of time that has passed, information will be lost and distorted.[805] In a way, the historical lens fans out the tripartite model from above by adding additional layers of external gazes and influences to the existence and perception of the identity of the person in question. Through the passing of time, the quest to get to *the truth* about a person's identity, to 'get the story straight,' becomes near-impossible, and any attempt of doing so would be akin to *epistemic violence*.[806] The silences in the archive, created through historiographic conditions, can be understood and interpreted less by looking at the 'victim of the practice,' and more through 'locating a practice of silencing' in the 'socio-epistemic circumstances of the silencing.'[807] Luther proposes that 'wrong readings' (new approaches to old discussions) are considered such, because they still lack the 'legitimating lineage' of dominant narratives and interpretations, which, in turn, need to be epistemically unlearned.[808]

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[804] Judith Butler. 1993. *Bodies that Matter. On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge, pp. 225f.
[805] See Chapter I.ii.
[806] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. 2001. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in: Peter J. Cain, Mark Harrison (eds.). *Imperialism. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*. Vol. 3, London: Routledge, pp. 171-219.
[807] Kristie Dotson. 2011. 'Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing' in: *Hypatia* Vol. 26 No. 2, pp. 236-257, here p. 251.
[808] J. Daniel Luther. 2023. *Queering Normativity and South Asian Public Culture. Wrong Readings Only*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 62ff. Certainly, 'no reading is innocent,' for 'every reading is an interpretation, and every interpretation is an appropriation […].' (Susan Rubin Suleiman. 1986. 'Pornography, Transgression, and the Avant-Garde: Bataille's Story of the Eye' in: Nancy K. Miller (ed.). *The Poetics of Gender*. Columbia University Press, pp. 117-136, here p. 122).

Temporally and locally specific gender norms are part of these socio-epistemic circumstances to consider. Building on Hekman,[809] Nadine Ehlers points out: 'those that are claimed by and who claim the identity woman are identical to other women and that women possess some unique qualities that identify them as women and separate them from men.'[810] This definition seems oversimplified, omitting any kind of intersectional nuance and potentially suggesting a rather narrow understanding of the term 'woman.' But, it would be misinterpreting Ehlers to think they are referring to a universally shared experience of womanhood. What they manage to confer is that, by possessing unique qualities, an identity is shaped both by distinguishing itself from the one and drawing parallels to another. Also, when Ehlers points towards those who 'claim the identity woman,' and states they may be 'identical to other women,'[811] that is of course not *all* women. These similar qualities are, arguably, more often dictated by nurture rather than nature, which makes them subject to heavily localised processes, unique to a specific time, place, and socio-political sphere. The question 'whether or not women's identity was the same as or different from men's'[812] was heavily discussed, in the context of first-wave feminism. Yet, even if conscious identity constructs may or may not have embraced the idea of 'distinct identity' for women, gender differences were obviously perceived by individuals, thus influencing workings of power, bodies, and selves.

Trying to retrace the identity of a historic figure brings with it many difficulties, for the 'real' person is always impossible to pin down. Tamboukou's concept of the 'narrative persona' is useful here, as the narrative persona is embodied and embedded as a historical subject and lets the 'real' shine through as a 'remembered unity of the self, a design of life that has meaning' while acknowledging that '"the real" fades away at the moment of its discursive inscription.'[813]

[809] Susan Hekman 1999. 'Identity Crisis: Identity, Identity Politics, and Beyond' in: *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. Vol 2 No. 1, p. 5.
[810] Ehlers 2015, p. 347.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Ibid.
[813] Tamboukou 2018, pp. 951f.

Through this approach, an identity can be traced (or narrated), but without claiming to fully capture the actual individual.

Self-fashioning

Discussing identity models, the sole element ruled mostly by the agency of the ego seems to be the first pillar, mentioned above, which has varying degrees of influence over the other two (but may also be reactive to them). This agency, an active intervening in the regulation of one's own identity, shall here be referred as *self-fashioning*.[814] Greenblatt defined self-fashioning as 'the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment.'[815] He also discusses the autonomy found in the process of self-fashioning, yet concedes that '[…] the dream of autonomous agency, though intensely experienced and tenaciously embraced, is only a dream,'[816] meaning that self-fashioning is subject to outside powers just as much as to –perhaps even more so than – personal agency. Greenblatt analyses self-fashioning in 16th-century historic and literary characters, exploring how they interact and how the act of self-fashioning for a select group of authors relates their own identities to those of their literary characters, 'without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life.'[817] He goes on to say that self-fashioning:

> […] invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves. Such boundaries may, to be sure, be strictly observed in criticism, just as we may distinguish between literary and

[814] In German, I would use the term 'Selbstinszenierung;' for lack of a better translation and because there is an established scholarly discourse, drawing on Stephen Greenblatt's work, I use the term 'self-fashioning.'
[815] Stephen Greenblatt. 1980, 2005. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 3f.
[816] Greenblatt 1980, p. xi.
[817] Ibid., p. 3.

> behavioral styles, but in doing so we pay a high price, for we begin to lose a sense of the complex interactions of meaning in a given culture.[818]

Martines is not known to have written plays or novels; neither did she create any literary characters – but further study might explore the set of 'individuals' represented in the librettos Martines set to music, and her 'musical vocabulary' in doing so; as well as Metastasio's (her librettist of choice) treatment of women characters.[819] However, this thesis uses Greenblatt's model in relation to Martines's self-fashioning, adding to the discourse on her *publicly private* persona.[820] Such self-fashioning allowed Martines to navigate the intricate social structures of 18th-century Vienna as a single noble-woman, always at once in the limelight of the thriving music scene of the Habsburg capital while decidedly staying out of it, so as not to compromise the illusion of her non-professional stance.

Though Greenblatt's model is an attractive one, it exclusively focuses on male writers – More, Tyndale, Wyatt, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare – and therefore does not lend itself entirely to a nuanced analysis approach for Martines. In order to add the necessary intersectional perspectives to this discussion, I will refer to theories regarding (gender) performance and performativity. Since Butler's 'Gender Trouble,' feminist theories have defined performativity of gender as a 'formal quality of language,' as well as a 'social, cultural, or corporeal practice.'[821] Gender, which has shifting, standardised definitions and requirements based on the specific local and temporal circumstances, is seen as a 'performance or accomplishment achieved in everyday life'.[822] Analysing cultural texts and textures through

[818] Ibid., p. 3.
[819] More on Metastasio's libretto characters – see Reinhard Strohm. 2019. 'Die männliche Brille des Aufklärers' in: *Hamburger Tagung zum Thema 'Aufklärung! Musik und Geschlecht im 18. Jahrhundert*, n. pag.
[820] Chapter II.ii.
[821] Moya Lloyd. 2015. Performativity and Performance. In: Lisa Disch (ed.), Mary Hawkesworht (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford University Press, pp. 572-592, here p. 572.
[822] Chris Brickell. 2003. 'Performativity or Performance? Clarifications in the Sociology of Gender' in: New Zealand Sociology Vol. 18 No. 2, pp. 158-178, here p. 159.

the lens of gender performativity has therefore become an established practice, and lends itself well to an historic context. While the 18th century saw the first harbingers of first-wave feminism, it would still be wrong to assume any kind of self-imposed feminist identity in an individual of the time that did not outright address feminist issues. Yet, gender performance and performativity through language and behaviour have always shaped reality and have done so in 'inegalitarian and exclusionary ways'[823] – especially as other intersectional criteria play into it.

In order to navigate Martines's *publicly private* life as a composer, performer, and salonnière, without disturbing the rules put in place for women of her social standing, she had to be deliberate about curating how to present herself as a woman. *Doing gender* is always 'at the risk of gender assessment'[824] by those around. Awareness of these potential pitfalls can be inferred from accounts of Martines's activities, as well as letters where she cements her persona – her character (not literary, but as Greenblatt pointed out that distinction should not necessarily be the central concern). Her role as a hostess of academies is particularly interesting. A salon or an *Akademie* navigates the realm between public and private life – a 'liminal space', in a way. It needs to be understood as a space for agency – and is the closest Martines could come to having a semi-public forum, especially as a performer. These gatherings were held in the private home of the hostess, and despite the welcoming atmosphere to guests, they were entirely not-public.

Without transgressing beyond what was deemed appropriate for a woman, Martines's 'gendered identity,' curated in and for her academies and all her other (non-)professional ambitions, also needs to be understood as an act of sustaining, reproducing, and legitimising

[823] Lloyd 2015, p. 585.
[824] West, Zimmerman 1987, p. 136.

'the institutional arrangements.'[825] It was a necessary act of self-preservation, for which we can quite safely assume sensibility in Martines and her family. Especially for the Martines family who had close ties to the Habsburg emperors, anything that could have been interpreted as a questioning of or attack on the established social setting and system could have had detrimental outcomes. A very conscious adherence to social expectations was crucial for the family's existence and continued thriving. Metastasio's testament (as already mentioned) hints towards this when he wrote:

> […] ma alle due loro sorelle, più bisognose degli altri di sussistenza, e men degli altri, per cagion del sesso, abili ad onestamente procurarsela, non à somministrato la fortuna il mini mo de' suoi favori; onde non rimangon loro altri capitali, che gl'irreprensibili loro costumi, e la mia dovuta premura di assicurarle, per quanto è a me possibile, da una dolo-rosa indigenza.
>
> '[…] but to their two sisters, more in need of subsistence than the others, and less able than the others, by reasons of sex, to honestly procure it, fortune did not do them the least of its favours; so they have no other capital left than their irreprehensible morals and my due care to secure them, as far as I can, from painful poverty.[826]

The 'irreprehensible morals' were held in high esteem by the sisters, Antonia and Marianna. After Metastasio passed away, they continued to share an apartment with their eldest brother Joseph, who then acted as head of the house. However, once he passed away, the two sisters were alone presumably even more dependent on their high regard in society than earlier. Preservation and curation of social standing can be seen as a method of survival for the Martines sisters; without it, life for two unmarried women in the 18th century would have presumably been severely more difficult. This view allows us a more nuanced understanding of Martines's biography. Certain feminist scholarship seems to only focus on women who

[825] West, Zimmermann 1987, p. 146.
[826] D'Ayala 1795, pp. 356f.

engaged in outright revolutionary acts and were on the frontlines of their respective feminist movement. I argue, though, that individual acts of empowerment, and among those are most definitely acts of self-preservation as we see from Martines, need to be recognised just as much.

At first glance, Martines's various accolades, such as the publication of some of her music by Ulrich Haffner and her admittance to the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna* put her in the spotlight. However, she always managed to avoid claiming 'professional' status that would have been deemed inappropriate for a woman of her standing. These instances, which point towards what we would nowadays label 'ambition,' were navigated with the utmost finesse. In Haffner's 'Raccolta Musicale,' a collection of 'Italian' keyboard pieces, Martines was included as the only woman but listed as 'Dilettante a Vienna.'[827] Her admittance as a member of the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna* was perhaps one of her most 'public' achievements; even several newspapers reported on it. However, the admittance seems to have been directly approved by the reigning Empress Maria Theresia, who is invoked multiple times in the meeting notes of the *Accademia*:

> […] being apprised of how well the composer is received by Their Imperial Majesties in Vienna, [Padre Martini] believes that it would be a thing most pleasing to Their Imperial Majesties and an honor to the Academy to elect the composer by acclamation […].
> This proposition was found agreeable to all the members present and fully approved; and the excellence of the composer having been formally noted by all, they have taken it as their singular honor to inscribe her, as they have done by acclamation, into our Academy, all the more since this circumstance might please the aforesaid Imperial Royal Majesties of Vienna, from whom the said Madam Composer comes deservedly protected […].[828]

[827] Haffner, *Raccolta* Vol 4 & 5. Also see Chapter II.ii.
[828] Godt 2010, pp. 137f.

When the *WD* newspaper reported on Martines's election into the Accademia, they too paid deference to the Empress and invoked her by giving thanks: 'to the glorious reign of our most honourable queen, under which all the sister arts have soared so high, and will soon lead us to expect a certain level of perfection.'[829] Such court-approved accolades made it somewhat safe for Martines to step into the limelight; at least for a little while.

It appears that Martines invested a significant amount of energy in counterbalancing this received attention by fashioning herself after ideals of humility, demureness, and politeness. A prime example is found in her emphasising 'the weaknesses of her sex'[830] in a letter to Padre Martini. This is a very potent example of Martines's performance of gender through language and its connection to subjectivity and identity. According to Butler[831] and Austin, this would be an example of a perlocutionary act; an act of subordinating speech. Austin defines it as, 'an utterance that bring about certain effects.'[832] Butler points out that any speech act is historically embedded, as they 'exceed the instance of its utterance.'[833] This particular act of perlocution is very much in keeping with the tone of 18th century polite social interactions and galant letter writing style. Yet, invoking gender this way is a conscious act of subordination.

Despite her success as a composer and a clear drive to pursue various (quasi-)professional achievements, Martines perfectly navigated the boundaries of her *publicly private* life, never appearing too obviously eager. Another example: the silence created by her absence from an 1806 directory,[834] a kind of early version of the 'yellow pages,' further supports this conclusion. The 1806 publication included information on all kinds of establishments and professionals and where to find them in Vienna. The content was assembled by Joseph Gerold, both through

[829] Ibid., p. 141.
[830] Ibid., p. 152.
[831] Judith Butler. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. London. Routledge.
[832] Lloyd 2015, pp. 585f, J. L. Austin. 1962. How to Do Things with Words. Oxford University Press.
[833] Butler 1997, p. 51.
[834] Gerold 1806.

his own efforts and the agency of individuals who sent their details to him to be included in the book free of charge. He made note of this and encouraged further applications in the preface to the directory – a plea to anyone:

> […] sowohl in Wien als auch in den k auch k. k. Erbländern so sich vielleicht in diesem Schema noch nicht befinden, ungeachtet selber auch Heuer um ein beträchtliches vermehrt erscheint und doch in selben zu erscheinen wünschten, mir ihre Addressen nebst der Anzeige des Platzes an dem sie zu stehen wünschten, mittelst Postfreyer Briefe einsenden möchten; wo hingegen die Einrückung selbst unentgeldlich, und mit vielen Dank geschehen wird.
>
> […] both in Vienna as well as in the royal also imperial-royal hereditary lands, if they are not represented yet in this sketch, notwithstanding a considerably more numerous release this year, if they do wish to appear in the same, may send their addresses, along with indication of the space where they wish to be cited, with a post-free letter; whereas the insertion itself is free of charge, and will go ahead with many thanks.[835]

Regarding music, aside from organ and keyboard builders, as well as other instrument makers, there is also a section dedicated to 'Tonkünstler=Kompositeure und Klaviermeister.'[836] The first name on this list is 'Fr. Auernhamer [sic], am Hof 345'. It is interesting to note that Josepha Auernhammer is the only woman on the list of composers. It is not in any way marked as something unusual that Auernhammer, a woman, is listed among the professional composers. Still, there are no other women recorded under this heading. Given the great dissemination of the directory – after all, in 1806 they were on the 26th edition of the book – we can assume that it was a conscious decision of Martines and other women composers in similar situations to not be included in this or a directory like it. As suggested by the editor's foreword, the option to be included in the book was definitively open to her, and that without many hurdles – financial or otherwise. However, being listed in the directory would have presumed a certain

[835] Gerold 1806, preface, n. pag.
[836] Gerold 1806, p. 186 – '*Tonkünstler*-composers and piano masters'

professional status, as it was advertised as being intended for 'merchants, manufacturers, artists and craftsmen, but especially for foreigners.'[837]

Picture ID

One of the most obvious, yet easily overlooked, representations of identity are portraits. In all of his musings on paintings as part of the 'Lectures on Aesthetics,' Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel never questions this basic notion: the idea that a person's identity is displayed in a painting, and that painting is the art that expresses 'the innermost through the outer form.'[838] This, he states, is also the reason why portraits are interesting – 'due to their whole individuality' – and why, 'great portraits have, if they stand before us fully animated through all artistic resources, in this abundance of existence itself already this [quality of] emerging and transcending from their frame.'[839] Jordanova approaches this presumption somewhat more nuanced in their 2010 paper. They address the unspoken but seemingly universally agreed upon fact that the visual representation of a person is essential to 'knowing' their identity. As an example, they refer to the picture ID, where the photo is the most important part in 'proving' someone's identity.[840] At the same time, the 'frozen image fails, and thereby undermines the whole project of identifying individuals accurately by taking a picture of them,'[841] opening up the 'discourse on likeness.'[842] Likeness 'means not a literal, empirical verisimilitude but the capacity to evoke the spirit and personal qualities of the sitter.'[843] Portraits receive special status

[837] 'Kaufleute, Fabrikanten, Künstler und Handwerker, vorzüglich aber für Fremde'.
[838] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Eva Moldenhauer, Karl Markus Michel (eds.). 1832-45, 1990. *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* Vol. 3. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, p. 68.
[839] Hegel 1832-45, p. 85.'Große Porträts, wenn sie durch alle Mittel der Kunst in voller Lebendigkeit vor uns dastehen, haben an dieser Fülle des Daseins selbst schon dies Hervortreten, Hinausschreiten aus ihrem Rahmen.'
[840] Ludmilla Jordanova. 2010. 'Visualizing identity' in: Giselle Walker, Elisabeth Leedham-Green (eds.). *The Darwin College Lectures: Identity*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 127-156.
[841] Ibid., p. 128.
[842] Ibid., p. 131.
[843] Ibid., p. 144.

in this discussion of visualised identity. Through time expended and financial interactions, 'distinctive relationships [between sitter and painter] are built in the process,' a process which 'prompts reflection upon the theme of identity.'[844]

Nancy argues that the concern of the sitter as self is central to the portrait. It evokes an act of memory that 'refers back to the region of absent presence,' where 'presence exceeds itself as it moves more originally from itself to itself.'[845] As such the sitter's self can only exist under the gaze of the viewer.[846] This idea builds on Hegel's distinction between portraits and sculptures. Where sculptures exist three-dimensionally, paintings are abstracted to exist on a two-dimensional surface. Neither sculpture nor painting were, so Hegel argues, ever a direct afterimage of nature. While the sculpture is a 'reproduction from the mind' that disregards all natural aspects of form that do not directly depict the content expressed here, the painting's purpose is the mental interiority that can only appear in the exterior: the reflection of the spirit. Thereby, the painting abandons the autonomy of a real, spatial existence, and forms a much stronger bond with the viewer than would be the case with sculptures.[847] There seems to be little question that paintings – portraits – display the interior (which may be used here synonymously with the identity) of a person. This begs the question of how we talk about this identity, how it can be made graspable through language. Jordanova approaches this problem, arguing that viewers' responses to paintings are both 'aware and unselfconscious,' and reactions are 'as much somatic as they are mental.' Inevitably, they concede that, while 'portraiture mediates "identity", […] the precise nature of that identity is underdetermined.'[848] Concrete evidence of how identity 'works' in a portrait is usually hard to come by.

[844] Ibid., pp. 128f.
[845] Jean-Luc Nancy, Sarah Clift et al. (transl.). 2018. *Portrait*. Fordham University Press, p. 30.
[846] Hanneke Grootenboer. 2012. *Treasuring the Gaze. Intimate Vision in Late Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[847] Hegel 1832-45, pp. 27f.
[848] Jordanova 2010, pp. 131-133.

> [T]hose who make portraits are not *required* to write or speak about what they do, although many have done. Yet words are the primary tools of scholars who want to understand the phenomenon of visualizing identity through portraiture.[849]

Jordanova's reading of portraits mainly focusses on the sitter. They warn to not give too much weight to accoutrements (however, significant insight may be gained from 'personal relics' such as hair, spectacles, clothing and personal possessions). Otherwise, it may impede 'deeper engagement with the nature of 'identity'.'[850]

18th-century paintings need to be understood in the context of the development of artistic schools, dominant in Europe at the time. Influenced by the rise of 'clinical thought,' the idealised body of the neoclassical aesthetic of the academies sought to reconcile anatomically 'correct' depictions of nature (/humans) with a high regard for antiquity and insisting on 'pictorial accuracy' and perfection when creating 'idealised bodies.'[851] As Fend points out, skin – and depictions of it – became a particularly important aspect of painting. As a 'site of signification and reference,' skin was used as a metaphor 'of translation and communication.'[852] Giving several examples, Fend argues that the painting of skin differs vastly between painters, and it becomes an essential aspect of personal style. Skin also becomes a 'site of – gendered – contradiction,' for instance when portraying bourgeois women. Fend notes an 'ambivalence and inconsistency in the period's rules'[853] for upper class women's display. One of the most common visual tropes (though, not all painters followed this trend) was to paint noble women unnaturally pale. This prompts a feminist reading that this practice forced the concealing of (particularly upper class) women: even if they show naked skin, they are covered by an obviously artificial, un-natural border, denying them any possibility of being

[849] Ibid., p. 134, original emphasis.
[850] Ibid., pp. 129-134.
[851] Mechthild Fend. 2005. 'Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860' in: *Art History* Vol. 28 No. 3, pp. 311-339.
[852] Ibid., p. 322.
[853] Ibid., p. 324.

perceived as a 'real' female body. This denial of 'realness,' associated with a concrete gendered identity, is a denial of female sexual agency and simultaneously a gendered and sexualised objectification, achieved through *un-humanising artificialisation*. Fend expresses a similar reading by stating that a '[…] female body, even if it is naked, stays thus veiled under a transparent skin,'[854] the 'sensuality of the flesh and the potential menace of feminine sexuality are contained by this costume.'[855] Fend refers to feminist art historians who describe the depiction of idealised feminine bodies as a 'classic instance of fetishism' that assuages the 'potential threat to masculine narcissism.'[856] The skin acts as a barrier that mediates between the internal and external, yet certain renditions of the body's 'contour' create a kind of amorphous, actively deformed, *anatomical anxiety*-inducing body that gives the illusion of the body as a 'seamless envelope' (with dresses functioning as second envelopes), evoking 'fantasies about the repressed materiality of flesh, viscera and bones.'[857]

To different degrees, portraits contain shared agency between sitter and artist; and viewer (as well as potentially the commissioner). A portrait is the 'embodied agency of artists, which blends together visual intelligence, manual skill, psychological penetration and social commentary.'[858] The agency of the viewer is manifold. It potentially lies in the quest to:

> […] give back to portraits their life histories, to engage with their visual properties, and to offer coherent accounts of the processes by which they were made. Visualizing identity is active and complex [… and] the yet messier process of making, reproducing, adapting, disseminating, viewing and conversing about portraits.[859]

[854] Ibid., p. 325.
[855] Ibid., p. 329.
[856] Ibid., p. 329.
[857] Ibid., p. 330.
[858] Jordanova 2010, p. 137.
[859] Ibid., p. 153.

Grootenboer locates the viewer's agency in the exchange or 'clash' of gazes, something to which they refer as 'intimate vision'. The painting 'looks back' at the viewer, which turns the gaze back towards itself. 'It is in this movement of the gaze that subject and object, the subject as object and the object as subject, become genuinely linked.' *Intimate vision* is therefore the 'space resulting from an exchange of gazes, painted and real, which opens up a dimension of looking.'[860] The encounter with the portrait allows us to 'fall back upon ourselves,' the portrait serving as a *mise-en-scène*:

> What [a painting] offers us by means of its look is a zone, a way of negotiating, of joining us with what we see, inside and outside, subject and object, what is ours and what is of the world.[861]

The *intimate* that does not have a concrete place, and therefore 'falls outside normal spatial extension,' should be seen as a temporality. This 'notion of interiority as being located in the world, yet without having a proper place' is the intimacy experienced with ourselves, brought about by the image. It 'speaks to us, and it seems to speak intimately to us about ourselves.'[862]

Martines on Canvas

In 1977, the Wien Museum, located in the city centre of Vienna, acquired an 18th-century half-length portrait. All that is known of the provenance prior to this purchase is that the painting came from a private owner in Switzerland via a dealer in Munich.[863] The portrait, oil on canvas, is 72cm high and 55cm wide. The frame measures at 78.2 x 61.5 x 4.5cm. The painting was

[860] Grootenboer 2010, p. 4.
[861] Ibid., p. 5.
[862] Ibid., p. 13.
[863] Personal communication from Wien Museum (2023-02-02).

sold as being by Austrian painter Anton von Maron, dated approximately 1773 and, as the inscription painted at the bottom of the portrait tells us, the sitter is none other than Marianna Martines (see Image 9). This portrait is of particular interest in the context of this chapter, as it is a visual representation of Martines that allows for some insight into the 'intra-action'[864] between her body and self. And, more than that, as the sitter it is safe to assume that Martines would have had a certain amount of influence on the way she was depicted, which gives further insight into her practice of self-fashioning.



Image 9: Anton von Maron, Marianna von Martines, ca. 1773.[865]

As with so many aspects of Martines's life, work, and surviving documents, the history of the painting is nowhere near unravelled, and surrounding scholarship and discussions are full of inaccuracies, half-truths, or fabrications.[866] Regarding the painting, particularly questions surrounding the commissioning, one can only speculate – though, with some plausibility. The

[864] Ehlers 2015.
[865] Wien Museum, Inv.-No.158809.
[866] See Chapter I.ii.

one thing that is, comfortingly, certain is the identity of the sitter. The inscription at the bottom of the painting reads:

MARIA ANNA. MARTINES. P. METASTASII. ALUMNA
NAT VINDOBO. IV. NON. MAI. MDIIXLIV. ACAD. PHIL. SOC.

Writing out all abbreviations, the implicit full inscription is: 'Maria Anna. Martines. Petri Metastasii. Alumna nata Vindobonae. Antem Diem IV. Nonas Maias. MDIIXLIV. Academiae Philharmonicae Socia.'[867] In his blogpost on Martines, Lorenz details the history of this inscription, as it was (mis-)reproduced and (mis-)translated by the handful of academics who have so far dedicated some of their work to Martines. One of the mistakes that had been copied numerous times is the transcription of the date in the inscription. Lorenz suggests that 'the translation of the date with "4th day of May" reveals a certain unfamiliarity with the Roman calendar". He identifies the date in the inscription as 'ANTE DIEM IV. NONAS. MAIAS. MDIIXLIV.' which means 'on the fourth day before the Nones [the 7th] of May 1744'[868]. The Latin calendar counted days backwards from the *Kalends, Nones,* and *Ides* – which were specific days of the month. The *Nones* usually referred to the fifth day of the month, except during the months of March, May, July, and October where they referred to the *seventh* day. The mistake of those less familiar with Latin is easily understandable, since Martines was actually born on 4 May 1744, as is confirmed in her autobiography.

The purpose of the portrait and the backstory of its commission remain contested. The suggested years of creation are 1773 (the current approximate date listed at the Wien Museum),

[867] Michael Lorenz, 2012, http://michaelorenz.blogspot.com/2012/10/martines-maron-and-latin-inscription.html (accessed 2023-01-10).
[868] Lorenz 2012.

1774 (an approximate date suggested by Godt[869]), and, in the booklet of the Sony Music CD 'Marianna Martines: Il Primo Amore', Melanie Unseld dates it to 1780. The three suspected dates of creation are all explained in connection to the *Accademia filarmonica di Bologna*. 1773 was the year of Martines's admittance to the *Accademia*; 1774 was 'the time of her Dixit Dominus'[870] which she composed for the *Accademia*; and 1780 would be a few years before the 1784 letter sent to Padre Martini that accompanied Martines's portrait. Interpreting the portrait in relation to Martines's admission to the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna in 1773 is plausible, but not beyond doubt. As shown later, the format of the portrait does lend itself to an association it with artistic academies; particularly in an Italian context. Surviving letters of both Martines and Padre Martini bear witness of a portrait being sent to Martini for his private collection in 1784, only a few months before the death of the Italian benefactor. In his 'thank you' letter, Martini praises the 'noble' portrait:

> What subtlety of art one perceives delineated there! What liveliness of color one wonders at seeing expressed! It manifests itself truly as a work from the hand of a master.
> But if this work is in itself precious, it must be especially so for me; and indeed it is most precious, and as such it will be for me the most worthy and most notable prototype with which you are kindly pleased not only to enrich my gallery with a fresh ornament, but to overwhelm it likewise with honor and dignity.[871]

In his 1995 article, Godt suggested, without firm evidence, that: the 'portrait that Marianna sent to Bologna is lost, but may have been a copy of the one by Anton von Maron.' While there is no conclusive proof that the portrait attributed to Maron *was* the one commissioned for Padre Martini, there is also no proof that it *was not*. It seems just as likely for the surviving portrait to be a copy of the original (or the one sent to Bologna being a copy), as it would be for this to

[869] Godt 1995.
[870] Godt 1995, p. 551.
[871] Godt 2010, p. 152.

turn out to be the one and only portrait that somehow made its way back to Vienna after Martini's death. Since we do not have many details on the provenance of the painting, we cannot tell whether it travelled to Bologna and eventually back to Vienna (via Switzerland); remained in the German-speaking area all along, or had an entirely different journey.

Today, there are assumed to be two paintings of Marianna Martines. In addition to the (alleged) Maron portrait in the Wien Museum, Martines is often assumed to be represented on the portrait of a young woman in a pink dress, sitting at a keyboard (Image 10), attributed to Peter Anton Lorenzoni. The painting sold for $5,625 in 2015, almost 30% under the upper limit of the estimated asking price, by the Auction House Doyle in New York. Even less information about the backstory of this painting is publicly available, including the process of identifying the sitter as Marianna Martines. A request to the auction house about provenance, current ownership, and the history of the painting has so far been unanswered.



Image 10: Peter Anton Lorenzoni, Marianna Martines, Oil on Canvas.[872]

Other than the fact that the painting attributed to Lorenzoni depicts a white woman in expensive clothing sitting at a keyboard, there is currently no proof or nothing else that suggests the

[872] Source: *https://www.exploreclassicalmusic.com/marianna-martines* (accessed 2023-01-10).

woman should be Martines. Further, it should be noted that Lorenzoni, as far as his biographers have been able to establish, never spent any significant time in Vienna. Yet, Martines never left Vienna. Since Lorenzoni painted members of the Mozart family, and the Mozarts and Martines knew each other, it is of course convenient to connect Lorenzoni to Martines through this otherwise unidentified portrait. As of now, though, this is highly speculative and unsubstantiated. Further paintings to identify Martines as their sitter surface now and again (especially in non-academic contexts). However, oftentimes those are quite easily disproven. For instance, the website 'spainculture.us' lists Martines among 'Hispanic Women Composers' and illustrates the webpage with José Campeche's portrait of María Catalina de Urrita.[873]

Between the two portraits, the one by Maron seems to lend itself more naturally to being a contender for the 'Martini portrait,' intended for the Bologna *Accademia* collection. Martines is depicted front facing, just slightly tilting her head, with a knowing smile. Both her hands are visible, resting on a flat surface that could be interpreted as a table for writing and working; and that provides a natural surface for the above discussed Latin inscription. In contrast to the 'Lorenzoni portrait,' Martines is represented not as a performer, depicted actively practicing music, but instead is 'enough' for the image in and of herself. Her identity as an individual thinker – most closely related to her role as a composer rather than her performer-persona – seems to radiate.

Contested authorship

Since the portrait of the 'white woman at the keyboard' is currently too far beyond proving to be Martines and therefore its relevance is limited within this chapter, I will not go into any

[873] Source: https://www.spainculture.us/city/new-york/hispanic-women-composers-1/ (accessed 2023-03-14).

further detail. The other portrait, owned by the Wien Museum, is definitively of Martines. However, it is questionable whether Anton von Maron is actually the painter. In 2010, Godt wrote that the portrait with the Latin inscription we discussed above was 'attributed to Anton von Maron.'[874] So far, I have been unable to verify who identified Maron as the painter. The portrait is not signed. The Wien Museum catalogue it in their *Objektdatenblatt*[875] as having been painted by Anton von Maron. As I will demonstrate, it does not seem plausible that Anton von Maron was actually the painter; even if the portrait was perhaps fashioned to emulate his style. Due to Maron's high position within Viennese society, as an official portraitist of the Habsburg family – he painted multiple portraits of Empress Maria Theresia and Joseph II and other family members – choosing a portrait style that was to resemble his tells much about the purpose behind the creation and commission of this artwork, and its intended cultural value.

Anton von Maron was born in 1733 in Vienna, however spent his most artistically productive years in Rome, where he also passed away in 1808. He was married to the sister of famous painter Anton Raphael Mengs, who was a friend and mentor to Maron throughout his life. It is not entirely clear how he first came in contact with the Habsburg emperors. Schmittmann[876] suggests it may have been through Mengs's connections who was the court painter of the Spanish King Karl III. Mengs had painted his daughter, Maria Luisa, when she married Leopold II, the son of Austrian empress Maria Theresia. Exchanging portraits between the imperial courts of Europe – for example of Bourbon and Habsburg – became increasingly popular during the second half of the 18th century. Since Maria Theresia's marriage politics, for which she strategically used her children, meant that there were familiar relations and

[874] Godt 2010, p. 153
[875] Object data file.
[876] Isabella Schmittmann, Matthias Klein (ed.). 2013. *Anton von Maron (1731-1808). Leben und Werk. Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft* Vol. 90. Munich: scaneg., pp. 38f.

interest in and pride of the far-reaching progeny, this practice was particularly common for the Habsburg court.

Connections formed through Maron's admittance to the *Accademia di Disegno* in Florence in 1770 may also have assisted him in his rise of fame in Vienna. He was eventually selected as court painter by Maria Theresia and received several portrait commissions, among them: a painting of the late Emperor Franz I; Maria Theresia in mourning dress; and one of Joseph II. These kept him busy in Vienna for most of 1772. Despite his work and popularity in Vienna, he never relinquished his studio in Rome, and even returned there to finish the Habsburg portrait commissions. He continued to grow his reputation in Vienna and was able to reside in Rome as the emperors' court painter. As a sign of gratitude for the Habsburg portraits, Maria Theresia ennobled Maron in October 1772 and presented him with various expensive gifts. Schmittmann points out:

> Diese Donationen verdeutlichen, dass Anton von Maron inzwischen im repräsentativen Bildnisfach höchste Anerkennung entgegen gebracht wurde und er gewissermaßen in die Stellvertreterrolle seines Schwagers gewachsen war, der außerhalb Frankreichs als einer der bedeutendsten europäischen Hofporträtisten galt. Er erfuhr eine Hochachtung, die sich zum einen darin äußerte, dass hochrangige Mitglieder europäischer Adelsgeschlechter wie der Herzog von Gloucester, Erzherzog Maximilian von Österreich, Herzog Albert von Sachsen-Teschen mit seiner Frau, und nicht zuletzt Großfürst Paul mit seiner Gattin aus Russland, in Rom bei ihm Station machten und sich porträtieren oder unter seiner sachkundigen Führung durch die Kunstschätze der Stadt bzw. als sachkundiger Berater bei ihren Kunst-Einkäufen begleiten ließen.
>
> These donations show that Anton von Maron meanwhile received the highest recognition within the field of representative portraiture and had grown to become a kind of deputy of his brother in law, who was considered one of the most important European court portrait painters outside of France. The veneration he received manifested itself for one by many high-ranking members of European nobility, such as the Duke of Gloucester and Archduke Maximilian of Austria, Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen with his wife, and not least Grand Duke Paul with his wife from Russia, stopping by in Rome to be painted by him or to receive

> guidance looking at the wealth of art the city had to offer or having Maron accompany them as a knowledgeable advisor when buying artworks.[877]

Attempts to lure Maron more permanently to Vienna failed, when he turned down the offer to become the new director of the *Wiener Kunstakademie* (Vienna Academy of Arts). However, in 1770 he travelled to Vienna to assist in the restructuring of the Academy, where his suggestions were openly welcomed by Maria Theresia. He advocated for sending young artists to Italy so they may learn the artistic practice of the country, particularly Rome, which he termed the richest place in antique and '*Capital*' paintings and where they will find their thinking developed in all things drawing, and painting and study composition, and how to paint robes, light and shadow, all of which will aid them in being worthy servants to their local rulers and bringing honour to their country.[878] With his help, the Viennese art scene was strongly influenced towards a more Italian and classicistic style. Maron also used his connections with the court to secure support for the *Accademia di San Luca* where, in 1783, he was elected director, following his brother-in-law Mengs. He was successful in his petition for support for the Academy from the Austrian court.

One of Maron's most celebrated genres were his half-length portraits. Unlike some of his colleagues at the time, who focused their painting practices purely on depictions of social status through specific poses and habitus, Maron seems to reduce his artistic aim to a depiction of character, expressed principally through delicately composed facial features. The half-length portraits further support the zooming-in on these attributes, suggestive of the sitter's identity, and form a contrast to the usually full-length, strongly market-driven 'grand-tour' portraits that other painters of the time specialised in, such as Pompeo Batoni.[879] It is in these half-length

[877] Ibid., p. 40.
[878] Schmittmann 2013, p. 45.
[879] Also see Michael E. Yonan. 2007. 'Pompeo Batoni Between Rome and Vienna' in: *Notes in the History of Art* Vol 26. No. 2. University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Bard Graduate Center, pp. 32-37.

portraits that Maron, building on Mengs's typology, explores and formulates ways of painting that elevate and 'psychologise […] the essentials of personal expression.'[880] Among the defining features of his portraits is a particular attention to a great variety of shades of red and brown, particularly the reddish hue underlying skin tones of his sitters. Once again, this demarcates his style from that of Batoni who, alongside Mengs, was ranked among the most important portrait painters in Rome during the middle of the 18th century.[881] Röttgen even hints at a professional rivalry between the two, suggesting that Mengs was 'Batoni's only competitor'[882] until the former left for Madrid and left Maron in charge of his studio as his trustee. Batoni was a proponent of painting faces nearly colourless; the paleness of his sitters was to underline their nobility.[883] Maron was more liberal with the use of skin-tones and shades of red in his depiction of skin, regardless of the sitter's social status.

With this in mind we shall look at a selection of Maron's half-length portraits, using them as a backdrop to understand and question the authorship of the Martines portrait currently in the Wien Museum. The selected portraits are all in the same style as the Martines portrait; they are half length portraits, with a little balustrade in front of the individual containing inscriptions detailing who the sitter is. Maron painted quite a few of those. Among them are the following thirteen, where Maron's authorship is uncontested, according to Schmittmann:[884]

[880] Schmittmann 2013, p. 32.
[881] Claudia Tutsch. 1995. '*"Man muß mit ihnen, wie mit seinem Freund, bekannt geworden seyn…" Zum Bildnis Johann Joachim Winckelmanns von Anton von Maron'* in: Max Kunze (Ed.) Schriften der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft Vol. 13. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, pp. 31 and 140f.
[882] Steffi Röttgen. 1972. '"Antonius de Maron Fabricat Romae" Zum Werk Anton von Marons in Rom' in: *Ausstellungskatalog "Österreichische Künstler und Rom vom Barock zur Sezession*. Rome/Vienna, p. 38.
[883] Röttgen (1972) points towards clear influences of Batoni's style in Maron's (especially early) paintings, supported by the fact that Maron, too, painted grand-tour portraits – e.g. one of the Earl of Stanford (a painting that had previously been attributed to Mengs but is most likely by Maron). This was clearly financially motivated, as foreign clients, travelling to Rome between approximately 1755-70 were drawn to the style championed by Batoni. Schmittmann (2013), in emphasising the distinct differences between the style of Maron and Batoni, does so by focussing predominately on Maron's later style and his focus on and development of portraiture, particularly three-quarter and half-length portraits.
[884] For reference – all of these portraits are depicted in Schmittmann 2013.

Self-portrait 1787; Galerie degli Uffizi, Vasari Corridor, Florenz
Portrait of James Byres; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome
Portrait of Antonio Asprucci; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Anton Raphael Mengs; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Thomas Jenkins; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Virginio Bracci; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Carlo Murena; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Francesco Navone; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Vincenzo Pacetti; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Francisco Preziado de la Vega[885], 176(7?); Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Andrea Vici, Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca
Portrait of Therese Mengs-Maron; Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca[886]

I selected these portraits as a sample group for comparison because their most immediate similarity with the Martines portrait is the shared half-length format, as well as the balustrade with inscription at the bottom of the painting, which seems to be a popular choice for 'Accademia portriats' (portraits of members of an artistic academy). Looking at the fourteen portraits (the thirteen above and the Martines portrait), the one of Martines sticks out 'like a sore thumb,' even without further analysis. This is not because it lacks artistic quality, but rather it appears instinctively and distinctively different. Looking at the layout of the paintings, we see a striking difference between the sample group and the Martines portrait. In all other thirteen paintings, the balustrade is in front of the main body of the painting. Like an adherent label, it appears on top of the canvas, creating a barrier between viewer and sitter – as if fencing them off, within the safety of the picture frame, from overly intrusive views. The sitters consistently remain behind these 'barriers.' Incidentally, these seem to contain Italian inscriptions rather than Latin, usually stating the name of the sitter, their profession, and when they became a member of the respective art academy: 'fatto accademico […] di S. Luca.' Martines's portrait is decidedly different. With both her hands visible – an unusual choice in

[885] Title after Schmittmann 2013; the portrait inscription reads 'D[n]. FRAN[co]. PREZIADO DI SIVIGLIA PITTORE DI S. M. C. / FATTO ACCADEMICO NEL'A.1749.'
[886] The only portrait in this style of a woman, among this list.

itself, especially in women's half-length portraits of the time – she leans on the balustrade with her arms partly going beyond that boundary, referencing *trompe-l'œil* technique. Her left elbow and forearm are perched on top of the stone railing and her right hand rests on top of the left, with just four fingers visible. The breastwork does not so much appear as a fence behind which the sitter remains safely within their oil and canvas realm. Martines does not give the impression of being confined to the canvas, but rather leans on the balustrade – if not for support, then for comfort the way one would on the railing of a balcony or opera box. Her fingers and hands do not appear to show any tension and correspond with the serenity of her gaze, emphasising her status and nobility. Parts of her arm – the fur trimming of her dress to be precise – transgress beyond the boundaries set by the stone element, creating the three-dimensional *trompe-l'œil* effect.

Of the thirteen paintings by Maron, eleven of the sitters look outside of the canvas rather than at something within the painting. Only two of them (Anton Raphael Mengs and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi) look to the side, as if something behind the frame, invisible to the viewer, has suddenly caught their attention. All others direct their gaze not only outside the frame towards the viewer but directly at the viewer; there is inevitable eye contact with every one of them. The portrait of Therese Mengs-Maron stands out not only because she is the only woman among these thirteen,[887] but also because she is depicted with her head slightly bowed, almost looking upwards towards the viewer (despite the fact that the painting was most likely hung at a level where her eye level would be above that of any viewer). Martines's gaze is also directed outside the frame, but lingers to the side. With a faint smile on her face, she is always looking

[887] Another portrait in similar format and of a woman is that of Caterina Cherubini-Preziado, Galleria Accademia Nazionale di San Luca. However, Schmittmann (2013, p. 459) does not regard Maron's authorship as confirmed beyond doubt, which is why this particular portrait is not included in this comparison.

just past the viewer, as if called away by a thought or concentrating on something more urgently in need of her attention than 'lewd' eye contact.

Other striking differences between the Martines portrait and the thirteen Maron portraits – which form a somewhat cohesive group regarding these aspects – are the body posture and physical angles. Martines slightly tilts her head but is otherwise entirely front-facing, with her shoulders almost completely parallel to the canvas. Her right shoulder is slightly higher than the left, which appears as a natural anatomical result of the tilting of the head. In contrast, all of Maron's paintings mentioned above depict the sitters at much more of an angle. Several of them, like Antonio Asprucci and Vincenzo Pacetti, are so strongly twisted to the side, that only one of their shoulders is visible. Their neck, which is covered by their dress, is strongly contorted so that they are still able to look directly at the viewer with both eyes.

Lastly, the anatomically plastic and precisely defined contours in Maron's portraits point towards his practice as a teacher of anatomy, perspective, and geometry.[888] The skin of all the sitters contains vibrant shades of red, and there is a plasticity to them that looks almost naturalistic. On the other hand, Martines has very soft contours, her skin is of a pale yellowish cream, only her lips and eyelids hint at the flesh and blood behind the anatomical border: rather in keeping with 18th-century trends. While Röttgen points towards 'hazy contours' as one of the defining stylistic traits of Maron's later works, the level of definition of pictorial borders between Maron's 'confirmed' portraits and the Martines portrait are a far cry. Röttgen also remarks that 'puffy faces with slightly glazy round eyes'[889] are a common trait in Maron's portraits; yet neither of those are found in the depiction of Martines.

While Maron's authorship of the Martines portrait cannot be excluded with absolute certainty, it seems highly unlikely. Maron had a clearly defined style, particular ideals, specific colour-

[888] Schmittmann 2013, p. 47.
[889] Röttgen 1972, p. 37.

pallets, and distinct approaches to perspective and anatomical depiction of people that are all somewhat uniformly present in the thirteen selected paintings above, as well as in many of his other portraits. For him to have broken with so many of his artistic core values in just this one painting – of a relatively well-known composer, yet in terms of social status a less 'important' person than many of his sitters who belonged to European royal families – is highly improbable. Additionally, during the early 1770s (one of the possible times of the Martines portrait's creation), Maron was very busy with commissions from the Habsburg emperors, and may not have had much time for 'lesser' clients. Therefore, I suggest that the portrait in question is most likely not painted by Anton von Maron.

Possibly, it could have been painted by one of his students – perhaps one of the 'Pensionari Imperiali'[890] who came from Vienna to study with him in Rome for a certain amount of time – or it could have been a (somewhat altered) copy of an original by Maron. Though, again, the latter seems less likely due to discrepancies within the timeline. In 1773, the approximate date, suggested by the Wien Museum, of the Martines portrait, Maron painted Maria Theresia as a widow, having just received his patent of nobility. Then, in 1774, he was busy painting and repainting (after the first version was damaged beyond repair during transport) the full-length portrait of Joseph II.[891] If the painter of the Martines portrait was not one of Maron's immediate disciples, his stylistic influence is still noticeable and must be considered as a conscious decision by the painter and/or sitter. By doing so, especially in a Viennese context, the portrait carries specific social and cultural value, as it evokes the style of Maron the imperial court painter and portraitist of the Habsburg family.

[890] Ibid., p. 35.
[891] Ibid., pp. 43f.

Towards the end of the 1770s, the influence of Rubens and van Dyck on European painters grew steadily. This was noticeable comparatively early in Maron's paintings,[892] namely in several works between 1770-1773 (which is approximately the time when the Martines portrait is supposed to have been painted). Yet, the Martines portrait is distinct from those two painters' styles, too. For example, looking at the hands of Martines as they rest upon the balustrade, they lack a certain anatomical correctness – particularly the proximal and intermediate phalanges. Several of van Dyck's and Rubens' paintings, too, evoke a kind of 'anatomical anxiety' at a closer look, as the hands of their sitters appear inhumanly proportioned and alien with their impossibly long fingers. This is something that is also seen in some of Maron's paintings, such as the full-length depiction of Joseph II, but they bear no resemblance to the hands of Martines. These appear much less dramatic as they rest comfortably on top of each other and emphasise Martines's serene nobility. Her social status is further highlighted by the lace details, as well as the fur trimmings of her dress, which were expensive materials.

The imitation of a particular artist's style for the purpose of legitimation is not a new invention. As mentioned, some of Maron's own works display a strong influence of van Dyck's style. Van Dyck's general popularity among Roman artists can be understood as a reaction to the tastes of English Grand Tour travellers, and a commercial decision from the artists. As an example, the 1792 portrait of the Marchese Berio in Naples, this imitation of van Dyck's style is an attempt of a middle-class sitter, depicted here as a Genoese senator, to be validated in his position.[893] Similarly, an invocation of Maron's style in Martines's portrait can be interpreted as signalling social status and a conscious act of self-fashioning.

[892] Ibid., p. 41.
[893] Ibid., p. 47.

According to the Wien Museum, the Martines portrait was bought as a 'portrait by Maron.'[894] However, it is signed neither by Maron nor by anyone else. For further details, they referred to the catalogue in Schmittmann's book, where the portrait is listed as unverified but most likely by Maron, since it is 'similar to other portraits of women by Maron'.[895] As demonstrated above, there are significant stylistic differences, throwing Marons's authorship into question. Also, Schnittmann's book did not seem to do a lot of research on the Martines portrait. In 2013, when Schmittmann's book was published, Godt had already written in some detail about the portrait as part of his in-depth studies on Martines, including reference to the location of the picture in the Wien Museum. Yet, Schmittmann seems to have based their discussion on a low-resolution picture found online on the website 'kunst-fuer-alle.de' ('art-for-all'). It must not have been a very good photo that they were working with, as they appeared unable to fully decipher the Latin inscription; nor were the colours displayed correctly, it seems. They write that the 'original of the portrait, that is made available as a print via the internet […], is so far not mentioned in literature; dates and location are therefore unknown.'[896] I have not been able to verify who the first person was to attribute the portrait to Maron, but the assumption, once made, was copied over and over again, until it was ultimately accepted as fact.

While I doubt the authorship of Maron for the half-length portrait of Martines, it seems quite possible that one of Maron's Viennese students, who studied with him in Rome, could have been the painter. However, the association with Maron's name, and emulation of his portrait style mainly used for artistic academies, is significant for the interpretation of the painting and its intention as a mode of self-fashioning for Martines. Though we do not know if Martines

[894] See footnote 863.
[895] Schmittmann 2013.
[896] Ibid., pp. 422f.

herself was the commissioner of the painting, she shared agency in the process of creating it and in the production of displayed identity. Maron's high social status in Vienna during the 1770s, the time when the portrait is assumed to have been created, adds value, beyond its mere monetary worth, to his paintings or even to paintings that bear some kind of association with him. The depiction of Martines emphasises her nobility in manifold ways. From the care with which the fabrics are depicted – the folds of the veil and dress – to the value of the materials Martines wore, her relaxed posture and serene almost philosophical facial expression, everything accentuates high social standing and depicts her as almost untouchable (and therefore irreproachable). Importantly, Martines is not depicted at the keyboard, but instead appears in her identity as an upper-class woman, and a learned composer. With a little nod to her pianistic prowess, the *trompe-l'œil* effect of her hands, Martines otherwise appears as a newly minted *Accademica*. The seemingly effortless grace she radiates, while emphasising her well-educated self, should be understood against the backdrop of common narratives, described in previous chapters: that harshly condemned women's *Putzsucht*, superficiality, and vanity. Leaning into her 'bluestocking' self was evidently the better option for Martines, as it highlighted the narrative of quasi-meritocracy that she purported; for instance by emphasising the influence of her many teachers and diligent study from an early age.[897] The (remote) link to Maron, nobleman and court painter, would have served as a kind of cultural capital, further cementing Martines's relationship with and connection to the Habsburg court.

[897] Cypess 2022, pp. 157f.

IV. Performing Authorship

IV.i Embellishments and improvisation

Outline

Embellishments, so Levin noted about Mozart's keyboard concertos, 'are essential to understanding the peculiarities of a composer's style and reveal the idiosyncrasies of a composer's personal language.'[898] This statement rings even more true of virtuosic works (originally intended) for harpsichord, to which embellishments are often central. This section seeks to conceive of the compositional style of Martines, particularly through the lens of her use of embellishments. A survey of 18th-century embellishments will form the backdrop, against which the contours of Martines's characteristic practices can be delineated. The chapter concludes with a case study of Martines's keyboard music, particularly her G major sonata, which will also address the implications of this ornamentation-based analysis on modern performances of keyboard music by Martines and her contemporaries.

Throughout the 18th century, ornamentation had a style-defining character.[899] Attitudes towards ornamentation underwent regional/national (e.g. French vis-à-vis Italian) and chronological changes; the latter were often described as progressive music-historical 'periods.' It would be too simple to reduce this part of music history to a succession of styles, but transitions between stylistic ideals are still noticeable, even if not period-defining. From *galant* style(s)[900] to *early classical*[901] and *classical* styles, changing attitudes of composers and performers towards the

[898] Robert D. Levin. 1992. 'Improvised Embellishments in Mozart's Keyboard Music' in: *Early Music* Vol. 20 No. 2, pp. 221-233, here p. 222.
[899] See e.g. David A. Sheldon. 1975. 'The Galant Style Revisited and Re-Evaluated' in: *International Musicological Society. Acta Musicologica* Vol. 47 No .2, pp. 240-270 on 'galant embellishments'.
[900] The plural according to Sheldon 1975.
[901] By *early classical* I refer to the style termed *Frühklassik* in German. I choose not to say *pre-classical*, as the prefix 'pre' suggests this stylistic period came before, and therefore is separated from, the classical one. I would argue that *Frühklassik* is at its core already *classical*, the only difference being that certain stylistic developments had not yet happened on a larger scale, or were not used by certain composers, thus necessitating a differentiation. Comparable would be the distinction between *romantisch* and *hochromantisch*. Both refer to the romantic period, but *hochromantisch* carries certain connotations that do not apply to the entire style period. All these labels are only useful to a certain degree, as they do not provide a strict chronological order or periodisation, nor can/should

status, function and extent of ornaments – particularly with regards to questions of taste ('how much is too much?') – can be noticed. *Galant* style is mostly defined both by its voice leading schemata, as established by Gjerdingen,[902] and by its graceful embellishments. At the time, the latter were referred to literally as *Galanterien*, equating the name of the style with its (arguably) most important stylistic element.[903] Compositions and performances that adhered to this style-ideal made ample use of embellishments.

In 18th-century discourse, the *galant* style was often described, here in Quantz' words, as 'embellished [or affected] with many little figures and fast notes.'[904] The early classical style, inspired by Enlightenment ideals such as virtue, integrity, and clarity, regarded the exuberantly florid 'gallantries' as outdated – in music, as well as in literature and social contexts.[905] Subsequently, the classical style saw a trend towards greater involvement of the composers with the performance-based reception of their music, as they increasingly opted to notate precisely the kind of embellishments they thought best suited their music.[906]

Style was also conceptualised in terms of national character in the 18th century. The central opposition of the French and Italian styles or *gouts* ('tastes') also gave rise to certain hybrids and compromises, such as the 'mixed' style which German theorists in particular described as

composers, or sometimes even individual pieces, always be neatly classified by any one label (also see Irving Godt. 1984. 'Style Periods of Music History Considered Analytically' in: *College Music Symposium* Vol. 24 No. 1, p. 33-48).

[902] See Robert O. Gjerdingen. 2007. *Music in the Galant Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[903] Mattheson states in what Sheldon (1975, p. 251) calls 'the most ambitious and significant single expression' of the galant movement, namely his treatise: Mattheson. 1713. *Das neu=eröffnete Orchestre*. Hamburg: Schillers Wittwe, pp. 137f. Mattheson argues that modern pieces cannot only consist of melody and harmony but need 'gallantries' to be deemed worthy music. He then goes on to compare the three main elements of a composition (melody, harmony, and gallantries) to the elements of a dress: harmony being the fabric, melody the style ('Façon') and *Galanterien* are the embroideries.

[904] Johann Joachim Quantz. 1754, 1970 (reprint). 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, con ihm selbst entworfen' in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik I*. Berlin: Joh. Jacob Schützens sel. Wittwe, pp. 197-250, here p. 216: 'ein galanterer, und mit vielen kleinen Figuren, und geschwinden Noten gezierter Gesang.'

[905] Sheldon 1975, p. 258.

[906] Robert D. Levin. 2001. 'Improvisation – The Classical period. Instrumental music' in: *Grove Music Online*: from https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013738 (accessed 2025-04-01).

their national style.[907] On top of that, differing genres and instrumentation also dictated questions of style and ornamentation. Local styles diverged in what kind of embellishments they favoured and their attitude towards improvised or notated ornaments.

For Martines, the Italian and (to a lesser degree) German styles were of direct relevance. Raised and trained in Vienna, she was musically educated in the Italian tradition through teachers and mentors such as Nicola Porpora,[908] Giuseppe Bonno, and Pietro Metastasio. Moreover, in her autobiographical letter, Martines named only a few stylistically influential composers – suggesting their works were of particularly great significance to her. Among these were the Italians Jommelli and Galuppi, as well as Lotti, and Caldara from the older generation. The only non-Italians cited were Hasse and Hendel.[909] With the exception of Galuppi, who was known for his keyboard music, the composers cited wrote predominantly vocal music, with a strong emphasis on opera and related genres. If one were to speculate why Martines named these composers in particular, considering that she herself did not write any operas, the status of opera as the lead genre of the time must be taken into account. Her studying the works of these composers is thus suggestive of where she located her own vocal repertoire and practice. Martines's autobiography was a masterpiece of self-fashioning, hence she may have wanted to suggest that her vocal music – oratorios, cantatas, arias, etc. – demonstrated, though true to their own genres, at least as much skill in vocal composition as the operas of her tutors.

Most noteworthy about the Italian style is the strong belief, widespread among Italian 18th century musicians, pedagogues, and theorists,[910] that the art of ornamentation was an

[907] Joan E. Smiles. 1978. 'Directions for Improvised Ornamentation in Italian Method Books of the Late Eighteenth Century' in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 31 No. 3, pp. 495-509, here p. 495.
[908] Porpora was probably Martines' singing teacher. However, Schmid reports him also giving her composition lessons (Godt 2010, p. 32).
[909] Autobiographical letter – see Appendix 1.
[910] See e.g. Vincenzo Manfredini. 1797. Regole armoniche o sieno precetti ragionati per apprender la musica. Venezia: A. Cesare.

'unwritten tradition'[911] and could not be learned by reading a book.[912] Only by studying with a great master could a pupil acquire the skill to tastefully embellish a piece of music. Also, the Italian approach to ornamentation seems to have been less regulated than the German one. Johann Friedrich Schubert's *Neue Singe-Schule*, first published around 1800, gave account of traditions of ornamentation, noting that 'compositions of Mozart, Haydn, Cherubini and Winter will bear fewer embellishments than those of Salieri, Cimarosa, Martín and Paisiello.'[913]

Martines's own style of writing varies. While some of her compositions contain very detailed written-out ornaments, and coloratura-style runs (both in her vocal and instrumental repertoire), other pieces are quite simple in their texture, likely leaving it to the performer (/herself) to tastefully add embellishments.

18th-century embellishments

In order to understand Martines's use of embellishments in her keyboard music, as well as make individual informed performance decisions, it is useful to first gain a deeper understanding of the types of embellishments commonly found in 18th-century music. Familiarity with historical embellishment and improvisation practices can greatly add to a performance. Levin emphasises the artistic value and excitement derived from 'risk-laden spontaneity,' instead of embellishments and cadenzas, that are the product of 'careful preparation' and convey a 'lack of freedom.'[914]

[911] Smiles 1978, p. 502.
[912] In fact, all Italian method books of the time are extremely vague on the matter of ornamentation, even if they contain chapters dedicated to that particular topic. For a detailed analysis of some of these method books see Smiles 1978.
[913] Johann Friedrich Schubert. [ca. 1800.] *Neue Singe-Schule oder gründliche und vollständige Anweisung zur Singkunst in drey Abtheilungen mit hinlänglichen Uibungsstücken*. Leipzig: Breikopf & Härtel, p. 158.
[914] Robert D. Levin. 1992. 'Improvised Embellishments in Mozart's Keyboard Music' in: *Early Music* Vol. 20 No. 2, pp. 221-223, here p. 221.

Table 7 extrapolates information on embellishments from select 18th-century treatises by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,[915] Johann Mattheson,[916] Johann Joachim Quantz,[917] and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg,[918] alongside several others, from different regional contexts. Generally, it can be inferred that all embellishments may have been notated or improvised, depending on the circumstance. Other than the embellishment types listed below, certain elements of compositional technique were also used as quasi-ornamentation, such as triplets, Lombard rhythms ('Scotch snaps'), syncopations, *tempo rubato,*[919] and others. *Tempo rubato*, literally 'stolen tempo,' and later in German referred to as 'Taktfreiheit'[920] (freedom of metre), gave the performer an 'occasion to ponder,'[921] a particular method (in the Italian style) of 'anticipating of a note.'[922] Tosi described *tempo rubato* in singing, stating that singers who have not been educated in accompanying and composition thus lack the necessary sense of metre:

> Er merkt aber nicht, daß die größte Schwierigkeit und Schönheit der Singkunst just in dem besteht, was ihm noch fehlet. Es fehlet ihm diejenige Kunst, welche lehret Zeit zu gewinnen, um sie wieder verlieren zu können. Sie ist eine Frucht der Compositionswissenschaft; aber nicht so schmackhaft als die, vermittelst deren man Zeit zu verlieren weis, um sie wieder gewinnen zu können. Diese ist eine sinnreiche Erfindung derer, so die Tonsetzkunst verstehen, und den besten Geschmack besitzen.

[915] Bach 1753.
[916] Mattheson 1739.
[917] Johann Joachim Quantz. 1780. *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* 2. Edition. Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn.
[918] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1760, 1974 (reprint). *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* Vol. 1. Berlin: F. W. Birnstiel; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1761. *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen. Zweyter Theil, worinnen die Lehre vom Accompagnement abgehandelt wird*. Berlin: Haude und Spener; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1762. *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* 4. Edition. Berlin: Haude und Spener; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1764, 1974 (reprint). *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* Vol. 2. Berlin: F. W. Birnstiel; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1765. *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönern Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäß* 2. Edition. Berlin: Haude und Spener.
[919] Galeazzi counts *tempo rubato* among *galant* techniques – after Smiles 1978, p. 508.
[920] L.B. 1866. 'Bemerkungen über das Quartettspiel' in: Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung Vol. 14 No. 3, p. 17-20, here p. 17.
[921] Johann Joachim Quantz. 1752. *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, p. 146.
[922] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. 1755. *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen der schönern Ausübung dr heutigen Zeit gemäß*. Berlin: Haude und Spener, p. 83.

> Yet, he does not perceive that the greatest difficulty and beauty of the art of singing lies precisely in that which he still lacks. He lacks that art which teaches how to gain time, in order to be able to lose it again. It is a fruit of the science of composition, though not so agreeable as that by which one knows how to lose time, in order to gain it again. The latter is a clever invention of those who understand the art of composition and possess the finest taste.[923]

Marpurg attempts to divide embellishments into two categories. He differentiates between *Spielmanieren* (manners of playing) and *Setzmanieren* (manners of composition). While he admits that the lines between the two are somewhat blurred, the general idea is to distinguish them by their placement within the music. *Spielmanieren* were indicated merely with signs or shorter notes (grace notes, in modern parlance). *Setzmanieren*, on the other hand, were intended to be fully written out and fully integrated into the rhythmic structure of the bar. *Spielmanieren* were an (extemporised) imitation and utilisation of *Setzmanieren*; by being added to a *cantabile* line they should make the sounds more pleasant for the listener, stating:

> Man hat bemerket, daß es nicht genug ist, eine Anzahl vorgeschriebner Klänge nach ihrer blossen Folge hintereinander, in dem Wehrte ihrer Zeit abzuspielen. Man hat befunden, daß es nöthig wäre, diese Folge dem Gehöre auf eine angenehme Art fühlbar zu machen, und der Composition das ihr annoch anklebende Rauhe dadurch zu benehmen.
>
> It has been observed that it is not enough to simply play a series of prescribed sounds in succession, following their given order and duration. It has been found necessary to make this sequence perceptible to the ear in a pleasing manner and to remove the roughness that still clings to the composition.[924]
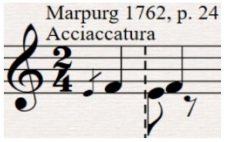
A similar distinction, albeit without specific terminology, underpins CPE Bach's views. He simply describes two classes of 'manners' – those that are referenced with a sign or a few small notes, and those that do not have a short-hand sign and are written out with many short notes.
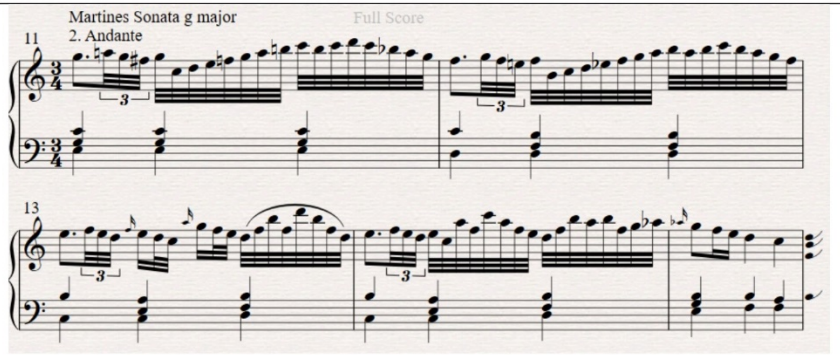
[923] Peter Franz Tosi, Johann Friedrich Agricola (ed.). 1757. *Anleitung zur Singkunst*. Berlin: Georg Ludwig Winter, p. 225.
[924] Marpurg 1765, pp. 36f.
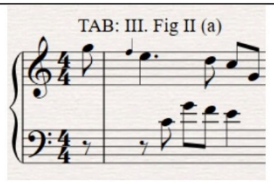
Because the latter required little commentary, being notated (except when improvised as a fermata-embellishment) and undergoing constant change, Bach mostly wrote about the former group – which he considered more long-lived and constant.[925] Mattheson, too, mentions the ever-changing nature of embellishments. He conveys that manners and musical embellishments are numerous and change according to taste and experience. They are reliant on practice and good judgement. Some embellishments in particular are maintained, standing the test of time, and are not dependent on some individual's taste. One of those would be the appoggiatura.

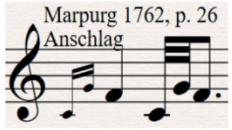
[925] Bach 1753, p. 67.
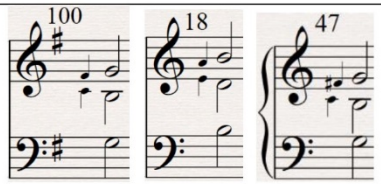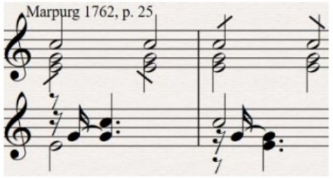
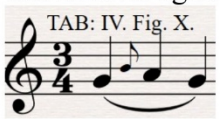
Table 7: 18th-century theorists on embellishments.
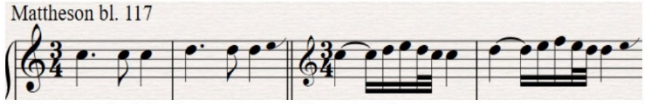
Name	Other terms	Descriptions and examples
acciaccatura	Zusammenschlag, pincé étouffé, acciaccatura (Marpurg 1762, pp. 23f) Acciacatur – a specialty mordent (J. Mattheson 1739, p. 119.)	Marpurg 1762: ~ belongs to the *Spielmanieren*. The ~ is notated as a little appoggiatura note that is 'crossed out;' both notes are played simultaneously but the lower one is to be released immediately and only the upper one is held – see Ornament 1:  *Ornament 1: Marpurg, Acciaccatura.* Marpurg's ~ is similar to Bach's conception of the 'ultra-short' mordent (Ornament 14) Mattheson 1739: Like Bach, Mattheson identifies ~ as a 'specialty mordent' that will only occur in the piano when playing fully-voiced figured bass ('im Generalbass bey vollen Griffen' – Mattheson 1739, bl. 119).
anticipation, or repetition	Wiederholung (CPE Bach)	Bach 1753: Bach writes about it in his chapter on appoggiaturas – appoggiatura at times repeat the previous note. Reasonable repetition makes music amiable (Bach 1753, *Versuch* Vol. 1, pp. 62f).
harmonic anticipation, or abrupt modulation	Rückung (CPE Bach)	Bach 1762: Anticipation of harmonies (Bach 1762, *Versuch* Vol. 2, pp. 219f). Example from Martines Sonata in G major, II. mvt., bb. 11f:

		 *Ornament 2: Martines, Sonata G major, II. mvt., bb. 11-15.* Left hand uses harmonic (7-6) anticipation, like a continuo group, while right hand takes on role of soloist.
appoggiatura	Vorschlag, Anschlag (CPE Bach) Accent, Vorschlag, le port de voix (J. Mattheson) Vorschlag; specialty *Vorschlag*: Uberschlag [sic] (J. J. Quantz) Vorschlag, port de voix; specialty *Vorschlag*: Anschlag, Doppelvorschlag (F. W. Marpurg)	<u>Bach 1753:</u> The ~ is one of the 'most necessary' mannerisms ('Die Vorschläge sind eine der nöthigsten Manieren,' Bach 1753, p. 62). The main purpose of the ~ is to improve the melody and harmony (p. 62), they can go either direction – up or down (p. 63). The notation varies: Sometimes an ~ is written like every other note, sometimes composers use smaller notes – they assert themselves differently or are simply shorter. Formerly, all ~ were written as quavers, but now (Bach's time) they are written according to their true value. (p. 63). An ~ is played louder than the following note, creating a *sospiro*-effect, regardless of whether or not there is a ligature above the two notes (p. 64). They are often used in an even bar on the downbeat (see Ornament 3), before final trills, half cadences, caesuras, fermatas, the final note, or slow dotted notes (pp. 64f).
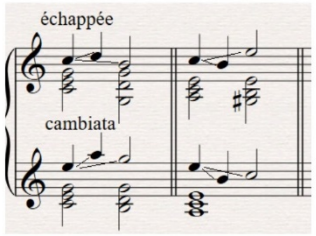
		 *Ornament 3: Bach, Vorschlag.* The *Anschlag* makes vocal lines more pleasing (p. 104). Bach 1762: ~ is one of the most noble embellishments. The rules of good recitation demand that it is strong and the withdrawal soft (p. 185). When a solo (non-keyboard) voice uses a lot of ~, the right hand of the accompaniment does not play all of them unison with the solo voice, so as to not darken said voice (p. 210). Mattheson 1739: *Accente* can be ascending and descending, single and double; nowadays (1739) they are often jumping anywhere from a fourth to an octave, He differentiates between *springende Accente* (jumping) and *Stuffen-Accente* (stepping). The former, quoting Heinichen, can be used on any interval, the latter is connected to seconds. (bl. 113). The character of an ~ is mocking, brittle, cheeky, and haughty ('spöttisch, spröde, frech, hochmüthig,' bl. 112). Quantz 1780: considers ~ among the most important mannerisms ('wesentlichen Manieren').

		Especially for the galant style, ~ play an important role in 'cheering up' ('aufmuntern' Quantz 1780, p. 77) the melody by adding brief moments of dissonance to the style-defining majority of consonances (p. 77). If something is to sound flattering, it needs ~ (p. 117). Marpurg 1762: are part of the *Spielmanieren* (as opposed to Setzmanieren). there are fast and slow ~, fast ones are written with a semiquaver, slow ones with a quaver, crotchet, or minim – depending on its length. The ~ always has to come in on the beat of the main note. (p. 22) A speacialty ~ is the 'Anschlag' or 'Doppelschlag,' as depicted in Ornament 4:  *Ornament 4: Marpurg, Doppelschlag.* Mancini 1774: 'The value of the simple ~ should be half of the note on which it falls,' in case of an inequal value, the ~ will be worth two-thirds (after Smiles 1978, p. 499). Lorenzoni 1779: ~ express softness. There should not be too many ~ in a happy piece (after Smiles 1978, p. 502). Martines makes ample use of ~, especially (but not exclusively in slow movement). Often slow ~ before the last note of a section or mvt. – see Ornament 5:
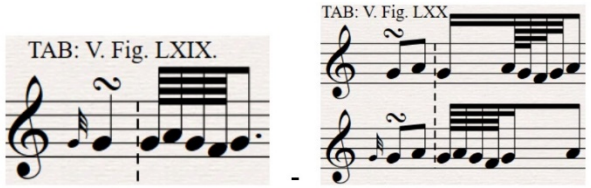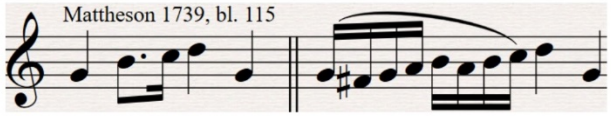
		 *Ornament 5: Martines, G major Sonata, I. mvt., b. 100; II. mvt. bb. 18 & 47.*
arpeggio	Zergliederung, Brechung, arpeggio (F. W. Marpurg)	Marpurg 1762: belongs to the *Spielmanieren* (p. 25)  *Ornament 6: Marpurg, arpeggio.* Marpurg 1765: unlike other 'gebrochene Manieren,' here you play the notes one after another but keep holding them so the entire chord sounds at the end (p. 59)
auxiliary note	[German: Wechselnote]	Bach 1753: Does not specifically name ~ but uses them in an example of how to place an appoggiatura; Bach circumscribes ~ by saying 'wenn ein Ton um eine Secunde steigt und alsdann wieder zurückgeht,'('if a note rises by a second and then returns again' Bach 1753, pp. 66f) – see Ornament 7:  *Ornament 7: Bach, appoggiatura & auxiliary note.* He also gives an example of a slow mordent (see 'mordent') that one could read as an ~ (Bach 1753, p. 103 and TAB VI. Fig. LXXIX).
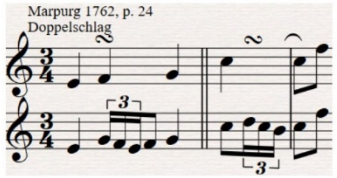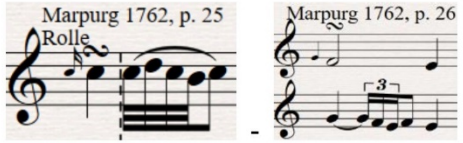
bombi	Bombi (J. Mattheson 1739, bl. 120 – only names them but does not describe them)	'bumblebees' (Italian) Four identical notes in rapid succession (Source: http://www.musicapoetica.net/figures.htm, accessed 2021-05-13); may also refer to a particular type of organ stop, also known as Hautbois, or Bombardo (Jakob Adlung. 1758. *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit theils vor alle Gelehrte, so das Band aller Wissenschaften einsehen; theils vor die Liebhaber der edlen Tonkunst überhaupt; theils und sonderlich vor die, so das Clavier vorzüglich lieben; theils for die Orgel=und Instrumentmacher*. Erfurt: Jungnicol Sen., pp. 427f.).
circolo mezzo	Halb-Circkel, Circolo mezzo (J. Mattheson)	Mattheson 1739: similar to the gruppetto [Bach's version] but symmetrical and not descending below the main note (in an ascending ~). Best used at the end or where there are multiple unisonos (bl. 116).  *Ornament 8: Mattheson, ascending circolo mezzo.*
conducimento	Conducimento (F. Galeazzi after Smiles 1978, p. 506)	Galeazzi 1791: Often improvised; ~ consist of a portion of a scale that connects two notes that are usually a 5th or 6th (but also other large intervals) apart; Often used in *cantabile* movements; May be combined with other ornaments (e.g. mordents) – so that the end result will not only be a 'simple scale'. It should sound 'agreeable and charming' (Galeazzi after Smiles 1978, pp. 505f).
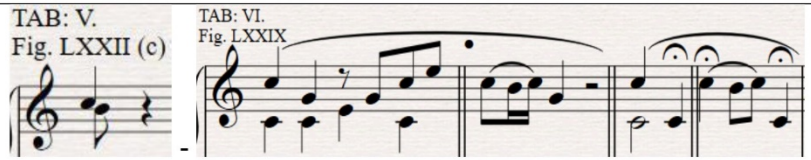
diminution	Willkürliche Manieren (Quantz 1754), Zusatz der Auszierungen (Quantz 1780) Passi, willkürliche Veränderung (P. F. Tosi / J. F. Agricola) Gorgheggio (V. Manfredini) Le grandi variazioni arbitrarie (A. Lorenzoni) Smiles (1978, pp. 501f) also refers to them as 'unprescribed ornaments'	Quantz 1780: embellishments, regardless of whether they are necessary or random ('willkürlich'), can never contradict the affect of the main melody (Quantz 1780, p. 107). Manfredini 1797: ~ should not be used in recitatives (after Smiles 1978, pp. 501f). Lorenzoni 1779: knowing the rules of harmony, and possessing invention and the ability to improvise are necessary to play/sing good arbitrary variations. Some rules for arbitrary variations are: 1) before improvising embellishments one must be able to play the music as written; 2) only principal/solo parts that are sparsely accompanied should improvise; 3) variations are there to improve the melody (otherwise, do not play them); 4) if a melody is repeated, play the simple melody first before adding variations – does not preclude use of appoggiaturas, trills, mordents (after Smiles 1078, pp. 502-4). Galeazzi 1791: creating rules for ~ is impossible, they depend on the genius and style of the performer (after Smiles 1978, p. 506); Tempo rubato and syncopations are also possible as improvised figures and alterations; Repeated passages should be varied, though, the first time the melody appears it should be played simple (after Smiles 1978, p. 508).
échappée	/	~ is an unaccented, non-harmonic note that is wedged in-between a chord and its resolution. When the 'layover note' is approached in the direction opposite to the resolution it is an échappée. If the middle note and the resolution are approached in the same direction, it is a nota cambiata (See Grove Music Online Echappée https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08512, accessed 2021-04-20 and William Drabkin 'None harmonic note'

		https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20039, accessed 2021-04-20). Grove music gives provides an example, comparing the two – see Ornament 9:  *Ornament 9: comparison échappée & nota cambiata.*
fermata	Fermata (CPE Bach) Tenuta, Tenuten (pl) (J. Mattheson) Fermate, Ruhezeichen, Generalpause (F. W. Marpurg)	Bach 1753: not an embellishment per se but providing occasion for the use of them (p. 112). Three different kinds of ~: 1) above the second to last note; 2) above the last note [of a section] of the bass; 3) above a break after the last note. Ad 3) appears mostly in Allegros – to be played simple. Ad 1) & 2) particularly in slower and expressive pieces – needs to be embellished (p. 113). Mattheson 1739: derived from 'tenuë' (French). Mixing slow and fast trills as a way to embellish a *Tenuta* (bl. 115). Tenuta often starts off with a Ribattuta that grows increasingly fast and ends with a trill (bl. 118) – see Ornament 17. Marpurg 1765: can be held as long as one pleases (p. 26).

grace note	Nachschlag (C. P. E. Bach)	Bach 1753: they are often not specifically notated; ~ has to be as fast as the preceding trill; Some instances do not require a ~, e.g. fast descending lines or triplets (pp. 74f). Any 'mediocre' ear will hear where to use a ~ or not ('Ein mittelmäßige Ohr wird allezeit empfinden, wo der Nachschlag gemacht werden kan oder nicht,' Bach 1753, p. 76).
gruppetto, or turn	Manier, Doppelschlag (CPE Bach) Groppo, das Trauben-Zierrath, Cadentzen (J. Mattheson) Doppelschlag, doublé, Rolle, Groppo (F. W. Marpurg)	Bach 1753: refers to it as *Manier* [suggestive of how commonly it was used if he equated the word for embellishment, *Manier*, with this particular type of embellishment (Bach 1753, p. 69)]. Categorised foremost as an embellishment for singing – it 'renders the singing pleasant and lustrous' ('Der Doppelschlag ist eine leichte Manier, welche den Gesang zugleich angenehm und gläntzend macht,' Bach 1753, p. 85). It can be combined with an upper mordent – either before (p. 92) or after (p. 86); this combination is one of the rare embellishments suitable for the bass (p. 95). Commonly overused and abused by musicians; Non-pianists often do not know/use the sign of the ~ and use the sign for the mordent or trill instead (p. 89); Cannot replace the ordinary trill on a long note, as they are different in character and the gruppetto is usually played faster (p. 87); Trill and ~ may at times be similar but two big differences are, 1) the last note of the ~ is not quickly tied to the following note, and 2) in slow pieces the ~ may

		intentionally be ‘dimmed’ (‘matt gemacht’ Bach 1753, p. 90) – to heighten its *cantabile* quality. A special case is the ‘geschnellter Doppelschlag’ (/ ‘prallender Doppelschlag’): in fast tempo this will be more comfortable than a trill – see Ornament 10:  *Ornament 10: Bach, geschnellter Doppelschlag; regular vs. 'geschnellter' Doppelschlag.* Mattheson 1739: etymologically derived from the Italian word ‘groppo’ – conjuring up the image of a cluster/ things that are tightly assembled or pile up Referred to as *Cadentzen* not because they are cadences but because they are often used at the end of a melody. Can be used in a multitude of was – not only as part of the melody, but entire passages can be made up of them Mattheson’s example for a *Groppo* consists of eight notes – two times four/ quasi two grupp (Mattheson 1739, p. 115) – see Ornament 11:  *Ornament 11: Mattheson, Groppo.* Marpurg 1762: ~ belongs among the *Spielmanieren*

		Putting the sign directly above or slightly after the main note makes a difference in how ~ is played – see Ornament 12:  *Ornament 12: Marpurg, Doppelschlag.* There is a difference between the *Doppelschlag* and the *Rolle*; the latter is a *Doppelschlag* with an upbeat (Marpurg 1762, pp. 24f):  *Ornament 13: Marpurg, Rolle; combination appoggiatura + gruppetto.* A trilled *Doppelschlag* is referred to as a *Doppeltriller*. (p. 26)
mordent	Mordent (CPE Bach) Mordant, Beisser (J. Mattheson) Mordent, pincé (F. W. Marpurg)	Bach 1753: ~ are the opposite of *Pralltriller* (see 'trill'). They can be long or short – the signs will slightly differ (p. 98); non-pianists are often unfamiliar with the sign and may confuse it with a trill (p. 57); if the ~ is supposed to be extremely short, both notes are struck at the same time and only the upper note is held, this version will only appear *ex abrupto* (without linkup) – see Ornament 14 (also, see 'acciaccatura'):



Ornament 14: Bach, ultra short mordent; slow mordents.

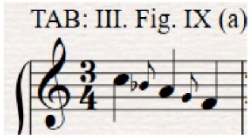
Of all embellishments the ~ is most likely to appear in the bass (which generally uses ornamentation only very sparsely), particularly above ascending notes – in semitones or jumps – and especially when the bass subsequently jumps down an octave (p. 101)
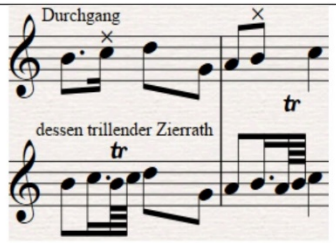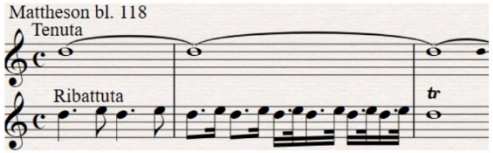
There are slow ~ (Ornament 14) – Bach gives two examples that are written-out mordents, consisting once of a quaver and two semiquavers and the other time of a crotchet with a fermata and two quavers. (p. 103, TAB VI., Fig. LXXIX).
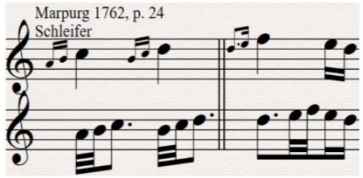
It is often used with stepwise or jumping ascending notes, only rarely with descending jumps, never on falling seconds. (p. 99)

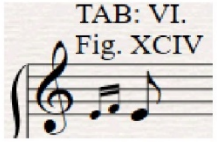
Mattheson 1739: ~ can be used by instrumentalists and singers alike; when sung, the nature of the embellishment is to combine sounds, which is why the (back then) common analogy of 'biting something in two' is not suitable The ~ was often referred to as 'Beisser,' evoking associations of biting and dividing things. Mattheson, obviously unhappy with this analogy, argued, 'daß der Mordant nichtes zu theilen, vielweniger von einander zu brechen hat; sondern daß er vielmehr die Klänge zusammen füget und vereinbaret.' ('That the mordent is not meant to divide anything, much less to break things apart; rather, it is intended to join and unite the sounds together' – Mattheson 1739, p. 119).
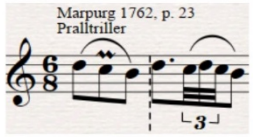
Marpurg 1762: they belong to the *Spielmanieren*.

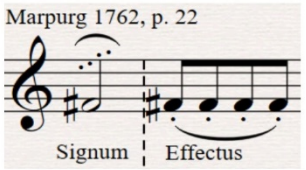
		The length of this embellishment depends on the value of the note above which it has been written.
nota cambiata	[German: abspringende Nebennote]	See 'échappée' The German name is suggestive of what it consists of. The ~ jumps away from the main note and is then often offset be a note going stepwise in the counter direction. Martines often uses ~ as a stylistic-technical ornamentation without the stepwise countermotion. Instead she jumps back to the initial main note.
passaggi	Passaggi (J. Mattheson) Passaggien (J. F. Agricola)	Mattheson 1739: mentions them under 'weitere Manieren' (bl. 120) Collins, Carter: smoothly flowering notes (B. Nettl, R. Wegman, et al. 2001. 'Improvisation' in: *Grove Music Online*: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13738, accessed 2021-05-15).
passing note	Appoggiatura (CPE Bach) Durchgang, transitus, passaggio (J. Mattheson)	Bach 1753: in the context of appoggiaturas, Bach gives guidance on how to play appoggiatura that fill out third-jumps in an adagio as in Ornament 15. Namely, they should be played like quavers of a triplet rather than semiquavers [for the listener they might sound like a ~].  *Ornament 15: Bach, Adagio appoggiatura.* Quantz (1780, p. 78) refers to these as 'durchgehende Vorschläge' (continuous appoggiatura). Mattheson 1739: a 'transitus' occurs when some sounds in the upper voice do not correspond with the bass. He provides an example of ~ and an ornamented version of them with trills – see Ornament 16:

		 *Ornament 16: Mattheson, Durchgang.* In the original music example (Mattheson 1739, p. 118), Mattheson uses demisemiquavers. I changed them to hemidemisemiquavers, as the note values would otherwise not have matched. ~ can also be descending – then they do not need to be decorated with trills (Mattheson 1739, pp. 118f).
pedal point	Orgelpunkt, point d'orgue (CPE Bach)	Bach 1762: ~ often occurs in fugues, at the end of a piece above the fifth or final note, and in the middle of the piece above the fifth or tonic.
quodlibet	Mistichanze (J. Mattheson 1739 p. 120 – does not describe them, only names them)	Humorous stringing together of melodies or sounds found in nature – 'onomatopoeia' (source: https://musikwissenschaften.de/lexikon/q/quodlibet/, accessed 2021-05-13).
ribattuta	Ribattuta (J. Mattheson)	Mattheson 1739: two neighbouring sounds alternating, starting on the lower one which is louder and functions at a kind of quiescent point ('Ruhe-Punkt,' Mattheson 1739, p. 118). A *Tenuta* (see fermata) is often started with a *Ribattuta* (bl. 118) – see Ornament 17:  *Ornament 17: Mattheson, fermata embellished with ribattuta.*

Schleifer	Schleiffer; specialty Schleiffer: punktierter Schleiffer (CPE Bach) Schleuffer, kleine Tirata (J. Mattheson) Schleifer, coulé (F. W. Marpurg)	Bach 1753: The name is suggestive of the delivery ('Ihr Vortrag liegt im Worte angedeutet,' Bach 1753, p. 107) – the notes are being dragged one note to the next; can also be dotted; without a dot, the Schleifer consists of two or three little notes that ring before the main note. The three-note ~ can be referred to with a sign that looks like a reverse gruppetto sign. Used both in fast (filling and gleam – 'Ausfüllung und Schimmer' Bach 1753, p. 108) and very slow (a sad embellishment in adagios, played with a lot of freedom – ibid., p. 107+ and TAB. VI Fig. XCII) tempo. Bach 1762: dotted ~ suspends the harmony even longer, builds up suspense (Bach 1762, p. 236). Mattheson 1739: ~ is a little tirata Marpurg 1762: they belong to the *Spielmanieren*; there are fast and slow versions – see Ornament 18:  *Ornament 18: Marpurg, fast vs. slow Schleifer.*
Schneller	Schneller (CPE Bach) Schneller, pincé renversé (F. W. Marpurg)	Bach 1753: like a mordent but in contrary motion [essentially like a *Pralltriller* but generally written out with small notes] The ~ differs from trills in that it cannot be connected to or part of a slur (Bach 1753, pp. 111f).

		~ is always played fast and has to be thrust (‘gestoßen’ – ibid., p. 111) and with fast notes – see Ornament 19:  *Ornament 19: Bach, Schneller.* Marpurg 1762: ~ belongs among the *Spielmanieren* (Marpurg 1762, p. 25).
tirata	tirata; specialty tirata: Schleuffer – kleine Tirata / little tirata (J. Mattheson)	Mattheson 1739: Very commonly used at the time, etymologically the ~ refers to a shot or arrowshot, rather than a stroke or dash. Most commonly used in the fifth (‘in Pans Qvint’) but can also span an octave; slow scales upwards and downwards should not be referred to as ~ (bl. 117) A ~ invites combinations with different embellishments (bl. 119) Martines: makes frequent use of ~, see e.g. Sonata A major, I. mvt, bb. 3-8 (Example 2).
trill	Triller, ordentlicher Triller (CPE Bach) Trillo, Trilletto, Cadena di Trilli (J. Mattheson) Triller, tremblement, Schneller/Pralltriller	Bach 1753: The proper trill (‘ordentlicher Triller’ – Bach 1753, p. 71) can come from below or above, trills on jumps are usually ordinary trills (p. 80). The upper mordent (‘halber oder Pralltriller,’ ibid., p. 71) is a shorter ~, they only appear before a falling second and do not get a grace note (p. 83). A popular embellishment are third-trills (p. 74). ~ on long notes may be inappropriate if one only plays them so the long note will not be ‘forgotten’ – the trill will be but noise to the spoilt ear that wants to constantly preserve the same sensation; people who make that mistake cannot

	Specialty trill: *Pralltriller* (upper mordent)	think in a 'singing way,' notes keep on singing both on the clavichord and the grand piano if you are not too brief with them (p. 77); ~ liven up the singing and are thus indispensable (p. 71) Mattheson 1739: Nothing graces a melody as much as a properly placed ~ ('nichts ziert eine gute Melodie so sehr als ein wohlangebrachtes Trillo' – Mattheson 1739, p. 115.); a *Trilletto* is a very short ~; a ~ consists of two neighbouring notes being struck sharply and decisively in a very swift way (bl. 114); French singers start the ~ slow, Italians make the ~ fast, strong on short (almost like '*Trilletten*'), except when there is a *Tenuta* (bl. 115). A 'trill-addicted' singer or player should not be given the opportunity to indulge their vice too often ('so hat sich ein Componist oder Capellmeister desto mehr in Acht zu nehmen, daß er einem etwa Trillsüchtigen Sänger oder Spieler nicht gar zu öfftere Gelegenheit in seinen Sätzen dazu gebet,' Mattheson 1739, p. 115). A *Cadena di Trilli* ('chain of ~') consists of stepwise ascending notes, all of which are adorned with trills that are linked together (bl. 114f) – 'onomato-poetic' name. Marpurg 1762: ~ belongs among the *Spielmanieren;* you start it by striking the 'borrowed' note (p. 23). A very short and fast ~ is called *Pralltriller* and is played thus – see Ornament 20:  *Ornament 20: Marpurg, how to play a Pralltriller.*

		Lorenzoni 1779: ~ excites liveliness (as opposed to appoggiaturas that are soft), ~ should not be used too much in a sad piece (after Smiles 1978, p. 502).
vibrato	Tremolo (J. Mattheson) Bebung, Balancement (F. W. Marpurg)	Mattheson 1739: the only way to know when to use it, is for the ear to learn when it should be used. Lutes, violins and Clavichords show that one does not need more than a single main sound ('Haupt-Klang,' Mattheson 1739, p. 114) to play the ~ It should not be confused with trills or *Trillettos* (bl. 114) Marpurg 1762: the *Bebung* can only be played on the clavichord or the *Bogenflügel* but not on the ordinary grand piano (p. 21f). This is how one would notate it and the effect it has – see Ornament 21:  *Ornament 21: Marpurg, Bebung.*
volata	volata (F. Galeazzi) volatina (F. Mancini after Smiles 1978, p. 507)	Galeazzi 1791: a longer (one or two octaves spanning) ascending scale passage, usually placed at the beginning of a phrase (Galeazzi after Smiles 1978, p. 506).

Galant styles

There are probably as many definitions for the term '*galant*' as people attempting to define it. Equally, there was never only *the one galant* style.[926] Rather, our understanding of the term today consists of a retrospectively applied definition. Therefore, this section tries to achieve some terminological clarification. The understanding proposed here is loosely based on Sheldon and Gjerdingen (as mentioned above). Sheldon conceives of the term in a way it might have been used during the 17th and 18th century. Deriving from a stylistic literary movement in France, *galant* style quickly spread to Germany and other European countries and was eventually adopted into music. *Galant* language was richly embellished with truisms and pleasantries, but also strictly regulated (for instance with regards to how people of different standings should be addressed) and heavily gendered. *Galant* literature, as a medium to communicate *galant* ideals, served concrete social functions. *Galant* poetry with its 'elegant banter' came to be associated with salons. From there, *galant* ideas began to effect social behaviour and the term even spilled over into fashion, meaning 'splendidly dressed.'[927] It was not just poetry that was subject to be judged by *galant* standards. Letter writing guides were in vogue in France during the 17th century, and were soon after translated and adapted to German. One such example is Jean Puget de La Serre's 1670 publication *Le secretaire de ce tems contenant*.[928]

The German translation *Secretarius Jetziger Zeit* was edited and printed by Herman von Sand. It contains a series of guidelines for writing personal or business letters, as well as many example letters. The latter are particularly interesting, as they demonstrate the use of gendered language, faintly reminiscent of the perlocutionary acts described in pervious chapters, in the

[926] See Sheldon 1975.
[927] Ibid., pp. 242-8.
[928] Jean Puget de La Serre. 1670. *Secretarius Jetziger Zeit*. Franckfurt: Herman von Sand.

context of Martines's letters.[929] Depending on whether the recipient was a man or a woman, and what standing they had in society, letters with similar content used completely different expressions. For example, a 'Trost=Brief an eine Frau über den Tod ihres Manns' ('condolence letter to a women regarding the death of her husband'),[930] written by a man, expresses condolences to the wife of a Baron (meaning someone from the lower-ranking nobility). In the author's ramblings, he continuously uses sexualised terms ('Liebkosungen, Küsse, Busen, Wollüste'[931]) as metaphors of whatever it is he wishes to express. Below is an excerpt from the letter, which further demonstrates use of gendered language:

> […] Aber ich will auch glauben / daß wann ihn der ersten Schmertzen der Natur ein Genügen geleistet / ihr euch der Wohlthat der Gesetzen begeben werdet / welche den Weibern ein Jahr zu geben ihre Männer zu beweinen. In Wahrheit es ist keine deren Uberschreitung / wegen der Schwachheit die ihnen angeboren ist nicht entschuldige: und sonsten wäre das eine Grausamkeit ihnen diese Erleichterung zu verbieten / welche ihnen so leicht zu nennen ist / dieweilen es wahr / daß gleich wie der Regen den Wind stillet / also das Weinen unsern Seufftzern ein Stille verursachet. Wann ich aber auch bedencke / daß ihr von eurem Geschlecht nichts / als den Leib habt / und man in euch solche Standhafftigkeit deß Gemütz wahrnimt / damit ihr die allerbehertzteste schamroth machen könntet / rühme ich mich billich / daß ich die Mannliche Frau / deren Befindung die Schrifft uns so schwär gemacht / gefunden hab. In Summa man würde eurer Standhafftigkeit unrecht thun / wann man ihr wollte Waffen darreichen.
>
> […] But I also trust / that once the first pangs of natural grief have been satisfied / you will submit to the mercy of the laws / which grant women a year to mourn their husbands. Indeed, there is no transgression of this rule / that cannot be excused / given the weakness innate to their nature. Otherwise, it would be cruel / to forbid them this solace / which comes to them so effortlessly / for it is true / that just as rain calms the wind / so too does weeping bring stillness to our sighs. Yet when I consider / that you possess nothing of your sex but your body / and that one perceives in you such steadfastness of mind / that you could put even the bravest to shame / I may rightfully pride myself / on having found the manly woman / whose existence the scriptures have made seem so rare. In short / it would be an injustice to your steadfastness / to offer it any weapons.[932]

[929] See footnote 831f.
[930] Ibid., pp. 327f.
[931] Caresses, kisses, bosom, lust.
[932] Ibid., pp. 333f.

The passage above demonstrates how the author of the letter explicitly writes about the recipient as a woman, particularly with regards to the mourning period and expressions of bereavement. The way the letter-writer goes about this leaves the modern reader puzzled at what he apparently considered displays of sympathy, while reducing her to her 'physical nature' and body. The height of his 'compliments' is when he calls her a 'manly woman,' as she had apparently demonstrated steadfast countenance after the loss of the 'Baron.' In contrast, another letter in the Secretarius by a man, to a man about the death of his son (p. 337), uses metaphors of nature that carry connotations of strength and growth ('Baum, Wurzel, Frucht, Blüte'[933]), and drawing symbolic comparisons between parenthood and the empire.

The exact meaning of *galant* and gallantry changed over the course of the decades. Early Enlightenment reformers adopted *galant* ideals for themselves;[934] by the beginning of the 18th century, cultural values like clarity and concision became increasingly important. The Enlightenment thinkers also propagated a 'pragmatic urbanity that would accommodate the enjoyment of the beauty and pleasure of the world with traditional cultural values'[935]. A 'galant homme' (gentleman) now meant someone who could judge time, place, and people, in order to conduct themselves genteelly in their actions and *galant* with their words.[936] *Galant* ideals were converging with those of Enlightenment. First and foremost among them was the creation of systematic aesthetic theories that were supposed to 'reconcile' the 'traditional opposition between reason and imagination.'[937]

Another influential 'social guide' that had shaped generations was the 16th-century treatise *Galateo* (1558) by Giovanni della Casa, to which, as already mentioned, Martines specifically referred in her autobiography. She reported to have translated the work from the Italian original

[933] Tree, root, fruit, bloom/prime.
[934] E.g. Christian Thomasius.
[935] Sheldon 1975, p. 243
[936] Barth after Wendland 1930, p. 4.
[937] Simon Gikandi. 2011. *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*. Princeton University Press, p. 7.

to French.[938] Stylistic and ideological (particularly with regards to gender and social hierarchy) elements of *galant* language and related value systems continued to influence the periods that followed; so did *galant* music. This music was, above all, supposed to be 'angenehm,'[939] drawing direct connection to the *Empfindsamer Stil* and forming a continuation of the baroque *Affektenlehre*.[940] CPE Bach's statements regarding *Affekte*, acumen, and truth strongly echoes these values:

> Aus der Menge der Affeckten, welche die Musick erregen kann, sieht man, was für besondre Gaben ein vollkommner Musikus haben müsse, und mit wie vieler Klugheit er sie zu gebrauchen habe, damit er zugleich seine Zuhörer, und nach dieser ihrer Gesinnung den Inhalt seiner vorzutragenden Wahrheiten, den Ort, und andere Umstände mehr in Erwegung ziehe.

> From the wide range of affects that music can evoke, one sees what special gifts an accomplished musician must possess, and with how much acumen he must employ them, so that he simultaneously considers his listeners, and according to their state of mind, the content of his truths he is to present, the setting, and various other circumstances.[941]

Martines's keyboard repertoire

To analyse Martines' keyboard music, I situate her within the style (and embellishment) debate that dominated large parts of the 18th century – and even the early reception of 18th-century music. However, as stated before, the efficacy of specific stylistic labels is not always particularly useful or meaningful. Martines presumably wrote several of her surviving keyboard works during the 1760s (as far as we can reconstruct a timeline, though only her

[938] Autobiographical letter – Appendix 1. Also see Chapter I.i.
[939] 'agreeable/ pleasant.'
[940] Sheldon 1975, p. 259.
[941] Bach 1753, p. 123.

G major sonata, and E major and G major concertos are dated),[942] a period when she also composed most of her sacred music, solo motets, and Italian arias.[943]
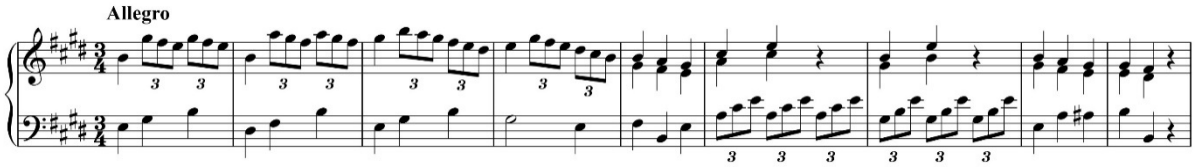
Godt analyses Martines's music almost exclusively through identifying *galant* voice-leading schemas, as defined by Gjerdingen. While it is true that she included *galant* tropes in her music, such as the *Prinner* or the *Sol-Fa-Mi* schema,[944] her approach should not be reduced to the *galant* paradigm. The clarity and simplicity often found in her works appears to be inspired by Metastasio's ideal of *sprezzatura*, as well as Della Casa's aesthetic musings, stating that 'beauty depends, in a great measure, upon unity and simplicity.'[945] Martines's graceful simplicity, with intermittent bursts of elaborately notated embellishments, creates a strong affinity with *galant,* as well as early classical, and classical styles (further demonstrating the very peripheral usefulness of these terms).

That is not to say, though, that she was not influenced by the legacy of the so-called *galant* style. Galuppi, whom she mentioned as a great influence, was considered by many one of the most noteworthy *galant* composers, particularly praised for his keyboard sonatas.[946] Burstein also states that Martines proved to be in 'command of the *lingua franca* of the Galant era,' which she handled 'with impressive creativity.'[947] Indeed, this creativity is demonstrated time and again, in her varied use and combination of schemata and other *galant* elements.[948] For instance, the opening of the third movement of her sonata in A major opens with a variation on the *Jupiter*, with its characteristic do-ti-[ti]-do bass line and do-re-fa-mi in the top voice, and a passo indiretto in bb. 6-7 where the bass falls fa-mi and the top voice la-sol (see Example 30).[949]

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[942] Godt 2010, p. 264.
[943] Godt 2010, p. 35.
[944] Godt 1010, pp. 35f and Gjerdingen 2007.
[945] De La Casa, unknown (transl.) 1774, p. 161.
[946] See Daniel Heartz, Bruce Alan Brown. 'Galant' in: Grove Music: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10512 (accessed 2021-05-25).
[947] Burstein 2020, p. 238.
[948] Also see Chapter IV.ii.
[949] Source: https://openmusictheory.github.io/schemataSummary (accessed 2025-03-26).

This example also beautifully demonstrates one of Martines's frequent odd-numbered phrases: the quintessentially 'classical' phrase would commonly be eight or sixteen bars long, Martines often opted for irregular lengths, like this 9-bar phrase.
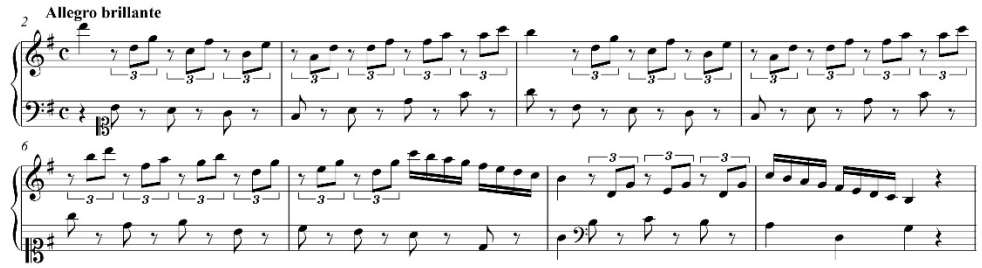


Example 30: Martines, Sonata E major, III. mvt., bb. 1-9.[950]
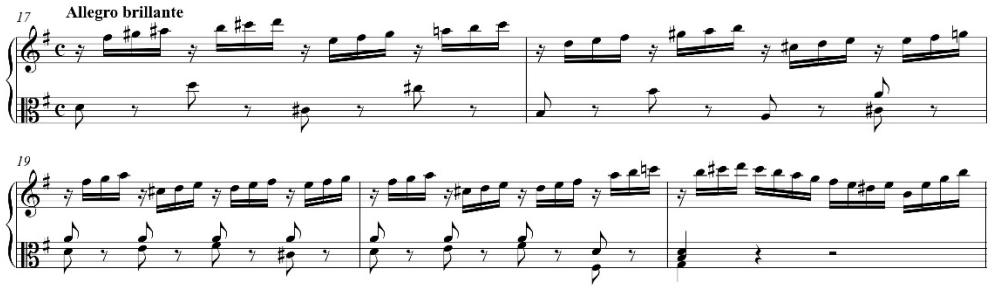
While one may analyse the G major sonata according to the use of *galant* schemata, and note several text-book examples of a *Prinner* (bb. 7ff, bb. 17ff) or the *Sol-Fa-Mi* (bb. 10ff), musical texture and use of ornamentation shall be the focus here. In her G major sonata, Martines notated both *Spielmanieren* and *Setzmanieren*, to use Marpurg's helpful distinction. Belonging to the former category, there are short (semiquaver) and long (crotchet) appoggiaturas, as well as *gruppettos* (for example mvt. I, bb. 23f)[951] and trills. *Setzmanieren*, on the other hand, features extensively in the second movement, with florid lines over a simple continuo-like left hand accompaniment. The first movement contains a fermata over a rest signalling a *Generalpause* (fermatas over rests were usually 'simple vorgetragen;'[952] not embellished). The second movement ends with a fermata over the final double barline, suggesting that the third movement was not intended to be played *attacca* or start too quickly after the slow movement – something otherwise popular in music of the time, to create a *subito*-effect with the suddenly faster tempo. The second movement also uses some 'alternative' ornamentation methods mentioned by Galeazzi, such as syncopations. Lombard rhythms, typical for *galant* writing, for which other pieces by Martines show considerable fondness (such as the keyboard concerto in A major), are absent from the G major sonata. Triplets are heard throughout the piece – so

[950] All excerpts of E major Sonata transcribed from Haffner *Raccolta* Vol. IV.
[951] The gruppetto generally being a 'fast' ornament (see embellishment table), suggests that on repeating this passage the performer may choose to substitute it with other embellishments of the same affect.
[952] Bach 1753, p. 113.
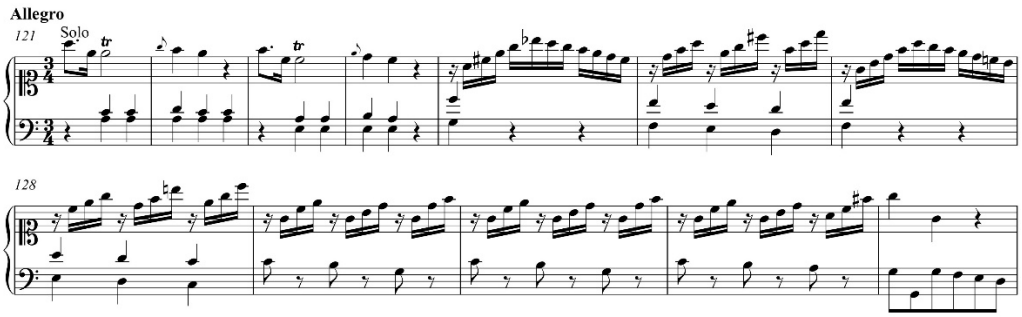
much so that the alternation between 3- and 4-part division of crotchets appears thematically dominant throughout the piece. This becomes clear from the very start, when Martines juxtaposes two sections of similar texture within the exposition. Both consist of the left hand marking each beat with a quaver while the right hand has a rest. The right hand then responds once with two triplet-quavers; the next time with three semiquavers (see Example 31 and Example 32). The character of these sections differs: one is an arpeggiated sequence of 6-3 chords; the other a partial filling of triads in root position. A stark contrast is therefore created between these phrases that otherwise bear a resemblance in terms of structure and playing technique.



Example 31: Martines, Sonata G major, I. mvt., bb. 2-9.



Example 32: Martines, Sonata G major, I. mvt., bb. 17-21.
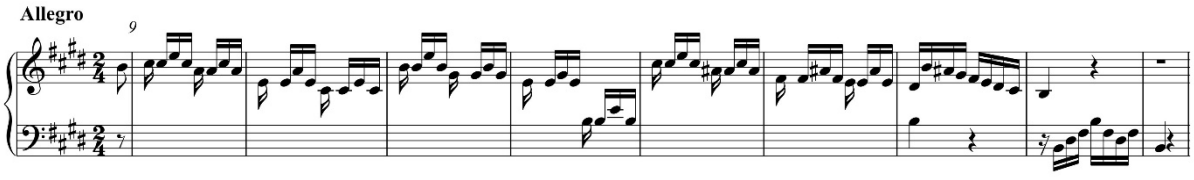


Example 33: Martines, Concerto C major, III. mvt., bb. 121-132.[953]

[953] All excerpts of C major Concerto transcribed from manuscript at A-WGM, VII 12981.
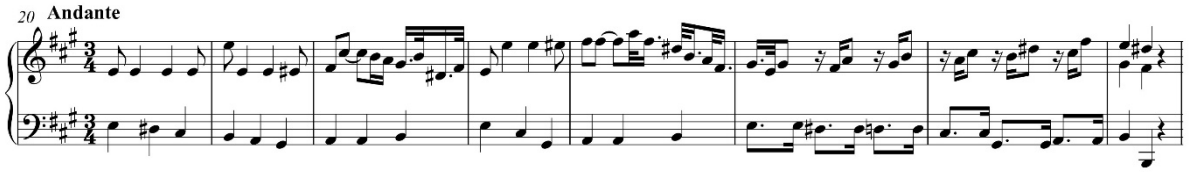
This type of sparsely voiced interplay between the left and right hands was a popular choice in Martines's works. It lets the influence of Italian keyboard composers like Galuppi shine through, whose scores Martines studied since early childhood, as explicitly stated in her autobiographical letter.[954] Many different varieties can be found, especially in her keyboard sonatas but also on occasion the concertos (for instance Example 33). The E major sonata alone contains contrasting versions of this element in all three movements, tying the movements together yet keeping them distinct from each other (see Example 34, Example 35, Example 36). The passage in the second movement (see Example 35) is marginally different, suggesting itself as slightly polyphonous with the held notes in left and right hands. This, however, serves as a way to emphasise the use of the motif (bb. 25f) as a variation and alteration of the bass line voice leading in the preceding Romanesca – a schema that is central to the movement, ringing in exposition, development, and recapitulation. The A major sonata is less consistent in its use of such thinly voiced passages, but also implements a comparable motif in the first movement: it is the only one to specify the use of *Spielmanieren*. Example 37 is from the development section: an extended variation of a similar section introduced in the exposition. This passage, too, hints at implied polyphony with its jumps between octaves and the interplay between hands. Further, it plays with the characteristic *Prinner* voice-leading; except it switches top and bottom voice with left hand playing 6-5-4-3 and right hand a slightly offset 4-3-2-1 (see Example 38). These passages appear initially minimalistic, but in comparison are yet another trace of Martines's own approach to *sprezzatura*. While each passage may seem plainly easy by itself, together they convey a sense of deep dedication to every note. This great variety found in iterations of a unifying idea suggests careful attention and intense labour

[954] Compare e.g. to Galuppi keyboard pieces at SBB, Mus.ms. 6997.
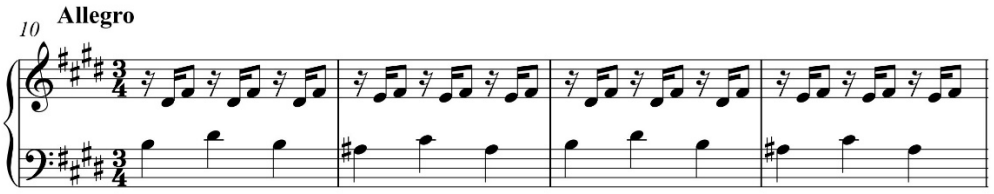
invested in these ostensibly simple passages, reminiscent of Metastasio's working mode under the banner of *sprezzatura*.[955]
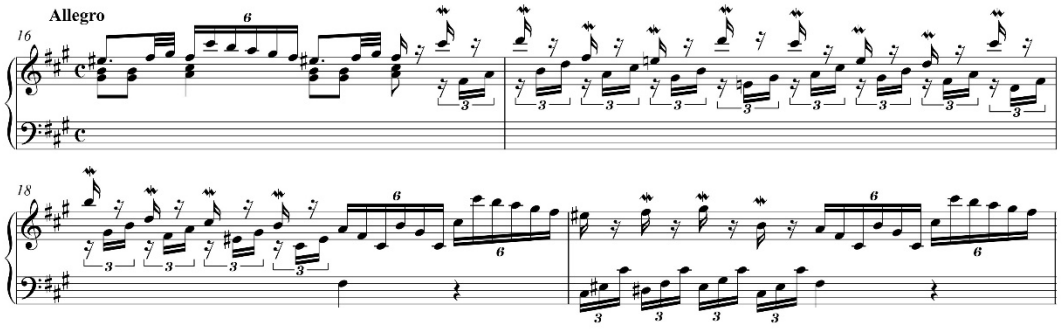


Example 34: Martines, Sonata E major, I. mvt., bb. 9-17.
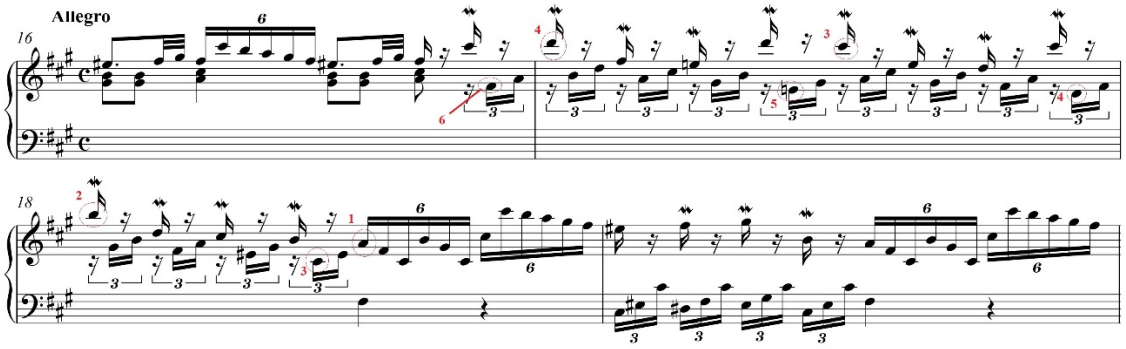


Example 35: Martines, Sonata E major, II. mvt., bb. 20-27.



Example 36: Martines, Sonata E major, III. mvt., bb. 10-13.



Example 37: Martines, Sonata A major, I. mvt., bb. 16-19.



Example 38: Martines, Sonata A major, I. mvt., bb. 16-19 - Prinner.

[955] See footnotes 97, 98.

Returning to the G major sonata, it does not surprise that Martines mostly abstained from articulation or dynamic markings when considering her main instrument at home was the harpsichord. As Levin pointed out, compositional 'language of a period is intimately related to its instruments of execution.'[956] The first movement contains a few staccato marks and pikes[957] and the second some legato slurs. Playing 'pure' legato understandably created difficulties on the harpsichord; but this did not deter composers from venerating the ideal of a *cantabile* sound as demonstrated by singers. Quantz specified that every instrumentalist should strive to play *cantabile* in the way a good singer would; something her opera-composer teachers would have stressed as well. On the other hand, singers should try to capture some of the inner fire that instrumentalists possess in lively sections.[958] Slurs in 'cimbalo' pieces could very well mean *legato-cantabile*, then. They also served to group notes together, aiding phrasing, as well as instructing the performer to play the notes under the slur *espressivo.*[959]

The second movement of the G major sonata, structured in ternary form, provides useful insight to Martines's view of keyboard ornaments and her idea of them as vocal in conception. Martines embodies the ideal of a composer that Mattheson proposed; namely one that knows how to sing.[960] The right hand takes on a soloistic role, driving the melodic development with great *cantabile* quality, while the left sticks to the role of quasi-accompanist. Over a g minor chord in root position, the melody opens on the dominant (Example 3). A written-out turn centring on D, as well as an arpeggiated triad from D'' to D''' further emphasises this pitch.

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[956] Levin 1992, p. 221.
[957] 'Keile' (German).
[958] 'Ein jeder Instrumentist muß sich bemühen, das Cantable so vorzutragen, wie es ein guter Sänger vorträgt. Der Sänger hingegen muß im Lebhaften, das Feuer guter Instrumentisten, so viel die Singstimme dessen fähig ist, zu erreichen suchen,' Quantz 1780, p. 110.
[959] Different piano schools and traditions occasionally (/constantly) disagree on how various articulation marks should be understood. Personally, I hold with those that equate legato with quasi-espressivo. Also, staccato marks do not necessarily mean 'shorter' or 'sharp' (nor do wedges necessarily mean 'staccatissimo' – especially in an 18th-century context). I, along with those of similar musical upbringing, suggest that staccato should for the most part be read as 'lighter' – which may or may not result in 'shorter' notes – but must not be confused with a marcato (sharp, emphasised) sound.
[960] Mattheson 1739, p. 105.

The tonic note G only falls on an emphasised beat in b. 2; however, is merely a suspended note that leads, again with a written turn, to the tonic note of an inverted F major chord. A variation of the opening bar is introduced in b. 3, again centring melodically around D. However, this time it appears over the first inversion of a D major chord. Instead of the arpeggiated triad, an ascending and descending scale, delineated at the top with an auxiliary note, affirms the dominant harmony; only to return to g minor, confirmed by a cadence, in b. 4. Instead of coming to a rest on the inverted tonic chord on the third beat, the right hand melody carries one away again with an ascending melodic minor scale into three bars of 'post-cadential expansion.'[961] Bb. 5f emphasise once more the dominant pitch in the melody; first within the g minor context, then again shifting to D major. Finally, the first phrase ends in b. 7 on a cadence in D major.

In a rare moment of melodic autonomy, the left hand pulls the music forward with a brief auxiliary note interjection on D'. These brief left hand 'solos' are reminiscent of Martines's orchestral scores, for instance her A major keyboard concerto (e.g. II. mvt., bb. 16ff), where the bass group occasionally inserts itself in similar ways. Here, it functions as a transition to the next phrase, introducing new melodic material, now in the relative major, B-flat major. The right hand melody opens with a mordent on the new (temporary) tonic pitch, B-flat. Following the opening bar model, beats two and three confirm the harmonic sphere; this time with sextuplets ascending up to B'' (and C''' as a grace note). B. 9 sees the melody briefly landing on D again, now as the mediant of B-flat major. The left hand enjoys another fleeting moment of soloistic expression on beat three, with an arpeggiated B-flat major triad leading to the varied repetition of the 'mordent bar.' Just like the opening phrase, the first bar of the two-bar model (bb. 1f and bb. 8f) is repeated (b. 10), and the model is subsequently augmented into a multi-

[961] Barbara Dobretsberger. 2016. *Formenlehre. Formen der Instrumentalmusik: Ein Handbuch für Studierende und andere Neugierige*. Wien: Doblinger.

bar structure. From b. 11, a sequence chain commences. Each bar starts with the opening turn motive from b. 1, now descending stepwise. The bassline supports the sequence through use of suspended notes, preparing the bar-wise modulations. Finally, in the third beat of b. 14 B-flat major appears again and is confirmed in a drawn-out cadence that brushes the (temporary) dominant F major briefly in b. 15 and lands, after two bars of pre-cadential expansion,[962] back on a root-position B-flat major chord in b. 18.

What can further be inferred from this movement is the likely range of the instrument Martines used while composing. The tessitura never ascends beyond D'''. If that is not sufficient proof that D is the highest note on this instrument (for the range of the piece may after all be simply an artistic choice), looking at the opening of the middle section of the movement at hand, b. 19 is an exact imitation of b. 1, now in the relative major. The imitation is perfect, except for the arpeggiated triad which should range from F'' to F''' however, it only ascends up to D'''.

In order to be able to add embellishments in a style authentic to both themselves and the composer, the modern performer of 18th-century music should familiarise themselves with the composer's idiosyncratic language. Levin criticises modern performances for generally lacking improvised elements. He holds competition and recording culture responsible, for even if embellishments are added, they are a 'product of careful preparation.'[963] Arguably, acoustic expectations shaped by heavily edited recordings have changed contemporary audiences (and juries), justifying certain precautions a performer may want to take. Preparing embellishments does not necessarily negate a sense of spontaneity. On the contrary, one may develop a variety of different ornamentations for one piece and decide in the moment – depending on the atmosphere, instrument, and overall mood – which ones to choose. While some 18th-century writers cautioned against excessive ornamentation, this is rather indicative of the contemporary

[962] Ibid.
[963] Levin 1992, p. 221.

practice of excessively long improvisations and embellishments performers would indulge in back then.[964] Nowadays, within traditional 'competition culture,' performers are generally far from running the danger of 'over-embellishing.' The misplaced reverence with which the printed text is nowadays often treated, commonly referred to as *Werktreue*, has a paralysing effect on modern performers – especially when it comes to pieces by Mozart and similarly established composers.[965] This goes against what musicians of the time, such as CPE Bach, believed: they explicitly wrote 'variation upon repetition is indispensable today. It is expected of every performer. The public demands that practically every idea be repeatedly altered.'[966] It may be a while before the more conservative 'piano experts,' who often still hold powerful positions in piano competition juries, fully accept individual embellishments in Mozart's music again. However, playing lesser-known pieces with personalised ornamentation is less controversial and nowadays mostly well-received, even in the conservative milieu of conservatoires. This might be a way forward to allow people to get used to increasingly varied ornamentation of 18th-century music overall.

Improvised or added embellishments are fundamentally personal. They need to be experienced in a somatic and tactile way, meaning that what might sound convincing in one person's performance may not work for someone else: more than just play, one needs to embody embellishments. While the integrity of composer and composition should, of course, be kept at all times, the performer would be well advised to choose embellishments that play to their strengths. After all, the 'validity of [the] practice depends upon the skill with which it is carried out.'[967] In order for personal embellishments to sound authentic and 'of the same language' as

[964] Levin 2001.
[965] Also see Karen Leistra-Jones. 2013. 'Staging Authenticity: Joachim, Brahms, and the Politics of Werktreue Performance' in*: Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 66 No. 2, pp. 397-436.
[966] Bach after Michael Collins, Robert E. Seletsky. 2001. 'Improvisation. Western Art Music. The Baroque Period. Later italianate embellishments' in: *Grove Music*: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13738 (accessed 2021-05-15).
[967] Levin 1992, p. 222.

the composers,' the idiosyncrasies of the piece need to be considered. Among the most basic is the range of the instrument it would have been performed on.[968] Further, certain embellishments stand out in a particular composer's style and should be considered, for example when playing variations of a repeated melody. In summary, as Galeazzi said: 'the most skilful performer […] knows how to enter the mind of the composer.'[969] In concluding this section, I present a practical case study of the G major sonata containing some added embellishments, accessible via this link:

> 'Marianna Martines Sonata G major – Judith Valerie Engel (live)': https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kCV3Cs8Y1eU

This is not intended as *the* definitive version or instructional guide for others to copy. Hence, I am not including a written-out version of these embellishments. As stated above, embellishments need to be highly personalised. This case study is merely to suggest spots that appear prone to variation upon repetition, or may benefit from some added *Manieren*. This version is played on the modern piano (though I did not go beyond the keyboard tessitura of the time[970]), which means that in addition to embellishments, and also dynamics and articulation, need to be considered and utilised to create a varied sound. Generally, I would suggest that the *ossia* embellishments that go beyond adding the occasional trill or grace note should only be played in repeated sections,[971] and should be used with caution in non-repeated

[968] Also see Levin 1992, p. 224.
[969] Galeazzi after Smiles 1978, p. 505.
[970] Pianos of Martines' time (if not her own) usually spanned from F' to around G'''. By the time she died, after the turn of the century, pianos had developed to span up to six octaves, the top note being the F'''' – Philipp R. Belt, Maribel Meisel, Alfons Huber. 'Pianoforte. Germany and Austria' in: Grove Music: https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21631 (accessed 2021-05-28).
[971] Modern performance practice suggests that the second half of two-part sonatas, consisting of development and recapitulation, is generally not repeated (even if repeat marks are written at the end of the recap), unless the composer included two different endings, or the performer feels strongly about adding a distinctly altered version.

sections. This follows the guidelines set up by Lorenzoni and others when they ordered that: 'no variations should be made without first playing the simple [meaning unaltered] melody,' for 'unless you do so, the listener will not be able to judge them as variations.'[972]

IV.ii Embodiment and somatic epistemology

Outline

Body techniques and embodiment are central to a holistic understanding of musical performance,[973] they take on even deeper meaning when discussing the music of a composer-performer such as Martines. One of the most noteworthy publications pertaining to scholarship on performance analysis and embodiment in music is Le Guin's book *Boccherini's Body,*[974] which focuses on the physicality of Boccherini's cello playing and a new and deeper understanding of the repertoire through this analytic approach. A similar notion is echoed by Ege, who frames embodiment 'in theory or practice' as a useful tool that 'can enter our analytical and interpretative approaches.'[975] When deliberating Martines's keyboard music, a lot of which she wrote for herself as primary performer, a deeper engagement with ideas of embodiment and body techniques is beneficial. It is also worth remembering how 'musicking is an activity […] which [brings] into existence a set of relationships that model the relationships of our world […] as we wish them to be;' thus, 'musicking is in fact a way of knowing our world […].'[976] It is also a way of knowing ourselves, as we may construct ourselves through (musical) interactions with others: a dialectic understanding of the self that

[972] Lorenzoni after Smiles 1978, p. 504.
[973] Nick Crossley. 2015. 'Music Worlds and Body Techniques: On the Embodiment of Musicking' in: *Cultural Sociology* Vol. 9 No. 4, pp. 471-492.
[974] Elisabeth Le Guin. 2006. *Boccherini's Body. An Essay in Carnal Musicology*. University of California Press.
[975] Samantha Ege. The Aesthetics of Florence Price: Negotiating the Dissonances of a New World Nationalism. PhD Diss. University of York, p. 77.
[976] Small 1998, p. 50.

acknowledges 'the primacy of the *social*, without neglecting the importance of the *individual*.'[977] Doing away with epistemic normativity of 'theoretical analysis' and approaching Martines's music through performance-centred *ways of knowing* allows insights to her musical preferences, pianistic abilities, and overall self-fashioning of her stage persona. With this approach, I acknowledge 'bodies as agents of knowledge production.'[978] These include not only the performers of Martines's music today, but also Martines herself: thus exists – to a degree – a sense of shared knowledge between the composer and her modern performers. This is something most practicing musicians intuitively know, yet scholarship has grappled (and continues to do so) to find suitable language to express these insights.[979]

A further layer that needs to be added, in order to understand Martines's music-making, is gendered body language, particularly in a historical context. Spickernagel discusses historic standards of gender-specific body language and expressions that tie in with 18th-century ideals of 'art as beautified nature.'[980] The fashion of the time serves as a good analogy to women's restrained existence: between crinolines, corsets, wigs, and make-up, women can neither show their bodies nor the inner forces that drive them.[981] Herder, one of the critical voices of the time, pointed out that 'whalebone skirts and lace-up breasts' were rather detrimental to the Greek antique ideal of a 'flexible and supple body that might allow the soul to express itself,' insisting that 'the natural language of the soul should be expressed through the body.'[982] Piozzi's account suggests that Martines did keep up with the current fashion, but it is hard to

[977] Dimitris Bolis, Leonhard Schilbach. 2020. ''I interact Therefore I am': The Self as a Historical Product of Dialectical Attunement' in: *Topoi* Vol. 39, pp. 521-534, here p. 531.
[978] Hui Niu Wilcox. 2009. 'Embodied Ways of Knowing. Pedagogies, and Social Justice: Inclusive Science and Beyond' in: *NWSA Journal*, pp. 104-120, here p. 105.
[979] Also see footnote 47.
[980] Ellen Spickernagel. 1983. 'Zur Anmut erzogen - Weibliche Körpersprache im 18. Jahrhundert' in: Ilse Brehmer, Juliane Jacobi-Dittrich, Elke Kleinau, Annette Kuhn (eds.). *Frauen in der Geschichte IV "Wissen heißt leben…" Beiträge zur Bildungsgeschichte von Frauen im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert*. Düsseldorf: Schwann, pp. 305-319, here p. 312.
[981] Ibid., p. 305.
[982] Herder after ibid., p. 306.

establish to what extent.[983] Beyond Martines's one surviving portrait, there are no concrete references to her fashion. Hence, discussions here will not go into greater detail on clothes alone.

The prevailing interpretation of Greek ideals and 'natural postures' saw a much less free or unbound pathway towards this ideal. In a 1774 educational manual for daughters, Johann Georg Jacobi wrote: the feminine ideal should be a 'completion and improvement' upon – but still part of – 'nature.'[984] In a musical context, women performers of the 18th century were not supposed to make 'a spectacle' of themselves, which is why performances of repertoire were divided along gendered lines;[985] as were professional aspirations in the arts. While 'incredible grace' could be displayed through dance, that 'even the highest degree of art cannot reach,' professional dancing or singing should not be undertaken by women, as it would be 'antithetical to women's aesthetic purpose.'[986] There were only certain types of movements that were accepted as 'naturally feminine.' They should be 'light and free […] when walking and dancing, as well as making music and when doing needlework.'[987] The ideal of the 'natural and graceful' feminine beauty was seen as the polar opposite to the 'nightmare vision of feminine bookishness.'[988] Women's education should be used to expel scientific and artistic abilities, so Hogarth in his essay 'Analysis of Beauty' from 1753.[989] Similar views were also present in German lands. Heydenreich published two volumes of instructional manuals for private tutors. In these, he detailed how pupils of different genders should be educated and raised.[990]

[983] See footnote 525.
[984] Jacobi after ibid., p. 312.
[985] See Morrow 1989. Though, as evidenced by Aurnhammer and Paradis, many of them were nonetheless deliberate about self-fashioning their virtuosity in a 'spectacular' way (see Chapter III.i.).
[986] Laroche after Spickernagel 1983, p. 312.
[987] Ibid., p. 308.
[988] Ibid.
[989] Hogarth after Ibid., p. 308.
[990] See footnotes 370f.

Naturally, Martines herself never specifically alluded to any of these physical restrictions and expectations that would have been placed upon her as a woman of a certain social standing. However, overwhelming evidence suggests that the general awareness of gendered physicalities and their emergence in social spaces was of the utmost importance in Martines's Vienna,[991] and comments like that of Kelly, which mark her as an ancient, bookish spinster (evidently the lesser of two evils, compared to the vapid, luxury-obsessed doll[992]), indicate that she was the target of such judgments.[993] This chapter will go on to detail historical body culture in Enlightenment Vienna, and subsequently trace the somatic idiosyncrasies of Martines's (particularly keyboard) compositions that suggest conscious engagement with and subversion of embodied norms of women's physicalities. It is especially interesting to consider this with the backdrop of Martines's narrative of social mobility and self-fashioning, as someone very much belonging to the establishment of the imperial capital. The embodied pushing of boundaries and self-fashioned virtuosity inscribed in her keyboard scores can be understood as an expression of personal agency.[994]

Historical Body Culture

Bodily awareness and physical education were an important part of 18th-century Austrian upper-class and aristocratic society. Through strong emphasis on cultivation of movements and certain sports, 18th-century Vienna had its own, specific brand of 'body culture' – long before this term became a trending concept in the early 20th century. By acquiring specific ways of carrying oneself, 18th-century body culture was a way of embodying gender, social status, and

[991] See Chapter II.
[992] See footnote 789.
[993] See footnote 153.
[994] See below.

membership of a specific social class, which brings to mind Butler's acknowledgment that 'bodies only appear, only endure, only live within the productive constraints of certain highly gendered regulatory schemas.'[995]

Galant style – a concept not only present in music, but at its core a model for upper class conduct and interactions – played a large role in the refinement of 18th-century body culture. The *galant homme*, as the French called it, was the ideal European (male) aristocrats aspired to. The guiding principles of the *galant homme*, still attached to the remnants of medieval-knightly ethos, stood in direct opposition to the humanistic ideal of pure erudition. Since universities did not adequately provide the specific requirements of European aristocratic education, there was an increasing push to open educational institutions committed to delivering precisely that. Central to aristocratic education were foreign languages, history, and mathematics as well as juridical, economic, and military subjects. Further, aristocrats were required to learn instruments, and receive education in dance, riding, fencing, and other physical exercises.[996] Dedicated *Ritterakademien* (knight academies) used riding, vaulting, fencing, dancing, and learning how to exercise a musket and pike for educational purposes.[997] Though there was an increasing push for universal education, which Maria Theresia and Joseph II made a priority, aristocratic schooling was separate from these developments. Considerations of social rank and professional considerations remained central for the upper-class. During the baroque period, the 'grand tour' of young aristocrats was a popular pathway for education. From the late 17th century onwards, France was the cultural centre for these educational-cultural exchanges. Though, Italy, Holland, Spain, and even England could also be among grand tour destinations.[998] Around the same time – during the late 1600s – the first

[995] Butler 1993, p. xi.
[996] Hannes Strohmeyer. 1975. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Leibesübungen in Österreich*. Vienna: Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft für Leibeserziehung und Sport in Wien, pp. 58f.
[997] Kurt Hauck. 1935. Das Spiel in der Erziehung des 18. Jahrhunderts. PhD Diss. Martin Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, pp. 20f.
[998] Strohmeyer 1975, pp. 60f.

dedicated aristocratic academies were built in Austria, following the French example. The following institutions existed in Austria:

- Ständische Akademie, Vienna (1682-1749)
- Benediktinische Ritterakademie, Kremsmünster Monastery (1744-1789)
- k.k. Theresianische Akademie, Vienna (1746-1918)
- Herzoglich Savoy'sche Akademie, Vienna (1746-1778)
- k.k. Theresianische Militär-Akademie, Wiener Neustadt (1752-1918)
- Theresianische Akademie, Innsbruck (1775-1848)

Strohmeyer notes that, despite individual differences, the one common denominator between these academies was the structuring of physical education. These activities always consisted, at the very least, of riding, dancing, fencing, and vaulting.[999] Maria Theresia also founded several other institutions with less of a focus on 'knightly' or military qualities. One such example was the *K. K. orientalische Akademie*, founded in 1754, which provided political and literary education geared towards instructing a selection of young people to prepare them for a career as a translator or consul in the Levantine regions or Constantinople.[1000] It is as of yet unknown if Joseph Martines had any connections with this academy. As one of the foremost experts in 'oriental languages' in Vienna at the time, he could very well have been involved with it.

[999] Ibid., p. 62.
[1000] Unknown. 1805. *Nützliches Taschenbuch für Fremde und Einheimische auf das Jahr 1805*. Vienna: Artaria, pp. 92-93.

Knightly play

Writers like Rousseau were proponents of framing education as a process that starts on the day a child is born. Some decades later, Fröbel's pedagogical theories gained influence in Europe. They purported an awareness of using supposedly purposeless activities of children for educational and developmental goals, on top of regular, purpose-driven lessons. Play and 'natural,' child-appropriate conduct were increasingly upheld as ideals in 18th-century Europe; in direct opposition to the unnatural, un-childlike one-sidedness and forced assimilation to culture that was still practiced in aristocratic circles during the end of the 18th century.[1001] Tanzer notes that, already during childhood, members of the upper classes learned to thoroughly stylise their behaviour through physical training provided by home tutors or at *Ritterakademien*.[1002]

Though there were some purpose-bound educational institutions intended for the offspring of European aristocracy, the bulk of education usually happened at home. Private tutors (*Hofmeister*) and governesses were characteristic of 18th-century upper-class schooling. Looking at the role of play in aristocratic instruction, Hauck argues that play was generally welcomed. However, it was not initially used specifically for intellectually-driven pedagogical purposes; nor was all play 'good' play.[1003] Play was often geared towards developing young aristocrats into a *galant homme* or a gentlewoman. Focus lay on activities with a strong physical emphasis, such as riding, fencing, swimming, hunting, and dancing. Girls received a similar education to boys, however their 'playing' was less intense and less substantial, and generally had different emphases.[1004] Dancing was one of the earliest physical lessons practiced, with

[1001] Hauck 1935, p. 1.
[1002] Georg Tanzer. 1992. *Spectacle Müssen Seyn. Die Freizeit der Wiener im 18. Jahrhundert*. Vienna. Böhlau, p. 270.
[1003] Hauck 1935, p. 3.
[1004] Ibid., p. 4.

aristocratic children attending 'children's balls' as early as six years old. Physical exercises like these were strongly purpose-bound, teaching upper-class children the skills necessary to thrive in aristocratic society. It is worth questioning whether these activities can even be counted as 'pure' play, seeing as they were very much purpose-driven and supervised.

Accounts such as one by Alfred von Arneth (1819-1897) mention the young Emperor Joseph II's education paid close attention to physical activity. Next to academic studies, he was also instructed in 'music, physical exercise, particularly dancing and riding […] He was also taken hunting, apparently at an age when it was still quite early for him and one would have fared better to let him find his respite in joyful playing with his numerous siblings or other well-mannered children of his age.'[1005] For our present inquiries, it is important to note, though, the strong emphasis on physical cultivation among upper classes, already at an early age. Dance had a special position among aristocratically sanctioned physical play, as it was seen as halfway between a bodily and mental occupation:[1006] solely intellectual education was not the only important aspect of a young person's education (in the upper class). Karl Friedrich von Klöden described his father's education, who was born in 1751 into a financially not particularly well-situated noble family: other than writing, reading, calculating, and religious lessons he was not required to learn many academic subjects. On the other hand, great emphasis was placed on learning how to hunt, ride, shoot, and catch birds, fish, crawfish, eels, snipes, bustards, partridges, etc.[1007]

[1005] Arneth 1870 Vol. 4, p. 163.'Nebenbei wurde Musik und körperliche Uebungen, insbesondere das Tanzen und das Reiten betrieben. Auch zur Jagd führte man den Knaben, offenbar zu einer Zeit, in welcher es allzu früh für ihn war und man besser gethan hätte, ihn seine Erholung in fröhlichen Spielen mit seinen zahlreichen Geschwistern oder sonst gutgearteten Altersgenossen finden zu lassen.'
[1006] Hauck 1935, p. 12.
[1007] Max Jähns (ed.). 1874. *Jugenderinnerungen Karl Friedrichs v. Klöden*. Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Frunow, pp. 4f.

Sitting still

While children's play as such was not always endorsed among aristocracy, all 'knightly play' was heavily promoted and practiced, as it would later aid them in embodying their social station. Lower classes did not, of course, have access to instruction in 'knightly play,' giving their movements (stereotypically) a cloddish or hulking quality that resulted from heavy physical labour.[1008] As a result, aristocratic physical education aided in creating a larger divide in embodied performance of class differences. Such 'knightly play' also aided in hindering 'free play,' because most of the children's time was spoken for. Pietism, popular during the early 18th century, was particularly strict on prohibiting loud, childish frolicking. Girls, even more so than boys, were monitored strictly, and any free time they had left after their various lessons was to be spent with domestic pursuits, such as embroidery,[1009] promenading,[1010] and, especially among the bourgeoisie and upper classes, simply sitting still:

> Die Mädchen der besseren Kreise der bürgerlichen Bevölkerung wurden – Ausnahmen zugestanden – von früh auf zurückgehalten, sich nach Art der Knaben im Freien lustig umherzutummeln. Die Mädchen müssen stille sitzen lernen, das galt als Regel der Sittsamkeit. Auf die Straße zu gehen, würde wider den Wohlstand und wider die Ehre der jungen Mädchen gewesen sein. Der Aufenthalt in der frischen Luft hätte überdies den zarten, weißen Teint der Mädchen bräunen [… und] verunzieren können. Infolgedessen schickten manche Eltern ihre Töchter bereits im dritten Lebensjahr in die Schule, nicht damit sie schon lesen oder schreiben, sondern nur stille sitzen lernten.
>
> The girls of better circles from bourgeois families were – allowing for exceptions – held back from romping around in fresh air like boys, from early childhood. The girls had to learn how to sit still, that was seen as the principle of modesty. To go in the street would have gone against the affluence and against the honour of the young girls. The stay in the fresh air would have moreover tanned [… and] ruined the delicate, white complexion of the girls. Consequently, some parents sent their

[1008] Hauck 1935, pp. 7-17.
[1009] Ibid., p. 6.
[1010] See Chapter II.i – Maria Theresia and motherhood.

> daughters to school already at three years old, not for her to learn to read or write but to learn how to sit still.[1011]

Empress Maria Theresia's daughters – while still receiving an above-average education – did not get the same dedicated tutoring that their brothers did. Only Maria Anna, who was for a while the heiress presumptive, received a 'male' education.[1012] Alfred von Arneth suggests that less attention was paid to the schooling of the Empress's daughters, citing as proof the (poor) quality of letters that the youngest daughter, Antonia, wrote at an age when Joseph and Leopold were already able to fully express their thoughts and opinions.[1013]

The bourgeois lessons in sitting still demonstrate an interesting example of class differences. While the aristocracy and upper class was very much expected to be poised at any given moment, favouring occupations (often with limited movement) like embroidery and (to a degree) music and art lessons, regular middle class education for women did not necessarily focus on the same. Campe emphasises in his educational guide for girls:

> Die Erlernung der meisten schönen Künste geschieht überdem beim Sitzen, oft im Krummsitzen, und schadet schon dadurch der Gesundheit, vornehmlich bei Personen beiden Geschlechts, für welche der schädliche Zwang der Schnürbrust das Krummsitzen noch viel schädlicher macht: eine tüchtige Hausfrau aber bedaurf so sehr, als jemand, und zwar zu ihrem ganzen Beruf als Mutter und Vorsteherin ihres Hauswesens, einer gesunden und ungeschwächten Leibesbeschaffenheit. Die Ausübung der schönen Künste verzärtelt das Empfindungsvermögen, überspannt und schwächt die Nerven, macht in höherem Grade, als zu wünschen steht, empfindlich gegen alles, was das Gehör durch Mislaut […] beleidigt […].
>
> The learning of most fine arts takes place while sitting, often in a hunched position, which in itself is harmful for health – especially for individuals of both sexes for whom the harmful constraint of the corset makes this hunched sitting even more detrimental. However, a capable housewife requires, as much as anyone else – and

[1011] G. Stephan. 1891. *Die häusliche Erziehung in Deutschland während des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Wiesbaden: Bergmann, pp. 26f.
[1012] See Chapter II.i.
[1013] Arneth 1870, Vol. 4, p. 179.

> indeed for her entire role as a mother and manager of her household – a healthy and unimpaired physical constitution. The practice of the fine arts softens the capacity for sensation, overstretches and weakens the nerves, and makes one, to a higher degree than desirable, sensitive to anything that offends the ear through discord […].[1014]

Like 'knightly play,' non-physical activities outside of academic subjects were also geared towards preparing young upper-class individuals for society – and largely revolved around sitting (relatively) still. Playing cards or chess was deemed a necessary part of education for upper-class children, regardless of gender.[1015] The biography of Fürstin Amalia von Gallitzin (1748-1806) mentions that playing cards was taught to her like 'an essential science'[1016] that she was required to know. In turn, she made sure her children received what is termed a 'scientific' education – though did not further specify what that entailed – and then went on to detail various measures implemented to strengthen the body. This included riding, fencing, swimming, vaulting, and climbing. Cold baths were also used as a strengthening remedy.[1017] Empress Maria Theresia generally sought not to 'mollycoddle' her children. From an early age, they were taught to sleep by light, were not kept too warm, and 'Gängelbänder' (leading strings that aided in learning to walk) were not to be used excessively.[1018] Non-physical games requiring mental engagement were not so much a means for entertainment as they were opportunities for displaying social rank.[1019]

Playing theatre or puppet theatre was a popular and approved occupation for children. Though, the purpose of this type of play was not to give free reign to children's creativity but rather to

[1014] Joachim Heinrich Campe. 1790. *Väterlicher Rath für meine Tochter. Ein Gegenstück zum Theophron*. Frankfurt, Leipzig, p. 40.
[1015] Stephan 1891, p. 141.
[1016] Theodor Katerkamp. 1839. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben der Fürstinn Amalia von Gallitzin geborene Gräfinn von Schmettau*. Münster: Theissingsche Buchhandlung, p. 10.
[1017] Ibid., p. 85.
[1018] Arneth 1870, p. 158.
[1019] Hauck 1935, p. 19.

use the performance to prepare children for the 'larger stage of status-conscious life.'[1020] Learning music was another vital part of upper-class education. Commonly, this was not out of passion for the matter itself, but another obligation that came with membership in this social stratum. Fürstin Pauline zur Lippe (1796-1820), for instance, mentioned that she only practised music out of a 'sense of duty,' and Gräfin Schwerin lamented that she was made to play the harp despite having 'not a shred of talent' for it.[1021] Children's drive for rambunctious play was often preempted, especially among members of high aristocracy, by prohibiting contact between children. Instead, a child was only supposed to be in contact with adults. Joseph II had valets assigned to him that served as his adult companions. Similarly, his sister Marie Christine was kept from all childish interactions.[1022] Adam Wolf notes that Maria Theresia's children had a tightly monitored schedule of learning and praying that started at 6am and continued until 6pm. This was supposed to strengthen the power of the spirit and organisation of the mind. Once they had matured a bit, around the age of 14, they were given a bit more freedom and had the permission to attend small soirées and *Singspiele* that Metastasio wrote for them. Further, they were allowed to go on small drives, together with the Empress, to Schloss Hof, Pressburg (nowadays Bratislava) and Goldegg.[1023]

Childish play and romping around was additionally seen as a potential health threat. Rather than recognising the physical and mental benefits of children exerting themselves through free play and running around, parents were warned against the dangers of letting them do so. Friedrich Collin even evoked religion in his reasoning against children's free play:

> Die Eltern bringen ihre Kinder um gerade Glieder und Gesundheit, wenn sie ihnen gestatten, des Winters auf dem Eise herumzurutschen oder des Sommers in Flüssen

[1020] Ibid., pp. 5 and 13.
[1021] Ibid., p. 5.
[1022] Ibid., p. 7.
[1023] Adam Wolf. 1863. *Marie Christine, Erzherzogin von Österreich*. Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, pp. 8f.

> und Bächen zu baden. O, wie manches Kind hat ein Bein gebrochen, einen gefährlichen Fall getan oder wohl gar das Leben im Wasser lassen müssen. Warum läßt Gott solches Exempel geschehen? Gewiß aus keiner anderen Ursache, als daß er sein Mißfallen an solcher Verwegenheit hat und zugleich andere Eltern zu besserer Aufsicht erwecken möge.
>
> Parents make their children lose their straight limbs and health, if they allow them to slide around on the ice during winter or bathe in rivers and streams during summer. O, how many a child has broken a leg, made a dangerous fall, or even had to lose their life in the water. Why does God allow such instances to occur? Surely for no other reason than that he dislikes this audacity and wishes to encourage other parents to provide better supervision.[1024]

Physical-corporeal expectations on maturing upper-class individuals during the 18th century were highly specific and should aid in distinguishing them from members of lower social classes through their embodied display of social status. They only allowed for particular kinds of movement which were trained into them from an early age. Training them to perform their role in society – which only required basic schooling in reading, writing, and calculating – was deemed essential.

Adults of the upper classes also had a specific set of physical pursuits and 'play' that they were allowed to occupy themselves with. Perhaps most central to adult physical activities of the upper class in Vienna during the developing 18th century was walking (*spazierne*). Other than that, certain activities and 'play' were also deemed appropriate and pursued. Obviously, dance remained central to upper-class socialising. Beyond that, certain games were deemed appropriate for the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Among them, billiards takes on a significant role. It was considered a 'noble' game – more so than bowling. The upper class had access to billiard tables in coffee houses, as well as some keeping them in their homes. Even the emperors were said to have played billiards. Part of the reason this game was popular is that, for one,

[1024] Friedrich E. Collin. 1732. *Christliche Gedanken zu gutter Kinderzucht in einigen Regeln und beigefügten Anmerkungen erfaßt* – after Hauck 1935, p. 11.

members of lower social classes did not generally have access to spaces where billiards was provided. Also, the physicality of billiards is more quiet and still than something like bowling, therefore not interfering with embodied performance of upper class ideals. Though bowling greens could be found in the baroque gardens of aristocrats, the game was generally seen as too 'common.'[1025]

As mentioned above, playing cards was essential to the aristocratic or upper class individual. As the 18th century progressed, music and other domestic performances gained in popularity, but playing cards remained in vogue. It was heavily criticised and partially prohibited in public, for gambling addictions were recognised as a very real problem. Still, within the confines of upper-class homes, games such as L'Hombre, Piquet, and Whist were continuously played. Josephinist writers, like Pezzl, criticised the 'great amount of houses of high and middle classes [that] sacrifice most of their evenings to the Coeur- and Pique-Dames.'[1026] Despite all criticism, playing cards remained essential in aristocratic circles. It was recognised that not knowing how to play cards was worse than the act of playing cards (and gambling). Unfamiliarity with the relevant games would effectively mean exclusion from certain social circles and activities, and would be seen as a loss of prestige among other members of upper-class circles.[1027]

A good walk

Politics were involved in shaping the leisure time of individuals. While the Habsburg emperors were trying to police and restrict gambling, they were heavily involved in promoting walking and promenading (*spazieren*). To achieve this, they gradually opened several gardens to the

[1025] Tanzer 1992, pp. 236f.
[1026] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, pp. 122f. 'Ein grosser Haufen der Häuser von hohem und mittlern Stande, opfert seine meisten Abendstunden noch immer den Cöur= und Pic=Damen.'
[1027] Tanzer 1992, p. 244.

general public. Promenading became highly popular with the middle and lower classes, as it allowed them to engage in a hitherto exclusively aristocratic activity. The bourgeoisie was able to transform an activity of courtly representation into a middle-class practice.[1028]

Viennese gardens had been opened to the general aristocracy as early as the first half of the 18th century; some even earlier. High nobility enjoyed promenading on the *Glacis* before driving to the *Prater*. The latter, *Prater*, had been opened to 'cavaliers, ladies, imperial councillors, secretaries and [..] noble chamber officials'[1029] by Karl VI. Maria Theresia expanded the access to include the *redutenmäßiger Adel* ('redoubt aristocracy'), and finally Joseph II opened the *Prater* to the general public in 1766. Maria Theresia opened *Schönbrunn's* park to the public, which gained particular popularity among the middle-class as a destination for Sunday excursions. Similarly, the *Augarten* was made publicly accessible in 1775 by Joseph II, its entrance furnished with a sign that read 'A place of recreation dedicated to all people by their appreciator.'[1030] Joseph II went so far as to plant 400 trees, position 200 benches, and rewild nightingales. Upon the garden's opening, the royal household demonstratively paraded around to enhance the value of the garden and showcase its possibilities for upper-class leisure entertainment. This imperial trend was picked up by other aristocratic families, who opened their private gardens to the public and often made a point of demonstrating their galleries or collections in their curiosity cabinets. By the end of the 18th century, promenading both on foot and in a carriage was widely popular.[1031] It was an embodiment of aristocracy accessible across class divides.

[1028] Aline Steinbrecher. 2012. 'Eine praxeologisch performative Untersuchung der Kulturtechnik des Spaziergangs (1750-1850)' in: Jessica Ullrich (ed.). Tiere auf Reisen. Berlin: Neofelis, p. 15.
[1029] 'Cavalliers und Dames, kayl. Räth, Secretarien und waß von denen Vornemberen Hoff Cammer Beamten' – Tanzer 1992, p. 257.
[1030] 'Allen Menschen gewidmeter Erlustigungs-Ort von ihrem Schätzer' – Tanzer 1992, p. 257.
[1031] Ibid., pp. 256-259.

Tanzer argues that Josephinist leisure politics had two main goals. For one, they strove to promote activities that would provide ideal respite from work without interfering with bourgeois moral standards. Secondly, increased contact between aristocracy and bourgeoisie was heavily encouraged. To provide appropriate relief from work, trips to surrounding areas of Vienna were promoted as having health benefits. Many contemporary writers commented on the inordinate amount of dust present in the city, which its inhabitants were constantly forced to inhale. Pezzl mentioned, though, that escaping the city – to get some fresh air – was so cumbersome that it was almost not worth it:

> Aber wie soll man hinauskommen [aus der Stadt]? sei es auch, daß der Spaziergang nicht weiter, als bis auf die Esplanade oder in einen Garten der Vorstädte führen soll. Die Thore von Wien sind Festungsthore, sie sind so eng, daß nur Ein Wagen, und durch das Nebenthürchen nur Eine Person kommen kann. Welche Rippenstösse setzt es da ab! wie rennt man einander gegen Stirn und Nasen! wie oft wird man auf die Füße getreten! Und dann bis über die Brücke hinaus! ein ewiger Wind bläst dort ewigen Staub in die Augen, und zwingt, das Gesicht mit Tuch zu verstopfen. Kurz, der Ausgang und Rückweg beschert so viele Unbequemlichkeiten, und erhitzt so sehr, daß er das kurze Vergnügen weit überwiegt, und uns desspotisch in die Stadt einschließt…
>
> How can one leave [the city]? be it just to promenade no further than to the esplanade or the suburban gardens. The gates of Vienna are those of a fortress, they are so narrow that only one waggon and through the side door only one person can pass through. Such digs in the ribs that one receives there! how one collides with others! how often someone steps on your feet! And then, far beyond the bridge! eternal wind is blowing eternal dust into your eyes and forces you to hide your face behind a cloth. In short, the exit and return causes so many inconveniences, and enrages to such a degree that they completely overshadow the short pleasure and essentially despotically imprison us in the city…[1032]

As for the mixing of classes, Joseph II would demonstratively walk in *Augarten*, *Prater*, *Schönbrunn*, or even on open fields mingling with 'commoners.' Some of the members of high

[1032] Pezzl 1786, *Skizze* Vol. 1, pp. 331f.

aristocracy were not as willing to mix with lower-ranking nobility or the bourgeoisie. Anecdotally, Joseph II refused any requests to restrict access to public gardens by stating that if aristocrats only wanted to be amongst their own, they would have to spend their days in the *Kapuzinergruft* (Capuchin Crypt), the burial chamber of the emperors. Thus, the high aristocracy continued to frequent gardens, usually transported in their equipages, for representing themselves to be seen by others – including the bourgeoisie – was essential to them.

The middle class, even if they could often not afford their own carriage, was invested in inhabiting the same space as the aristocracy and embodying their striving for social mobility. The Josephinist effort to provide healthy leisure activities was aimed at balancing the middle class's schedule of hard work. Indeed, most middle class individuals sought to acquire promenading as an activity to gain membership in the social elite or, at least, emulate the social elite by presenting themselves and performing their (striven for) status, notwithstanding all the dust and dirt they were walking in and inhaling. Somewhat contrary to enlightened ideals, the middle class upheld and copied the aristocratic principle of 'seeing and being seen'.[1033]

Walking was only popular when done 'in style;' in a garden, esplanade, or *allée* where 'walking' became 'promenading' in front of an audience of fellow promenaders. On the other hand, walking in the city of Vienna was anything but popular.[1034] In fact, it could be downright dangerous, judging by Pezzl's insistence that everyone, even the 'common man,' needed access to a carriage, to avoid the dirt of winter and the dust of summer. In turn, this worsened the situation for pedestrians even more, as it made navigating the narrow streets of the city rather perilous.[1035]

[1033] Tanzer 1992, pp. 261f.
[1034] See Chapter I.i.
[1035] Pezzl 1787, *Skizze* Vol. 3, pp. 328f.

The slow, graceful movement patterns of promenading was the ideal embodied representation of 'noble' society and those aspiring to belong to this social group. Taking a walk was somewhere between a ceremony and spectacle.[1036] In his July 1802 travel journal, Fischer details the different sections of the Prater, various *allées* dedicated to different clientele. The fourth, or grand, allée was dedicated to all *galant* and splendid people of Vienna. Next to the allée were several coffee houses where women would consume ice cream and other refreshments. Every look, every expression and muscular traction was calculated as much as each ribbon and coil of hair. Equally, every passer-by was inspected and judged for their looks and appearance.[1037] *Spazieren* was, for the upper middle-class one of the ways to perform their social status, or the status they aspired to, by imitating practices of the high aristocracy. Naturally, this trend of embodying upper-class identity was not limited to promenading. The vogue for walking powerfully demonstrates the near-obsession with which the Viennese people sought to stylise themselves – and their bodies – to display status.

Martines at the keyboard

Against the backdrop of historical body culture, Martines's keyboard repertoire takes on a different significance. It is particularly interesting in this context, as it largely represents her own preferences, abilities, and musico-somatic ideals, she inscribed in the music and score. The modern performer can thus imagine they 'inhabit her bodily motions at the keyboard.'[1038] Echoing Huber's question in their article 'Die Pianistin spricht' ('the pianist speaks'), this section seeks to answer what it means to analyse a composition written by a pianist, expressly

[1036] Steinbrecher 2012, p. 16.
[1037] Julius Wilhelm Fischer. 1803. *Reisen durch Oesterreich, Ungarn, Steyermark, Venedig, Böhmen und Märe, in den Jahren 1801 und 1802.* Vol. 1. Vienna: Anton Doll, pp. 107f.
[1038] Cypess 2022, p. 164.

also interrogating the 'epistemic function of the analysing subject' by acknowledging one's own positionality in relation to the process of analysis.[1039] Huber advocates for an analytic approach that acknowledges the 'cognitive process of science' as a 'social process.' Her article is a 'plea for an epistemology which interrogates what can actually be known through music analysis,' and how one may expand beyond analysis as a mere 'illustration' into a coherent contextualisation 'across all areas of music research.'[1040] To a degree, staff notation tells the performer 'what to do with one's body:' appreciating notated music for its quality as 'a semi-permanent representation of actions+sounds.'[1041] Though, the notation can not fully determine the expressive performativity of the individual. This 'analysis' emphasises the importance of 'gesture and physicality […] in specifying the character of a performance.' This allows for an enquiry into the 'relationship between the intrinsic dynamics of the human body, the social codes of bodily expression – a kind of gestural rhetoric – and the practical interpretation of musical structure.'[1042] It counteracts the 'conceptual opposition' of 'mind over body' that has 'characterised Western philosophy,'[1043] and ultimately shaped what is and is not traditionally considered music 'analysis.'

Instructive manuals for keyboardists gained popularity during the 18th century. Previously, teaching music and instrumental lessons was the domain of professionals. However, the 18th century introduced new trends, where almost anyone could present themselves as a *Clavier* teacher. Though, many of them were criticised for not doing more than 'smashing the student's
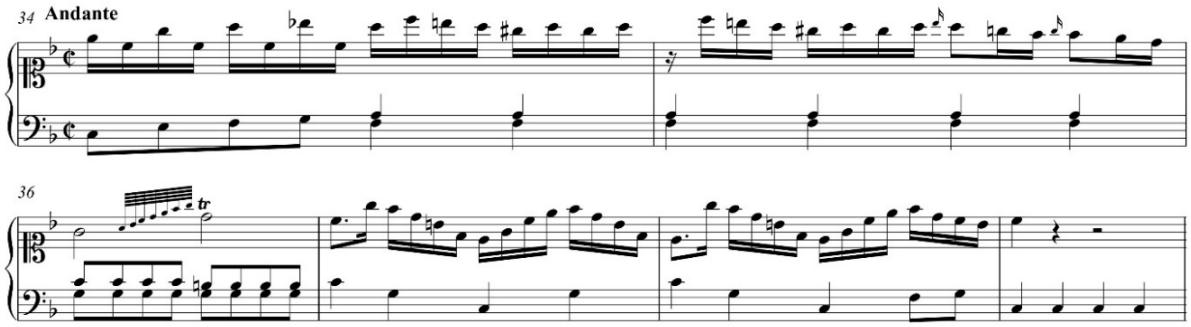
[1039] Annegret Huber. 2020. 'Die Pianistin spricht. Überlegungen zur Epistemologie von Vertonungsanalysen und ihrer Funktion in musikwissenschaftlicher Forschung' in: Rebecca Grotjahn, Nina Jaeschke (eds.). *Die Begleiterin. Clara Schumann Lied und Liedinterpretation. Musikwissenschaft: Aktuelle Perspektiven. Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 2019 in Paderborn und Detmold* Vol. 2, pp. 44-63, here p. 44.
[1040] Ibid., p. 61.
[1041] Arnie Cox. 2018. 'On the subjects and objects of Music Analysis' in: Nicholas Reyland, Rebecca Thumpston (ed.). Music, Analysis, and the Body: Experiments, Explorations, and Embodiments. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 15-29, here p. 19.
[1042] Eric Clarke, Jane Davidson. 1998. 'The Body in Performance' in: Wyndham Thomas (ed.). *Composition – Performance – Reception*. London: Routledge, pp. 74-92, here p. 89.
[1043] Elizabeth Grosz. 1997. 'Psychoanalysis and the Imaginary Body' in: Sandra Kemp, Judith Squires (ed.). *Feminism*. Oxford University Press, p. 299-308, here p. 299.

hands together' on the keyboard.[1044] While posture was not discussed in great detail, fingering was increasingly a concern of 18th-century keyboard schools.[1045] Methods were published as practice pieces with fingering examples – for instance by Couperin,[1046] Minzel,[1047] and Hartung.[1048] Most of these treatises were primarily concerned with theoretical and practical-compositional matters, over physical considerations and the use of one's body. Still, as discussed above, how people carried themselves was essential to one's status and position in society – while promenading or at any observable moment. Even in music, reviews (especially of singers) often mentioned whether or not someone 'cut a fine figure' on stage.[1049]

Cumulatively, the previous chapters provide a kind of map, situating Martines within the socio-political sphere of 18th-century Vienna. Such situational maps and their analyses result in 'making the usually invisible and inchoate social features of a situation more visible.'[1050] In Martines's dual role as composer-performer the keyboard oeuvre is indicative of who she was as a performer and how she wished to engage with audiences in the liminal space of her academies. Martines's instrumental works also blend vocal and instrumental idioms in her repertoire (Example 39), especially in slow movements where rhythmical-malleability leads to a suspension of metre.[1051] Example 40, for instance, beautifully demonstrates this amalgamation: from six bars of pure vocal *cantabile* that transcend bar lines, the last bar (b. 25) – introducing triplets and sextuples – prepares the transition into pianistic-virtuosic displays of chordal arpeggios, now implementing ascending and descending *Prinner*-voice leading that fortify the modulation from C to G major.

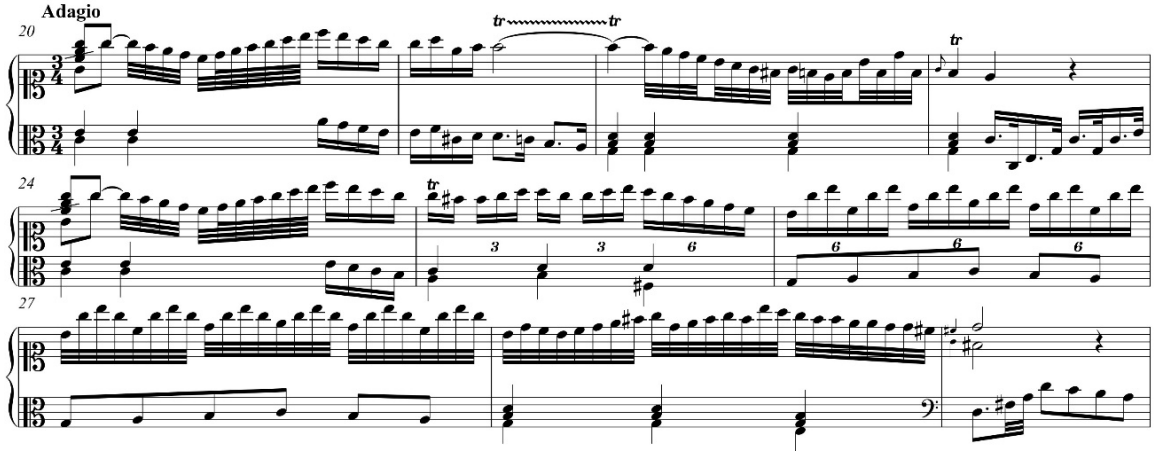
[1044] Mario Aschauer. 2011. *Handbuch Clavier-Schulen. 32 deutsche Lehrwerke des 18. Jahrhunderts im Überblick*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, p. 31.
[1045] Ibid., pp. 41ff.
[1046] François Couperin. 1716. *L'Art de Toucher le Clavecin*. Paris : Chés l'Auteur.
[1047] Lorenz Minzler. 1739. *Anfangs-Gründe des General Basses*. Leipzig: bey dem Verfasser.
[1048] Philipp Christoph Hartung. 1749. *Musicus Theoretico-Practicus*. Nürnberg: Feltzeckers.
[1049] Quantz 1754, pp. 214ff.
[1050] Clarke 2005, p. xxxvi.
[1051] Also see Chapter I.ii.

Martines's concertos lend themselves particularly well to her project of self-fashioning a stage persona of what I term *dilettante-virtuoso*. Less concerned with the high levels of propriety that she generally adhered to in all aspects of life, it is interesting to see how she self-fashioned her virtuoso-self within the safety of her salons. As DeNora stated, it is at the '*local* level that large-scale social trends are *mediated* by what is "do-able",' emphasising that it is at the 'level of actual doing that what we describe as social structure is produced and reproduced.'[1052] With the rise of virtuoso-culture – perpetuated during the Romantic era with the hero-like worship of individual musicians,[1053] in something akin to Whig history[1054] – it is fascinating to see what Martines made of the opportunities for self-fashioned virtuosity. As someone who did not publicly appear as a virtuoso and was, by all accounts, an expert on polite sociability – having translated the *Galateo* and being repeatedly praised for her great humility and politeness[1055] – her musical scores tell a more nuanced story.



Example 39: Martines, Concero C major, II. mvt., bb. 34-39.

[1052] DeNora 2005, p. 21.
[1053] Cliff Eisen. 2005. 'The rise (and fall) of the concerto virtuoso in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in: Simon P. Keefe (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto*. Cambridge University Press pp. 177-191, here p. 182.
[1054] Herbert Butterfield. 1973. *The Whig interpretation of history*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
[1055] See Kelly (footnote 536), Schmid (footnote 346), Wurzbach (footnote 352).
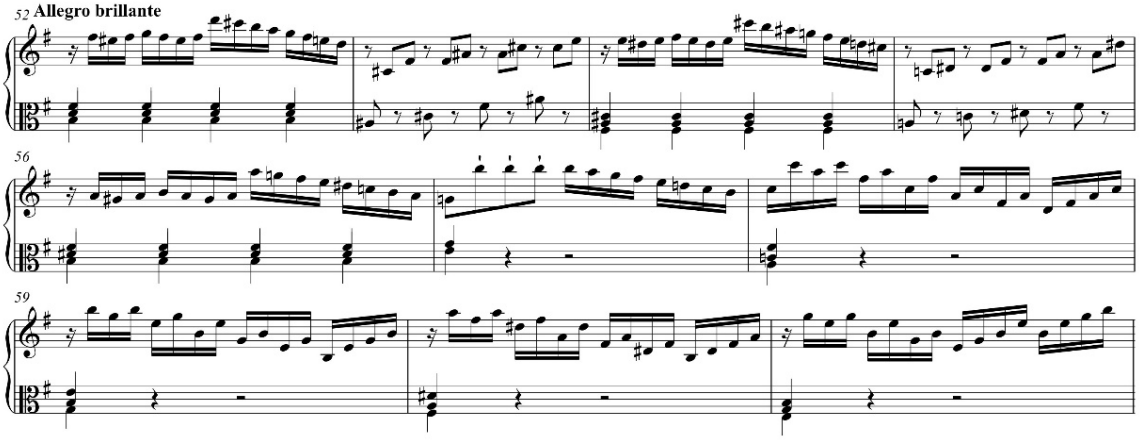


Example 40: Martines, Concerto G major, II. mvt., bb. 20-29.
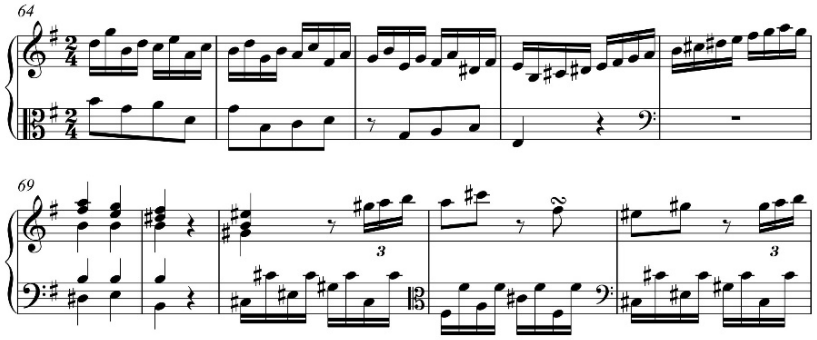
Godt previously highlighted Martines's use of *galant* schemata, which are a key element in her compositional texture. Certainly, more work needs to be done in analysing her playful use of them. Particularly interesting – and scholarship so far has not done justice to this aspect of her *galant* writing – are those instances when Martines subverts expectations tied to *galant* normative procedures by interrupting a pattern and adding 'shock value' to a musical phrase. Regardless of the analytical approach (to schemata or sonata form), the ultimate conclusion appears to be the same:[1056] Martines plays within the confines of defined norms. Relating to schemata, an example is found in the development of the first movement of Martines's G major sonata (Example 41), where she starts a *Sol-Fa-Mi* schema in b. 52, having just modulated to b minor the previous bar, but only goes as far as 'Fa.' Instead of ending with 'Mi' in b. 56, she jumps to 'Ti' below the tonic, further leading into a wildly modulating section full of cascading passages, that eventually retransition to the recapitulation, halfway through b. 68. Earlier in the movement, bb. 10ff, the schema had been stated in its entirety, setting expectations for the listener. Martines deliberately toys with her listeners' capacity of (*galant*) pattern recognition – and appears to take all the more joy in subverting these expectations, adding unexpected twists into the schemata, or inserting sudden rests and subito modulations (see Example 42, Example 13). Modern research on pattern recognition acknowledges the importance of it for

[1056] See Chapter I.ii.

building ‘anticipator tension,’ and release when ‘the music reaches its goal,’ or instilling ‘a different kind of satisfaction’ when ‘music deviates from one’s expectations or if the consequent is delayed.’[1057]



Example 41: Martines, Sonata G major, I. mvt., bb. 52-61.
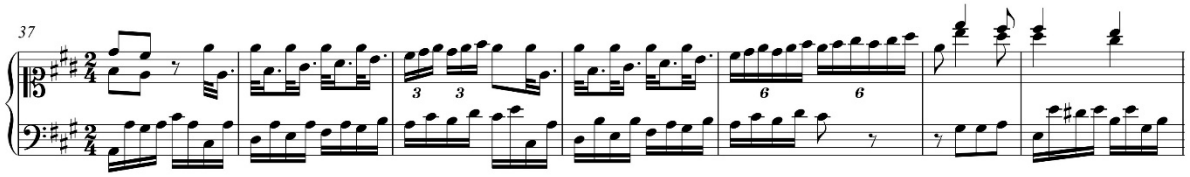


Example 42: Martines, Sonata G major, III. mvt., bb. 64-73.

Martines’s playfulness in the realm of *galant* schemata is indicative of her consciously writing with a specific audience in mind, namely one that was musically educated and familiar with solfeggio and schema ‘vocabulary’ – which were generally musically educated upper-class individuals. They would have felt her implementation of, or aberration from, these procedures. During the 18th century, *galant*-style ‘partimenti-contrapuntal patterns’[1058] were an internalised vocabulary for both court musicians and, on the receiving end, audiences of a certain class. Martines’s deliberate engagement with these schemata appealed to her audience’s cultural
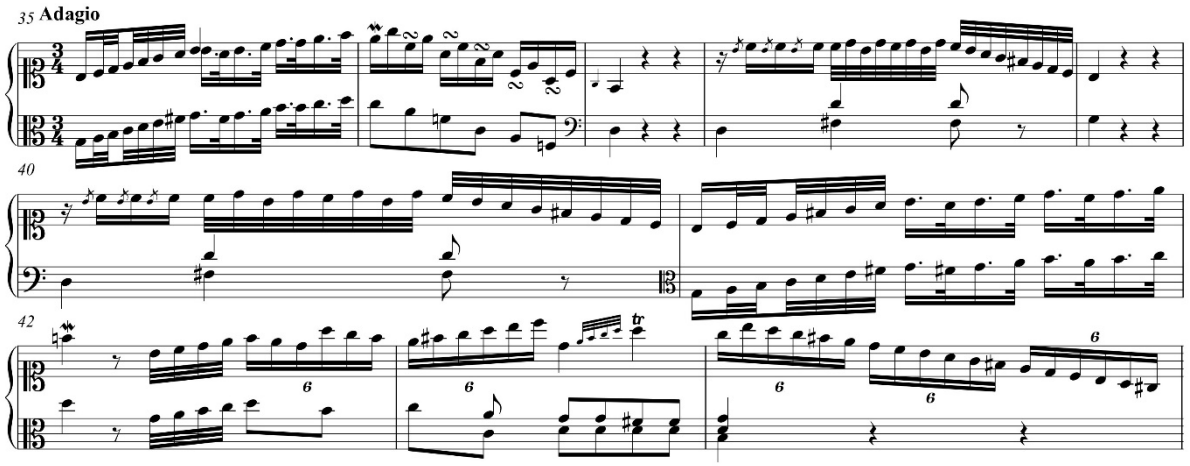
[1057] Doris Lora. 1979. ‘Musical Pattern Perception’ in: *College Music Symposium* Vol. 19 No. 1, pp. 166-182, here p. 176.
[1058] Matthew C. Gilmore. 2019. Symbolic Logic in the Galant Style: Reading Gjerdingen with Leibniz, Kant, Cassirer, and Baumgarten. PhD Diss. Northwestern University, Illinois, p. 32.

capital and thus, at the same time, raised her own by demonstrating mastery over these compositional tools. Naturally, her scores also included certain typically *galant* rhythmical elements, such as Lombard rhythm – prominently featured, among others, in the third movement of the A major concerto (Example 43).
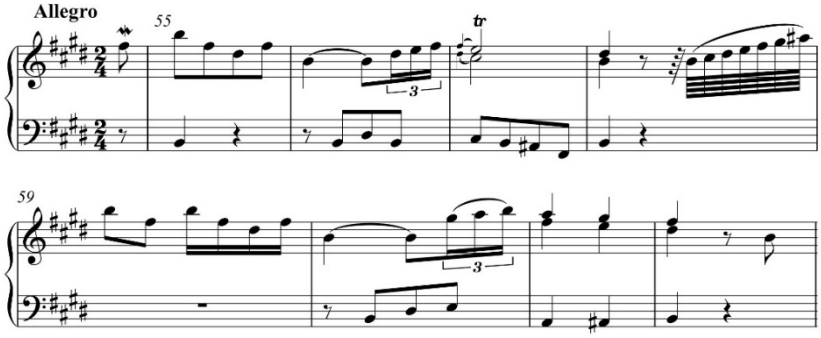


Example 43: Martines, Concerto A major, III. mvt., bb. 37-43.

There are many instances when Martines's conception of *cantabile* in instrumental music clearly derives from her role as a singer. The instrumental (/piano) scores never lose their idiosyncrasies, for instance by incorporating certain typically pianistic ornaments like acciaccaturas (Example 44) and tiratas (Example 45). Martines, with her 'brilliant finger,'[1059] as Burney said, knew how to write in a way that would flatter the performer. Interestingly, her late vocal style also features ornaments that appear more pianistic (/instrumental) in their conception (see b. 10, Example 46).
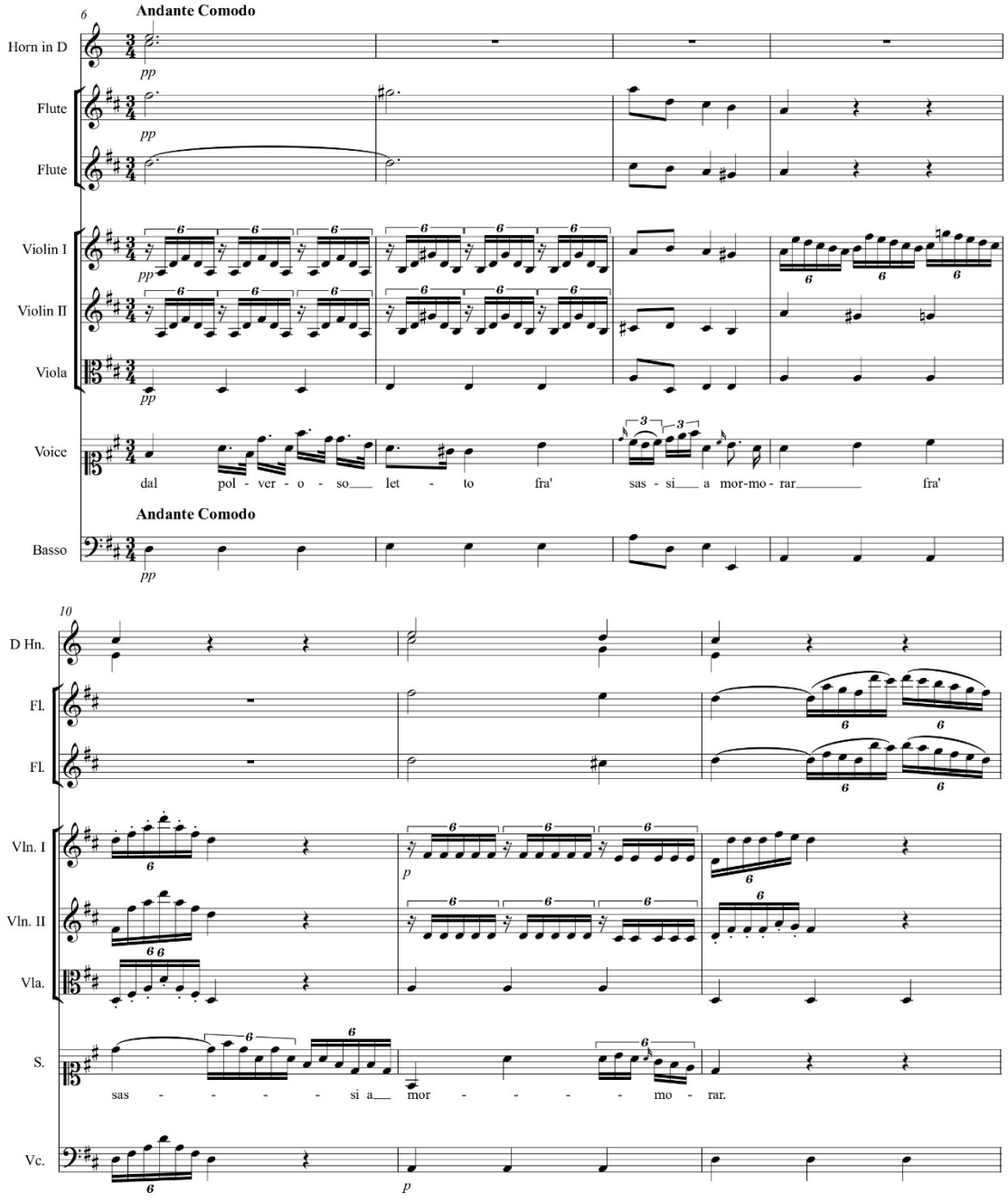


Example 44: Martines, Concerto G major, II. mvt., bb. 35-44.

[1059] Burney 1775.



Example 45: Martines, Sonata E major, I. mvt., bb. 55-62.



Example 46: Martines, Cantata Orgoglioso fiumicello, Andante comodo, bb. 6-12.[1060]

[1060] Tall excerpts of *Orgoglioso fiumicello* transcribed from manuscript at WBR, AC15810583.

Beyond *galant* schemata, this section is also concerned with embodied authorship, situated within Martines's social sphere, which alludes to somatically discernible identity traits captured in her keyboard scores. This approach builds on Bordieu's concept of *habitus*, which is an embodiment of socially learned and historically acquired norms that appear as innate to an individual. While it is neither completely individual nor entirely indicative of how any given person may act, it inscribes 'agents with the constraints of the structures of the social environment,' becoming active 'in a relation of reciprocity to a field,' where each field generates 'its own specific habitus.'[1061] Thus, cultural norms among any given group that exist in social proximity, including a shared class background, heavily influence the individual's *habitus*. Additionally, gender needs to be appreciated as 'an integral element of the field-habitus connection,' where 'habitus links individuals' gendered practices and motivations to the structure of cultural fields,' thus aiding our 'understanding of power and inequality.'[1062]

I argue that Martines's *habitus* at the keyboard, placed in front of the backdrop of body culture and somatic curation of 18th-century Vienna, as discussed above, is indicative of a conscious engagement with gendered and classed norms and expectations, taking the form of both alignment and subversion, and toying with boundaries. The embodied qualities of her keyboard repertoire appear somewhat antagonistic towards normative body techniques of Viennese upper-class women of the time, which should be characterised by grace and small dignified movements, derived from a childhood spent learning how to sit still.

[1061] Emilee Gilbert, Michelle O'Shea, Sarah Duffy, Chloe Taylor. 2024. 'Playing the Game Differently: How Women Leaders in Academia Are Challenging Neopatriarchy' in: *Sex Roles* Vol. 90, pp. 1735-1750, here p.1737.
[1062] Miller 2016, pp. 350f.
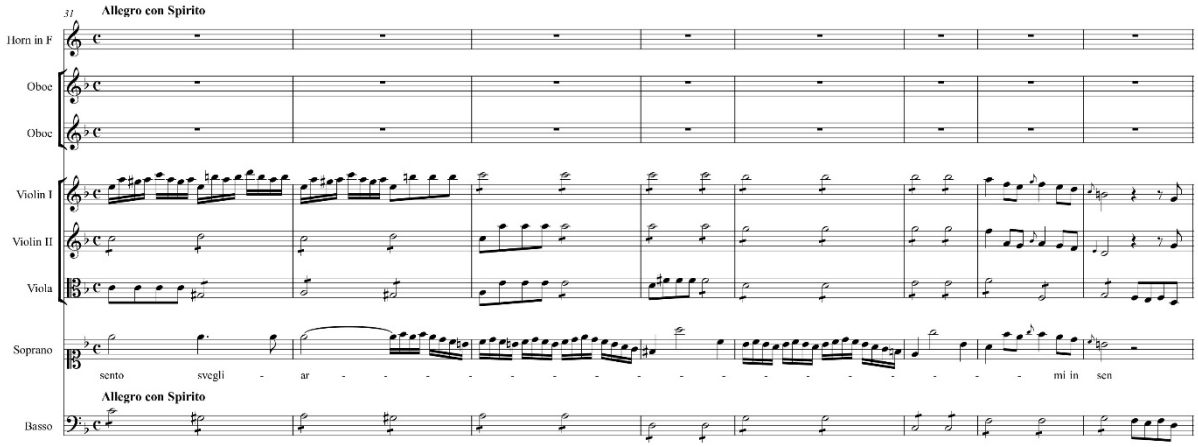
Taking a leap

At a surface-level, a pianist is sitting still when occupied at their instrument. But, as every musician will know, some repertoire is less physically 'still' than others. One of Martines's characteristic implementations of virtuosity is rhythmic complexity, often in connection with coloratura-like runs, as discussed above.[1063] Another idiosyncrasy consists of large jumps. The latter, albeit challenging when found in a vocal score, take on a wholly new physicality in keyboard scores. Jumps larger than an octave were not commonly used, as they were somewhat uncharacteristic and uncomfortable to write and play. Yet, it is precisely this discomfort that Martines appeared to seek repeatedly in her keyboard repertoire. These jumps challenge the *spatial grammar*;[1064] that is, the combination of cognitive spatial abilities with embodied practice, that keyboard players internalise.[1065]

While Martines's keyboard writing generally focuses on virtuosity consisting of right-hand runs and all modes of embellishments – music that can be played with great poise – she periodically breaks away from these to perform dramatically large jumps. Such leaps are not only large in terms of voice-leading, but require the performer to break composure – if only for a split-second. Yet, when performed successfully – and one must presume that Martines was physically and technically equipped to play her own music – these jumps would have also been a way to emphasise the seeming effortlessness of her playing seriously challenging passages. This embodiment of *sprezzatura* further underlines Martines's nuanced and playful engagement with her audiences, pushing but never fully transgressing boundaries of expected decorum.

[1063] See Chapter I.i.
[1064] Michael Ovens. 2016. Discourse in Steel. PhD Diss. University of Western Australia, p. 22.
[1065] Naturally, Martines was not the only composer to write large leaps, but generally those were in slower tempo – see e.g. Mozart K. 467, II. mvt. (crossing of hands).

Even on historical pianos and harpsichords, where keys were usually narrower than on modern ones, leaps larger than an octave were rare in keyboard scores. A tenth might occasionally be included by 18th-century composers, but avoided save for exceptional circumstances. For Martines, though, it appears tenth-jumps were all but standard *spatial grammar* (also in her vocal repertoire – see Example 47), and even larger jumps were frequently used in keyboard works. Contrary to what one might expect, she did so especially in fast movements. This appears a core characteristic of Martines's curation of keyboard virtuosity.



Example 47: Martines, Cantata Il Primo Amore, Allegro con Spirito, bb. 31-38.[1066]
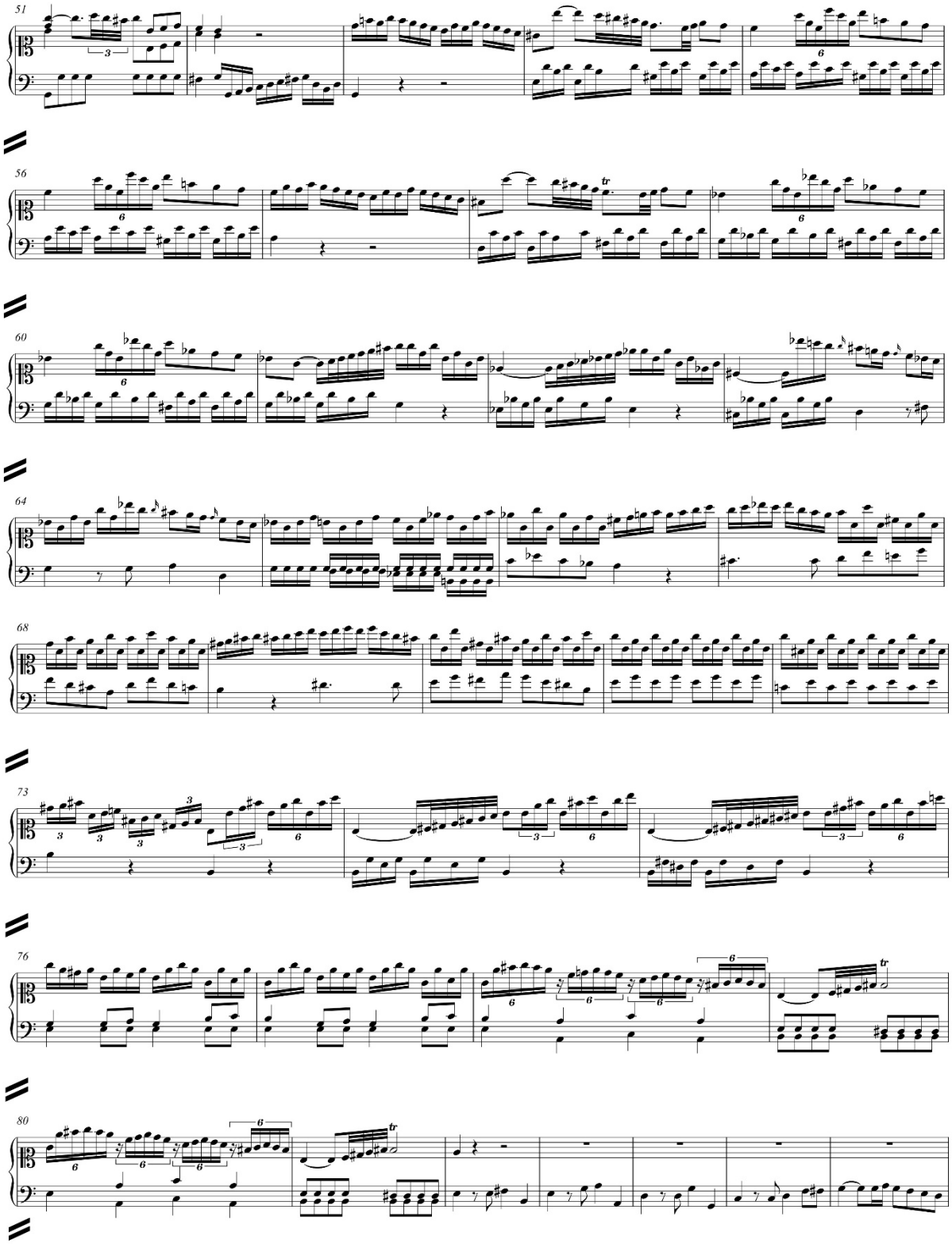
Her self-fashioned performer's persona pushes boundaries and conventions not only of standard voice leading, but also edges close to the border of what is physically possible at a high tempo. The fascinating part here is her defying those conventions of demureness expected of women of her station – upper-class women who should and would not make a spectacle of themselves[1067] and were taught to sit still from an early age. But, like with promenading, the upper classes were accustomed to seeing and being seen. Martines appears to play with her audience's gaze, performing spectacular leaps with the masterful ease of someone who embodies *sprezzatura*.
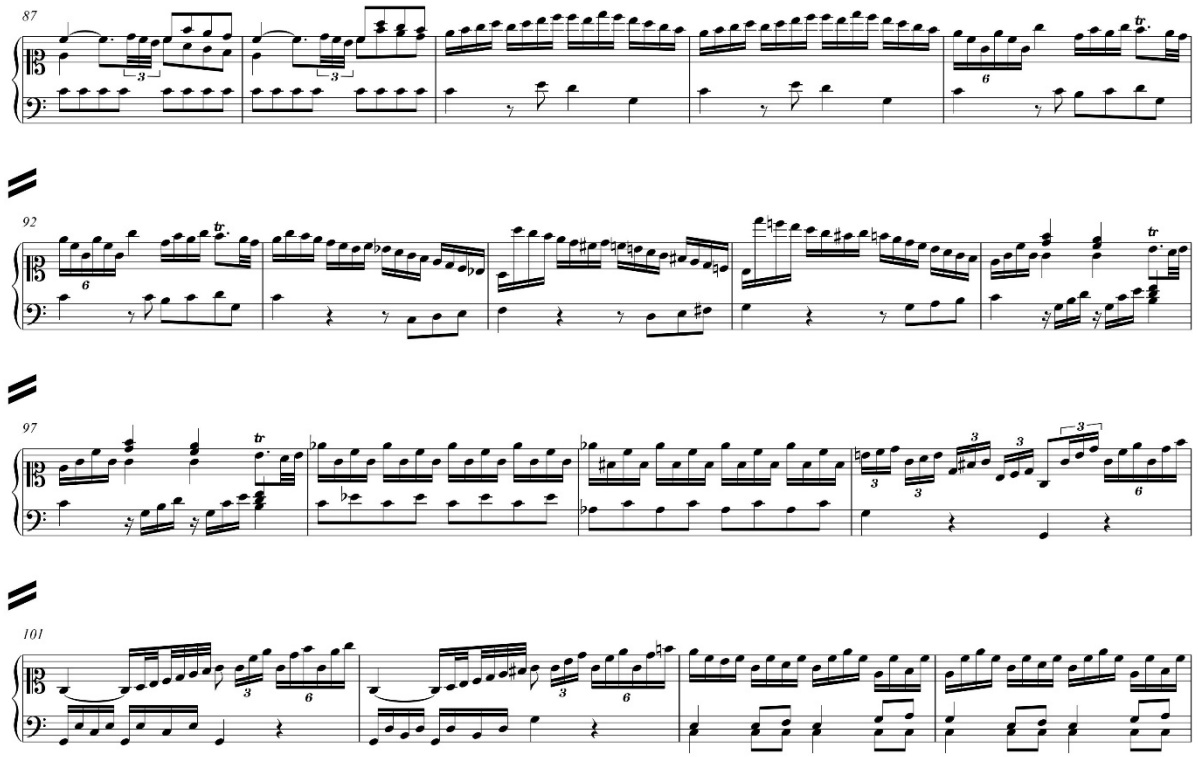
[1066] Cantata (1778) transcribed from SBB, Mus.ms.autogr. Martines, M. 5 M.
[1067] Nancy B. Reich. 1993. 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class' in: Ruth A. Solie (ed.), *Musicology and difference: Gender and sexuality in music scholarship*. University of California Press, pp. 125–146.

For instance, in her C major concerto, the first movement is marked by increasingly virtuosic and ever larger jumps (Example 48). In the (quasi) development, two tenth-jumps (bb. 54 and 58) start, followed by one just shy of two octaves in b. 63. However, these three are still somewhat less flagrant, consisting of longer notes – more preparation time – preceding the jump. In the recapitulation, though, these rhythmic leniencies are no longer given to the performer. Here, in bb. 94 and 95, two enormous jumps are performed as part of an ongoing semiquaver passage. First, a two-octave jump from A to A'', followed by a double compound third, from B to D'''.
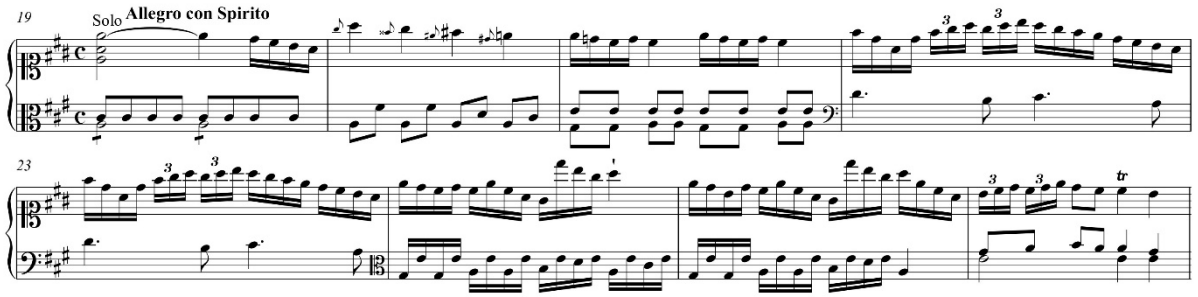
Similarly, the first solo in Martines's A major concerto opens with tenth-jumps, almost immediately (see Example 49). This is preceded by rhythmically-ornate bars (an alteration between semiquavers and semiquaver triplets) that are referred to again after the jumps section. The jumps in bb. 24f – even if 'only' tenths – are a particular surprise given that the first orchestral ritornello (musically equivalent) did not contain these jumps, but instead introduced a simplified melody.[1068] The second, slower movement, also contains leaps: though, they do not have quite the same effect due to the reduced tempo (see Example 5). Alas, the third movement (*Allegro assai*) makes up for it multifold. Compound-fifth jumps in the right hand occur both in the first and last soloistic episodes. In particular, the last one unfolds as an exquisitely virtuosic, expansive passage that both showcases and challenges the soloist's virtuosity, demanding endurance – especially in the right hand (see Example 50).

[1068] Recording of the first movement: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tr-r35XkZF8 (accessed 2025-03-25).





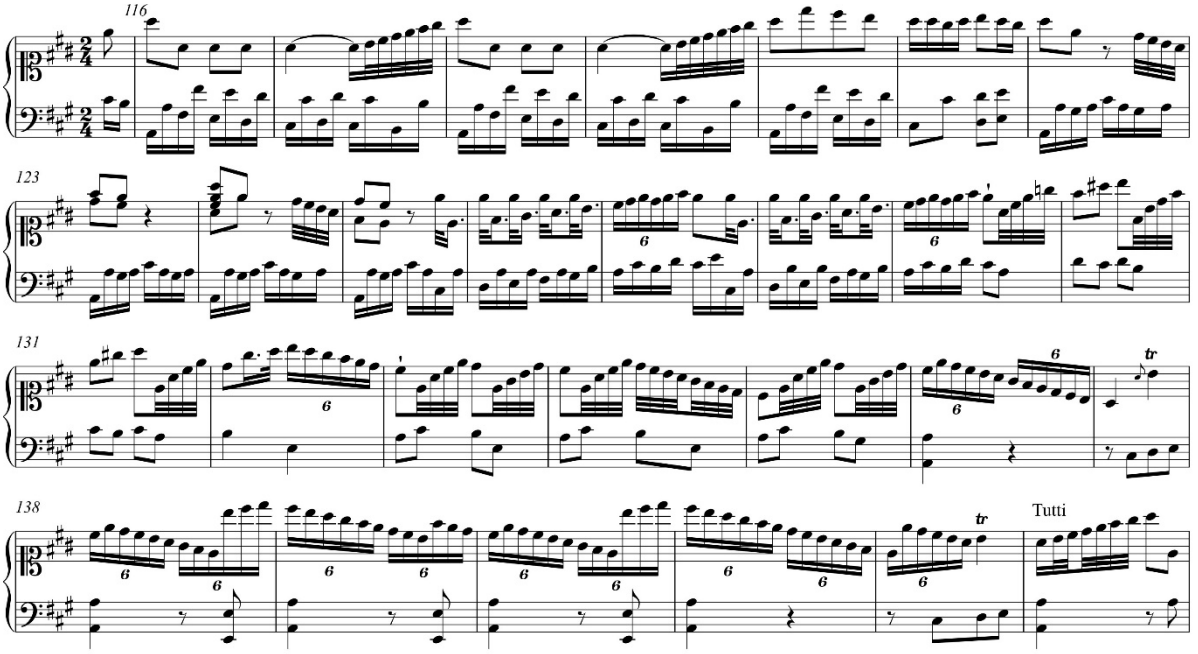
Example 48: Martines, Concerto C major, I. mvt., keyboard part, bb. 51-104.
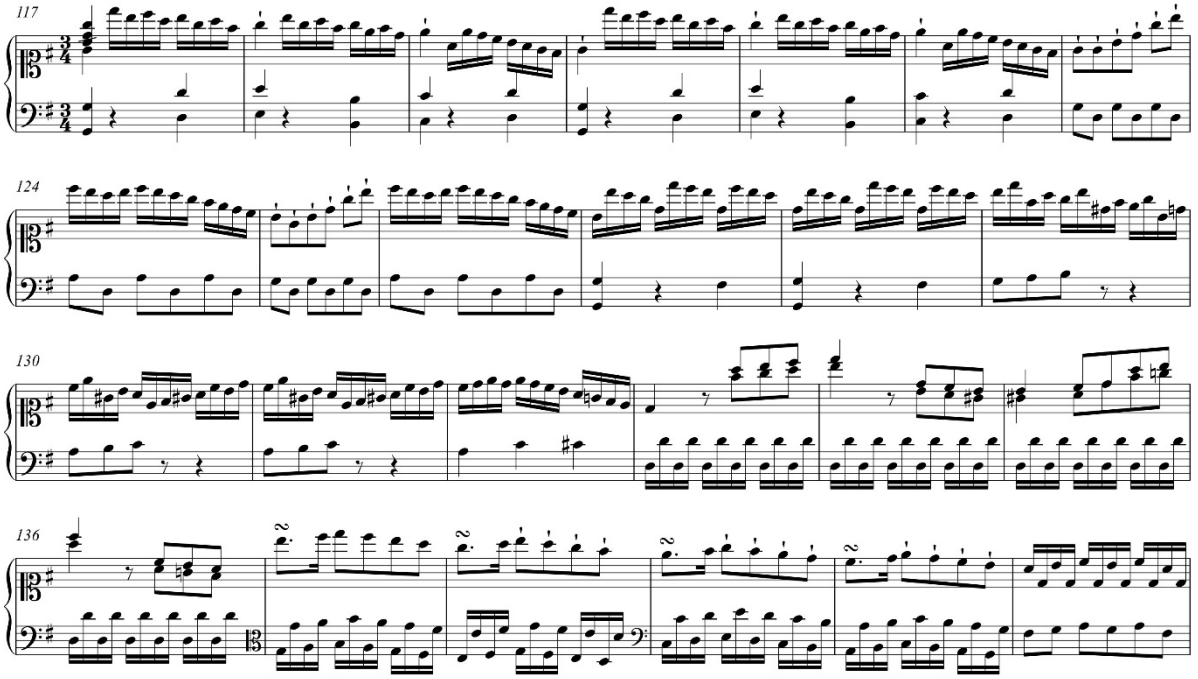


Example 49: Martines, Concerto A major, I. mvt., bb. 19-26.
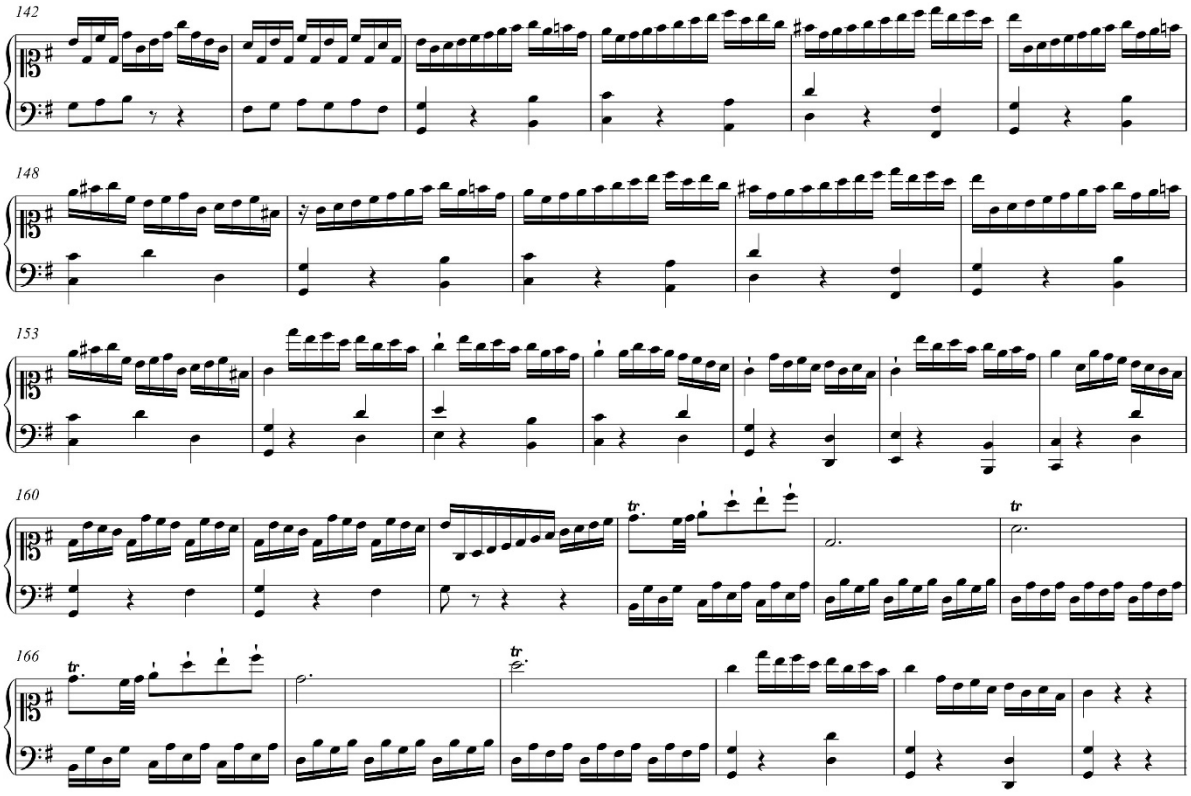
Not unlike Example 50 from the A major concerto's third movement, where a trill is closely tied in with other virtuosic textures, the G major concerto makes use of a number of *Spielmanieren* to heighten the virtuosic character of the keyboard solo. Additionally, the movement contains several large jumps. Some of these are slightly slower (compound fifth jumps in bb. 120 and 154) and others are part of fast semiquaver runs (bb. 147 and 162). Beyond that, the movement includes turns mixed in the virtuosic fabric (bb. 137ff), as well as series of trills that, consecutively placed, add virtuosic drama. Particularly the subverted resolution in b. 166 adds a technically and harmonically interesting surprise: rather than resolving into a perfect cadence, after the long trill in b. 165, the keyboard jumps back to

material from b. 163, repeating the ascending motive once more, before finally returning to the tonic key.



Example 50: Martines, Concerto A major, III. mvt., bb. 116-143.





Example 51: Martines, Concerto G major, III. mvt., bb. 117-171.

The self-fashioning of Martines's keyboard virtuosity appears as a deeply somatic entity. The fast, jerky – yet highly controlled, precise, and fugitive – movements necessary for playing the massive jumps at high speed are anything but demure. Yet, if performed correctly, they will give off a sense of effortless skill – being above such trifling matters like physical limitations. As such, they would have added to Martines's embodiment of *sprezzatura*. A lot of her keyboard repertoire may be playable with the dignified grace favoured by the Viennese elite of the 18th century. Yet, Martines surreptitiously breaks free from these physical restraints – repeatedly for fleetingly brief moments. While she does not lean into showmanship the way Aurnhammer did, for instance (Example 26), Martines's embodied toying with conventions, mirrored in the cleverly displayed *trompe-l'œil* effect of emphasising the showing of her hands in her *Accademica* portrait,[1069] is nowhere as clear and present as it is in her keyboard repertoire.

[1069] See Chapter III.ii.

Far cantare il fortepiano[1070]
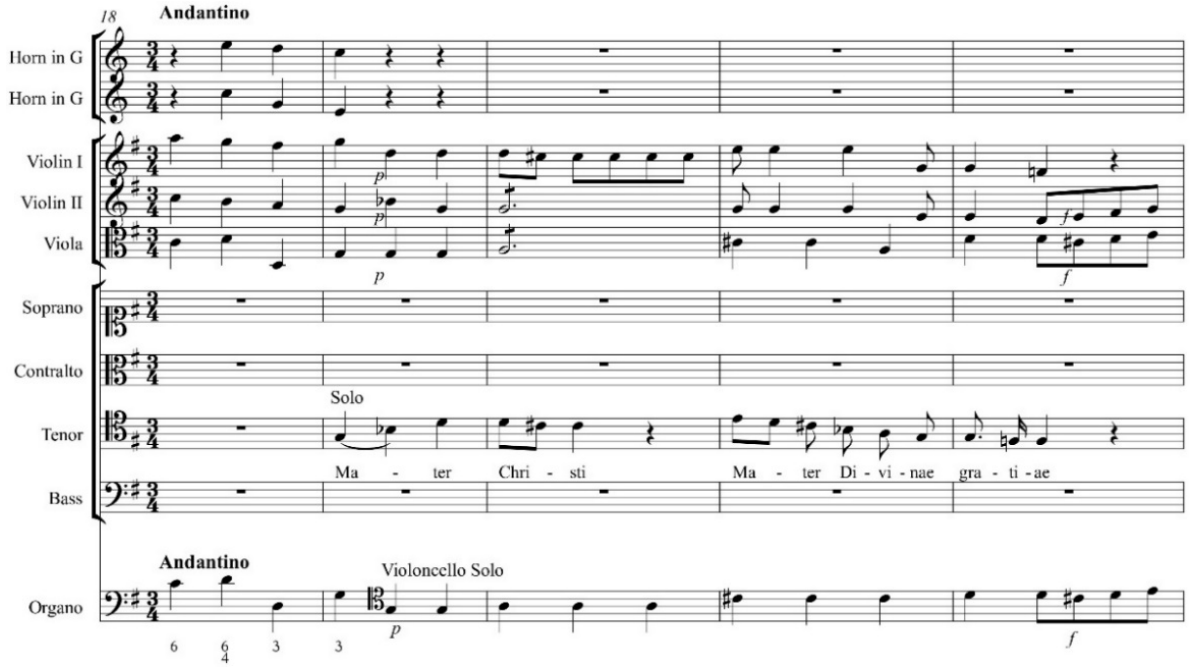
During the late baroque period, the 'most characteristic feature of the Italian style of singing […] was the virtuosic display of dazzling vocal showmanship.'[1071] As demonstrated in several previous examples, Martines's vocal music still carried the heritage of this baroque style of vocal virtuosity. Metastasio reportedly called her his *St Caecilia*, and Martines was especially praised for her ability to sing semitones.[1072] This is also captured in Burney's reminiscence, when he remembered Metastasio's fond praise:

> I can readily subscribe to what Metastasio says, that it is a style of singing which no longer subsists elsewhere, as it requires too much pains and patience for modern professors: è perduta la scuola; non si trova questa maniera di cantar; domanda troppa pena per I professori d'oggi dì.[1073]
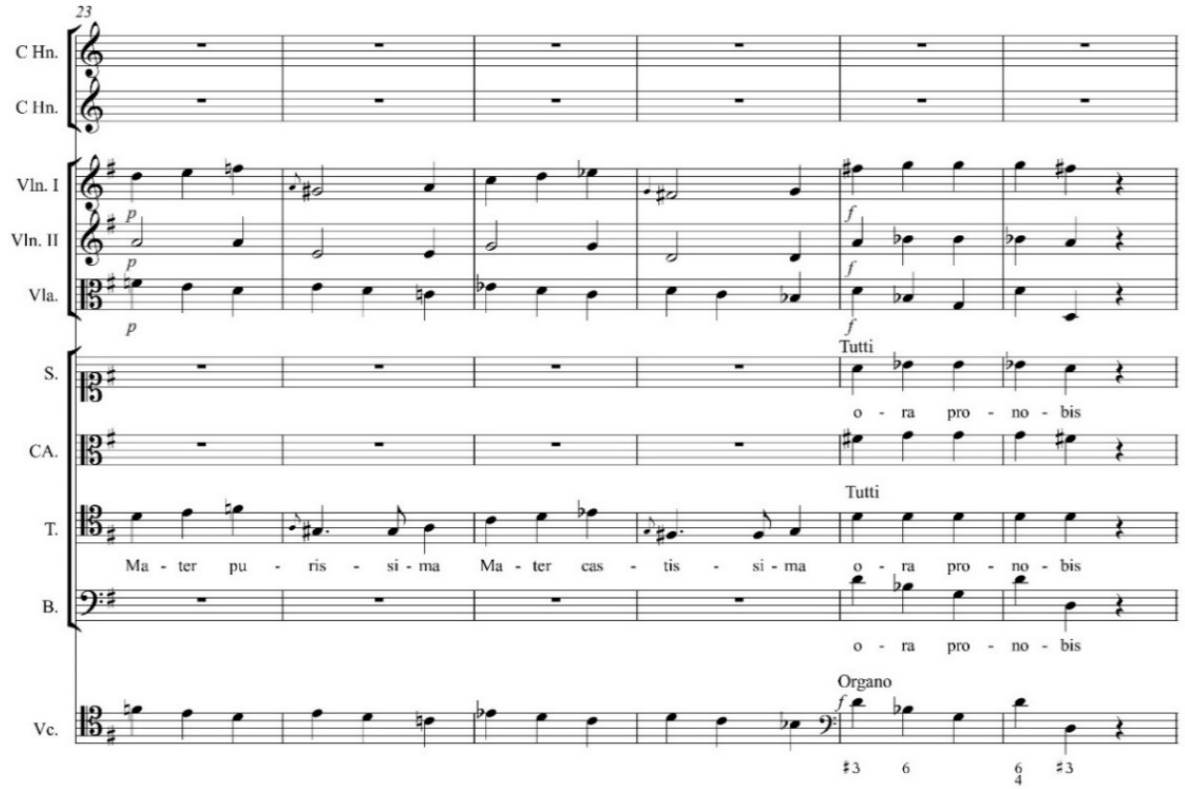
In particular, Martines's earlier arias and vocal works are marked by intensely virtuosic coloraturas, as well as big jumps and rhythmical complexity. The singing voice was especially influential in the development of a conception of legato. Baroque articulation was generally detached – in the case of keyboard repertoire, also owing to the nature of the harpsichord – but increasingly legato gained popularity in instrumental music.[1074] This is also mirrored in her keyboard repertoire by a clear division of roles between hands, where the right hand often displays quasi-improvisation ornamental runs, whereas the left hand remains supporting cast, only occasionally stepping up in a moment of soloistic expression.

[1070] Making the piano sing.
[1071] Martha Elliot. 2006. *Singing in Style. A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices*. Yale University Press, p. 69.
[1072] See e.g. Sonnleithner 1926.
[1073] Burney 1775, p. 312.
[1074] Elliot 2006, pp. 62f.

Additionally, Martines possessed a strong idea regarding the curation of soundscapes, which she adjusted on the one hand through instrumentation,[1075] and on the other hand with very precise dynamic markings. The former included, for instance, her consistent omission of oboes in slow or *cantabile* movements. This pairing of voices with instruments, imitated on the piano, finds its corresponding moments in her non-keyboard repertoire. In Martines's orchestral and vocal music, several examples of organ tacet sections during vocal solos (particularly during soprano and/or contralto solos), as well as pairing voice solos with specific instruments can be found, like tenor solos with violoncello accompaniment instead of full *basso continuo* or *organo*. See, for instance, her *Letania in G* (Example 52).



[1075] Chapter II.i.



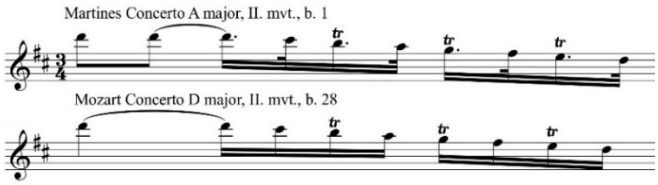
Example 52: Martines, Letania in G, Andantino, bb. 18-28.

Godt insisted that the *Dixit Dominus* was Martines's 'masterpiece.'[1076] However, there are several other extremely exciting compositions that make such a dogmatic statement difficult to agree with. One of these is the *Letania in G*, which appears to have been written with particular care and great nuance. As such, it can be appreciated even more in its biographical context, having been written around the time of the death of Martines's mother.
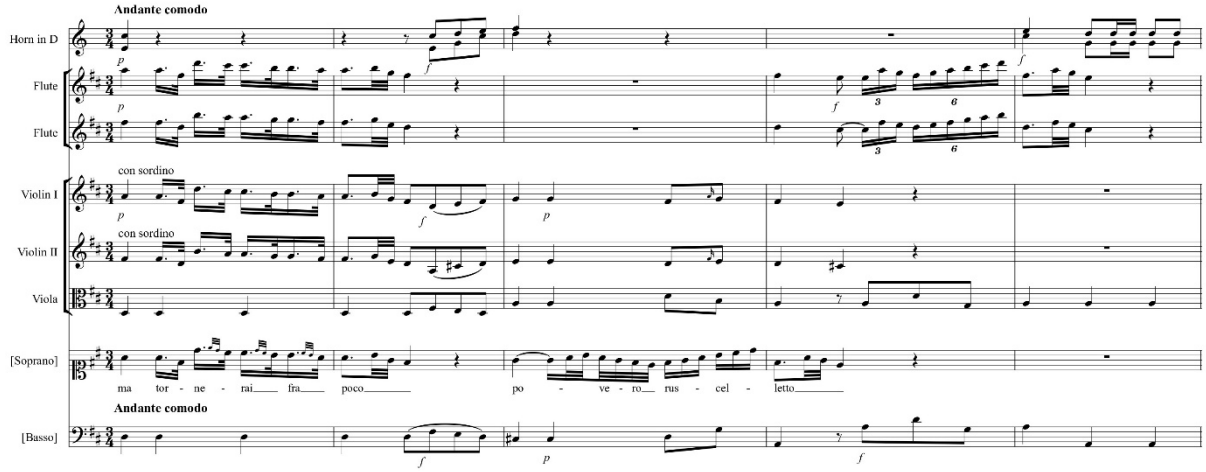
Another example where Martines's ability to curate orchestral soundscapes appears to have caught her contemporaries' attention is the second movement of her A major keyboard concerto. As is characteristic, Martines exchanged oboes for flutes in the slow movement; and it was these flutes that apparently left a lasting impression on Mozart. In the second movement of his G major flute concerto, he directly quotes the opening of Martines's keyboard concerto (Example 53). Another parallel to the opening of the second movement in the A major concerto can be drawn with Martines's last dated composition, *Orgoglioso fiumicello* (1786). The final

[1076] Martines, Godt, 'Dixit Dominus,' p. viii.

section, *andante comodo*, bears similarities with the keyboard movement: beyond the analogous tempo marking, they are both in D major and open with similar gestures that feature the soloist in unison with flutes (Example 54).



Example 53: Martines and Mozart Flute quote.
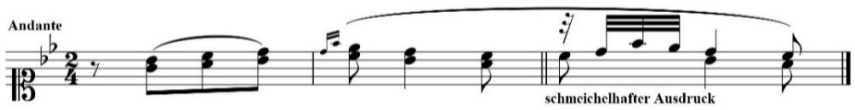


Example 54: Martines, Cantata Orgoglioso fiumicello, Andante comodo, bb. 1-5.

Martines's conception of *cantabile* in instrumental music, directly influenced by her vocal repertoire, is not exclusive to slower instrumental movements. As discussed before, concrete evidence like the tempo marking *Cantabile ma non lento* in one of the arias of *Scelta d'Arie* suggests a broader conception of *cantabile*.[1077] Another important aspect of Martines's writing that seems directly inspired by vocal music is her use of dynamic markings. Naturally, the keyboard repertoire only has sparse markings, as most of it was likely written with her main instrument, the harpsichord, in mind. Nonetheless, the incredibly nuanced orchestral dynamics suggest a very clear concept of dynamically shaped phrases that would also apply to the keyboard – regardless of whether or not the solo-instrument it was intended for has the ability to play *il piano e il forte*. Playing her repertoire on the modern piano, it is necessary to

[1077] See Chapter II.i.
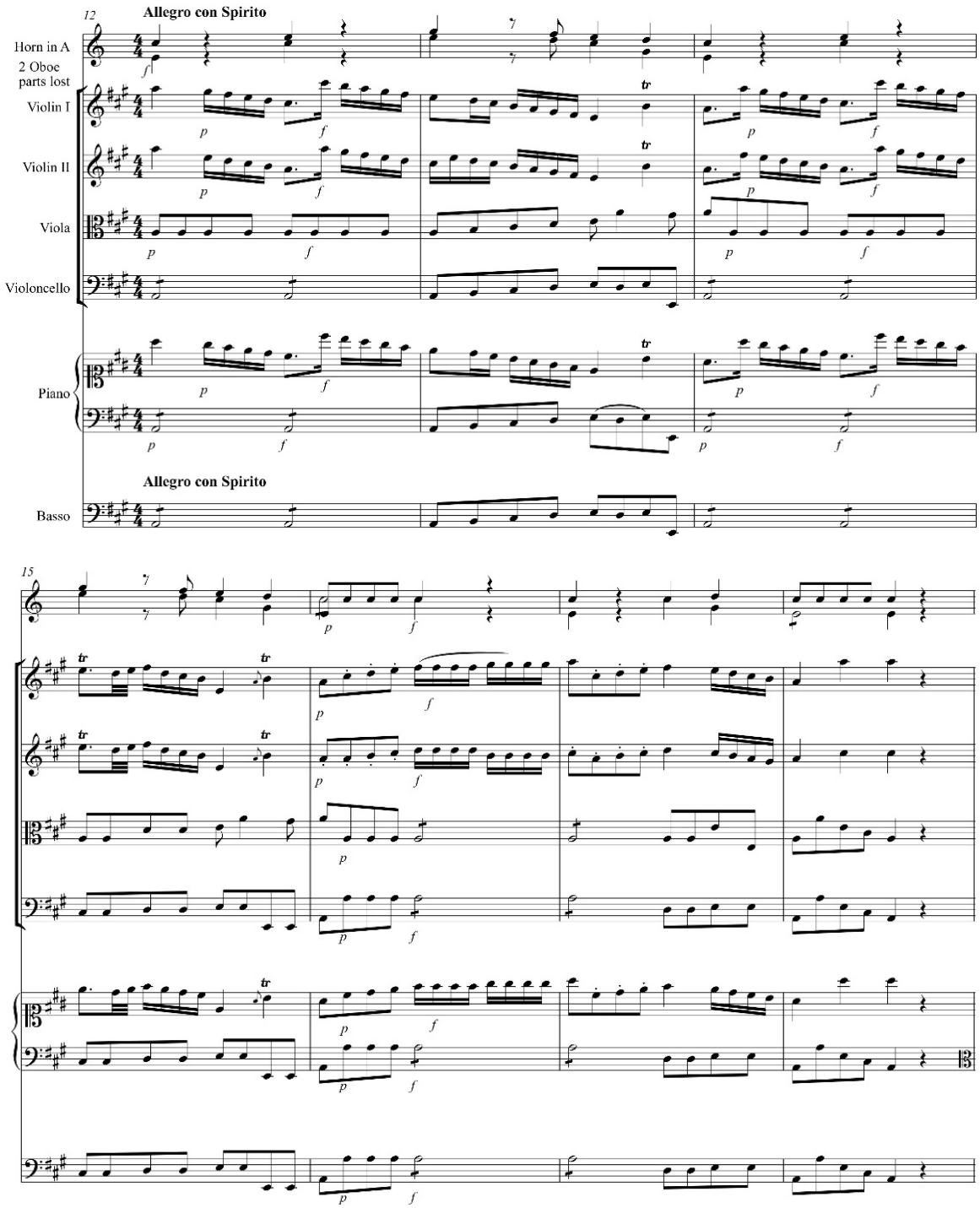
understand her concept of dynamics as phrase-shaping forces. What is most noticeable in her use of precise dynamic markings is that a lot of the time, dynamic shifts occur not on a strong beat, or entirely offbeat. There are some sections where plain dynamic markings fall on regular beats, usually emphasising simple harmonic structures. However, the musically interesting sections, that contain an unwritten *espressivo* habitus are identified through dynamic nuance. Martines's conception of phrases pulls away from the gravity of the barline, and instead follows an unspoken rhetoric that shapes phrases unbound from rigid rhythmic structures.[1078]

Some might think that perhaps the various manuscripts were notated quickly and thus the dynamic markings were jotted down swiftly, without much thought. That may have been a possibility, were it not for the fact that these highly precise, syncopated dynamics are found in almost all of Martines's compositions, consequently across all parts (Example 56). It is a way of thinking of music in upbeats – *auftaktisches Denken* – rather than dragging notes from one beat to the next. This is reminiscent of CPE Bach's conception of the Anschlag, which, according to him, is particularly suitable for vocal parts and, as shown in the example below, lifts the melodic line off the downbeat (see Example 55). But, as Martines demonstrates, this can be expanded on to add *cantabile* qualities to instrumental music. Equally, when dynamic markings do fall on a strong beat, it is often not the beginning of the phrase or instrumental motive. Rather, the dynamic shift happens in a way that appears *auftaktisch* (see Example 57) or else emphasises motivic, sequential structures that pull away from the downbeat (see Example 58).
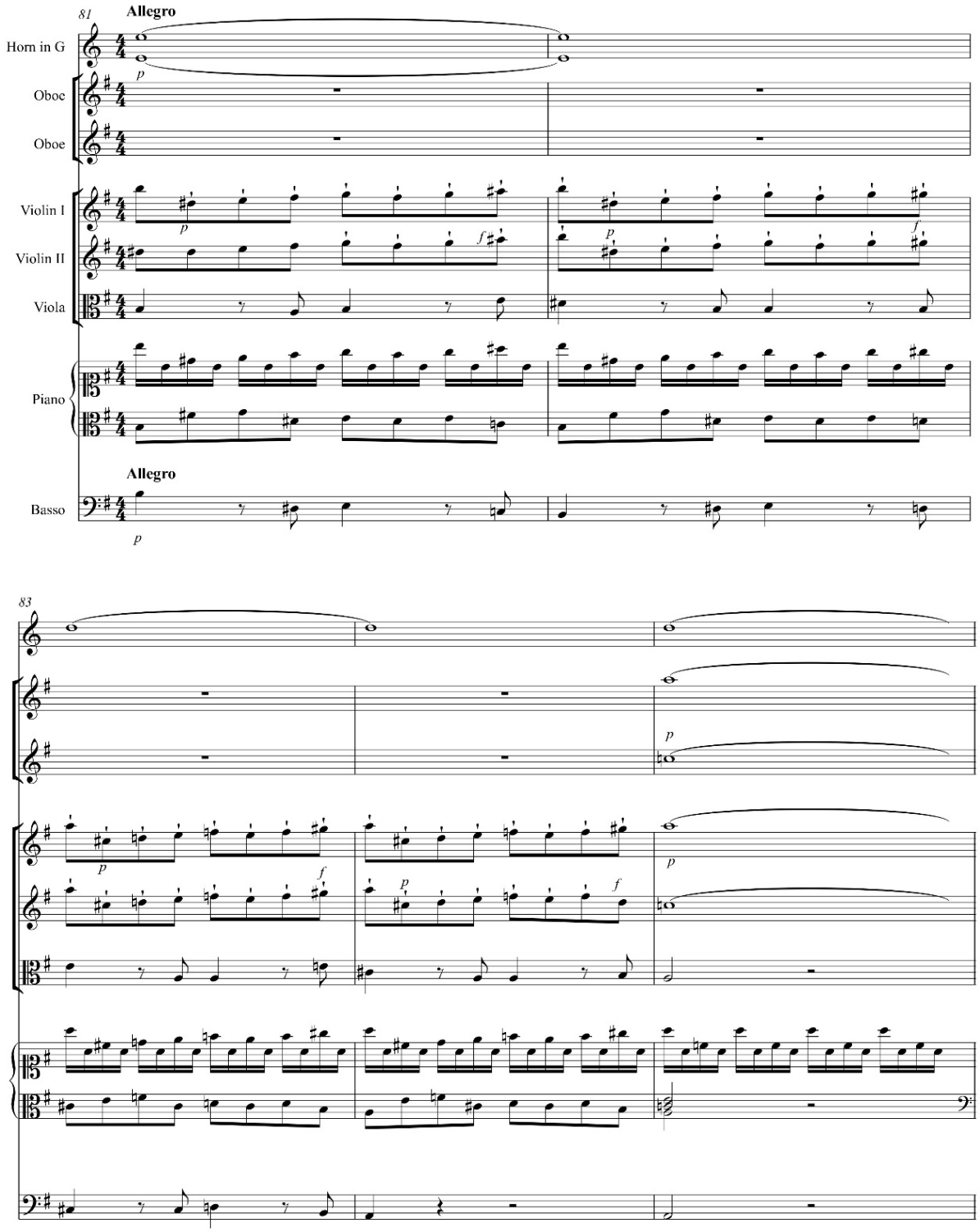


Example 55: CPE Bach, Anschlag.[1079]
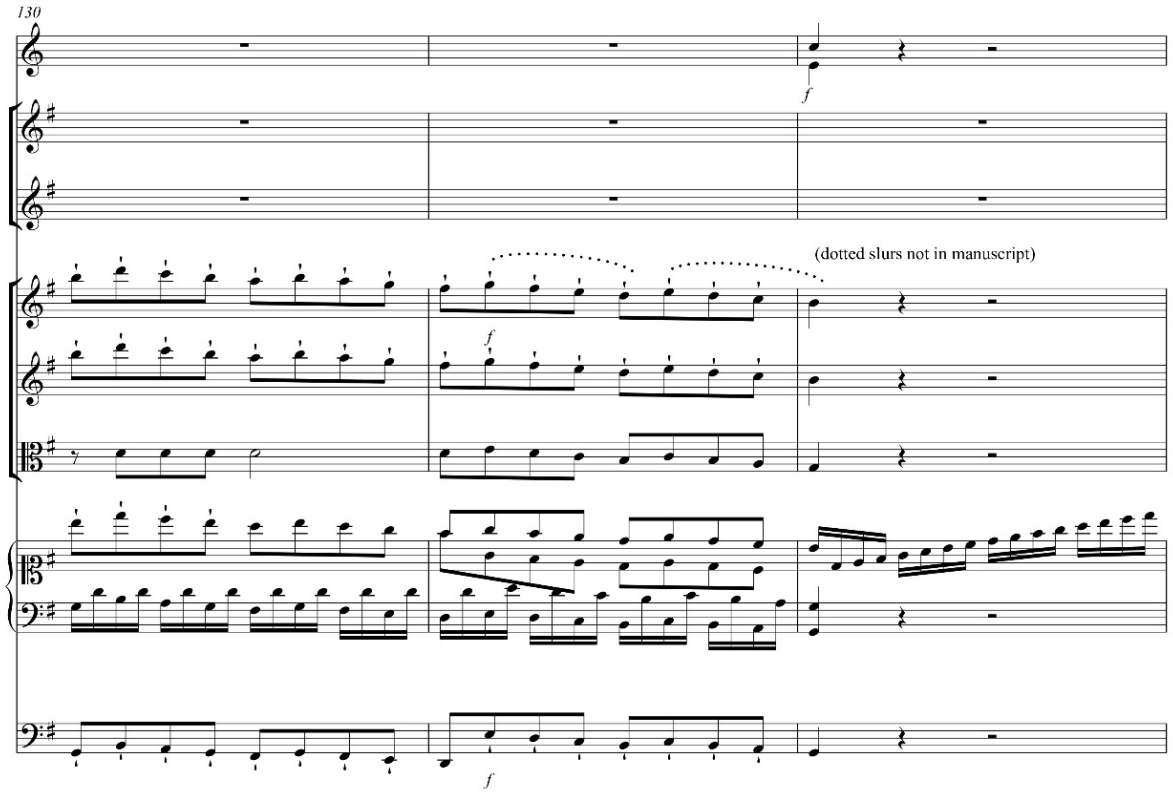
[1078] See Chapter I.ii.
[1079] CPE Bach. 1787. *Versuch über die Wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. Vol. 1, 3. Edition. Leipzig: Schwickert, p. 77.



Example 56: Martines, Concerto A major, I. mvt, bb. 12-18.
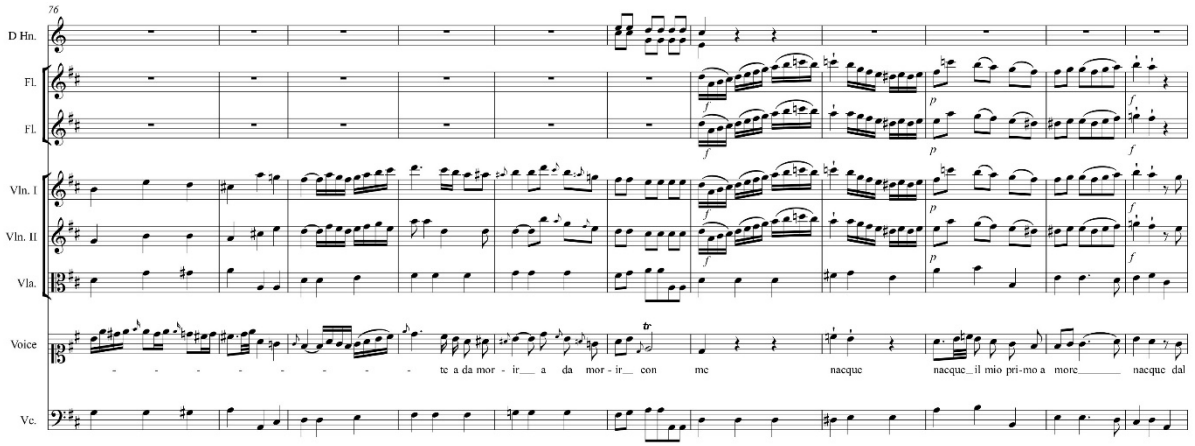


Example 57: Martines, Concerto G major, I. mvt., bb. 81-85.



Example 58: Martines, Concerto G major, I. mvt., bb. 130-132.

Dynamics in instrumental pieces devoid of lyrics appear as though Martines was verbalising an imagined text that took precedence over such 'trivial matters' as bar lines and downbeats. Also, the off-beat dynamic phrasing bears similarities with Martines's rhythmical coloratura shapes that tie over the downbeat, often placing the locus of action off-beat, starting ornamental runs on un-emphasised parts of the bar.[1080] Such spatial guestures shape her music across genres. An example of this can be found in b. 82 of the aria, *Dal suo gentil sembiante*, where violins and flutes switch to *forte* not on the downbeat, but – very clearly notated – on the second semiquaver of the bar (see Example 59).
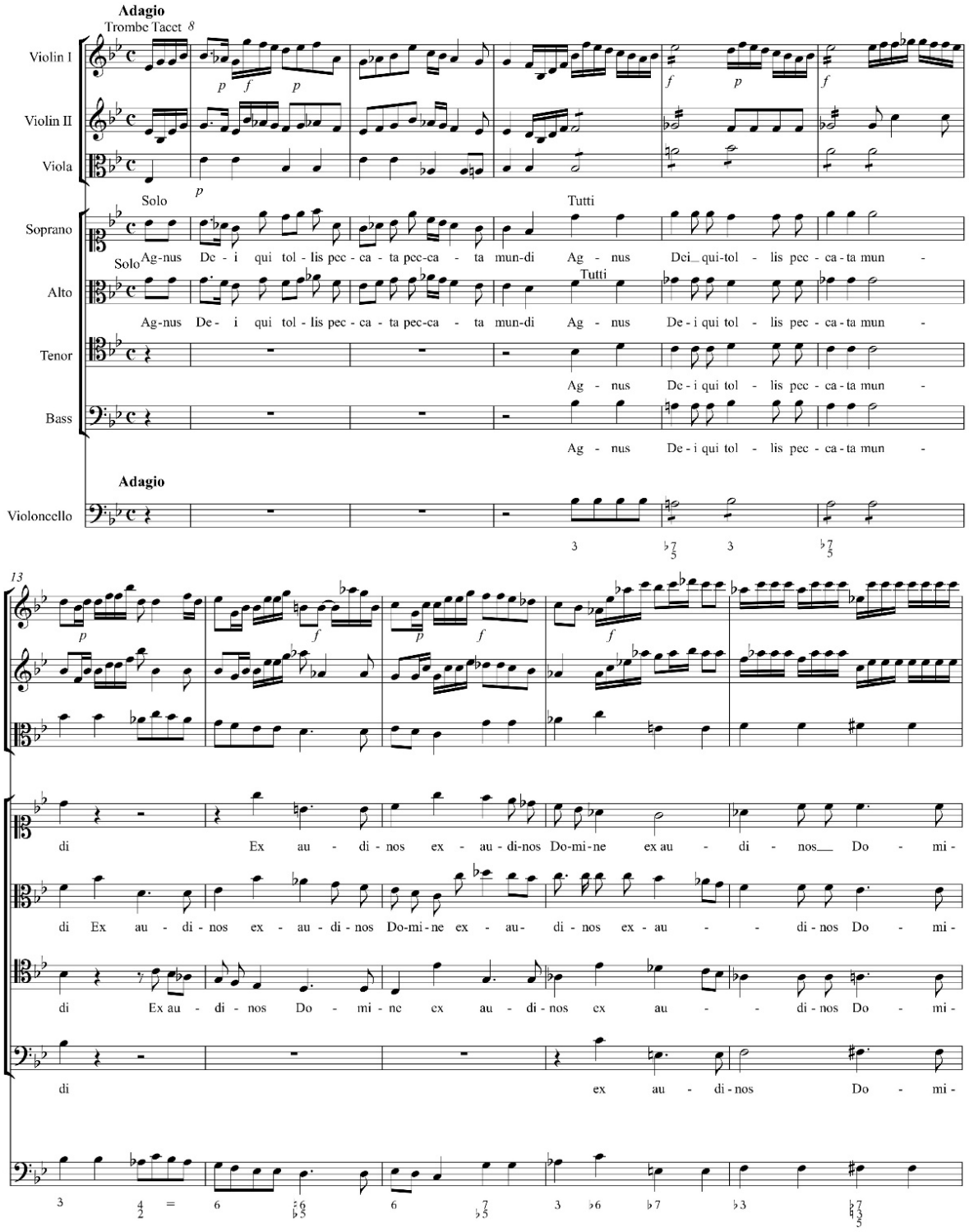
[1080] See Chapter I.i.
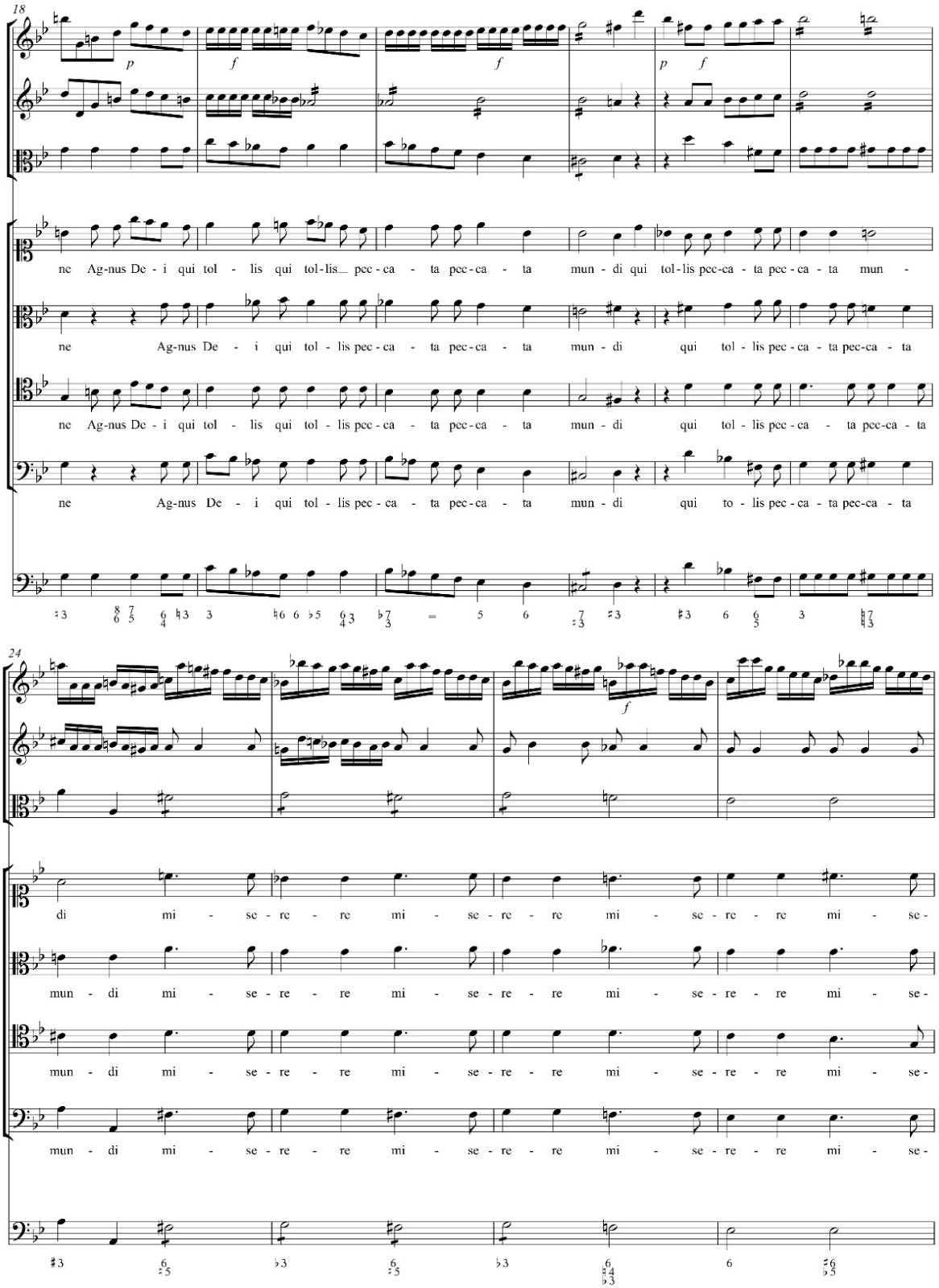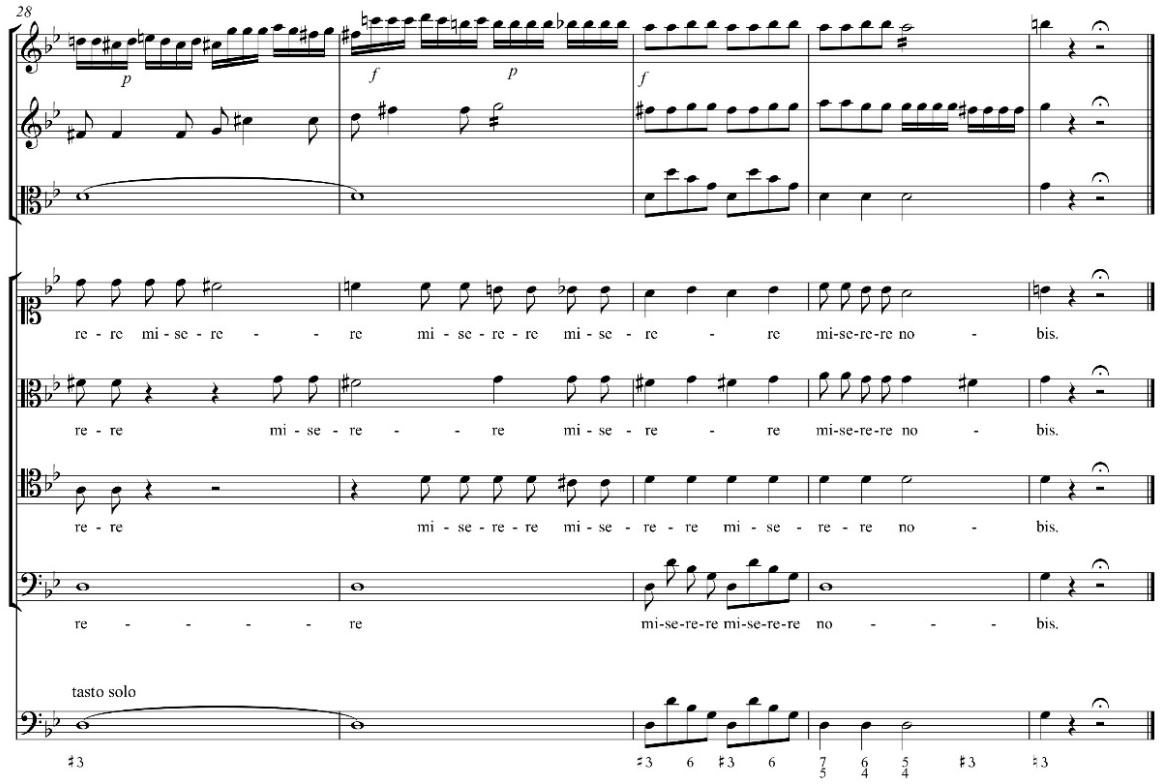


Example 59: Martines, Scelta d'Arie*, Dal suo gentil sembiante, bb. 76-86.*

Another example is in b. 22 of the *Letania's Andantino* (Example 52) where Violin II, Viola, and Cello start the beginning of a new *forte* phrase while the other musicians still hold the final note of the previous phrase. The *forte* also gives additional weight to the harmonic tension created by the false relation that the new phrase introduced. The adagio *Agnus Dei* in g minor (ending with a Picardy third) of the *Letania* also contains very precise, phrase-defining dynamics that add a counterpoint-like shape in the orchestral sound to the vocal phrasings (Example 60). Also noteworthy in this movement is the harmonically-charged chromaticism, as well as the back and forth between orchestra and voices that imitate each other's musical motifs (e.g. 4-note descending lines in bb. 18ff).

Despite lacking dynamic markings, Martines's keyboard repertoire needs to be considered along the same lines as orchestral repertoire with its imagined rhetorics. Oftentimes, her dynamic shifts occur together with gestures and jumps. In order to understand the implicit phrases of the keyboard parts, familiarity with the vocal and orchestral repertoire is indispensable.


Adagio
Trombe Tacet 8
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Solo
Tutti
Soprano
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec-ca - ta mun-di Ag - nus Dei qui-tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Alto
Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec-ca - ta mun-di Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Tenor
Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Bass
Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
Adagio
Violoncello
13
di Ex au - di - nos ex - au - di-nos Do-mi-ne ex au - di - nos Do - mi -
di Ex au - di - nos ex - au - di - nos Do-mi - ne ex - au - di - nos ex - au - di - nos Do - mi -
di Ex au - di - nos Do - mi - ne ex au - di - nos ex au - di - nos Do - mi -
di ex au - di - nos Do - mi -


18
p
f
f
p
f
ne Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis qui tol-lis_ pec - ca - ta pec - ca - ta mun - di qui tol-lis pec-ca - ta pec - ca - ta mun -
ne Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec - ca - ta mun - di qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec-ca - ta
ne Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec - ca - ta mun - di qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec-ca - ta
ne Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta pec - ca - ta mun - di qui to - lis pec - ca - ta pec-ca - ta
24
f
di mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se -
mun - di mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se -
mun - di mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se -
mun - di mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se - re - re mi - se -



Example 60: Martines, Letania in G, Agnus Dei, bb. 8-32.

Conclusion

Analysing Martines's scores through a performance-centred and somatic epistemology that acknowledges the artist's *music world*[1081] allows us to gain insight to the socio-musical content of Martines's keyboard repertoire, which situates her within the atmosphere of measured sociability and personal agency in her salons. This thesis provides a *situational map*[1082] with which to understand Martines and her music, paying particular attention to her keyboard works as a potential site for personal agency and self-fashioned virtuosity. The above is one possible answer to Huber's question, who asked what it means to say 'the pianist speaks'[1083] when engaging with and analysing the music of a composer-performer. This thesis argues that, to situate Martines's keyboard repertoire, it is not helpful to approach it solely from a traditional theoretical point of view that divorces a 'genius' work of art from the conditions of its creations, solely focussing on harmonic and structural elements of analysis. Rather, one needs to understand social, political, performative, and embodied aspects that shaped and guided Martines in her decision-making around curation of her music and its performance, ultimately self-fashioning of her *publicly private* persona.

It is all the more intriguing to discover how Martines impacted musical life in Vienna, including how she inspired her contemporaries. Further, investigating the way Martines was received and canonised (or not) adds to our understanding of how music history has been written. The lives of historical women were shaped by different sets of influences that dictated what they could and could not do – and likely also what they wanted and did not want to do. Evaluating a historical composer's 'worth' by androcentric measures, such as number of publications and public performances, regardless of class and gender, is fundamentally misunderstanding the

[1081] Becker 1982.
[1082] Clarke 2005.
[1083] Huber 2020.

lived realities of many individuals. As demonstrated, Martines deliberately steered clear of public performances and did not pursue a typical 'professional career.' Subsequent writing of history that favoured narratives of male genius distorted historical realities, (deliberately) misunderstanding the term *dilettante* as a quality judgement. This makes all the more interesting that Martines seemed to stay relevant among specialist circles, music collectors, and encyclopaedists, well into the 19th century.

Martines grew up in a family environment that sought an upward trajectory in social mobility – a project which all her siblings partook in, save her younger sister Antonia (speculative reasons for Antonia's virtual absence from the archive have been given in Chapter II.ii). Both through their own agency and through the guidance and connections of Martines's mentor and teacher, the famous librettist and Imperial Court Poet Metastasio, she and the rest of her siblings enjoyed the benefits of relative and ever-growing proximity to the Habsburg court; eventually leading to their ennobling as well as various accolades and honours bestowed on them individually, including Martines's acceptance into the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*. Metastasio was instrumental in overseeing Martines's musical education, and connected her to some of the foremost eminent teachers of the time, including Porpora, Hasse, and (at the time, very young) Haydn, as well as other luminaries of the musical world – among them Padre Martini, who aided Martines becoming an *Accademica*. Implicitly (if not outright), Metastasio also taught the Martines siblings sociability and how to *do* gender and class – preparing them more so for the status they strove for, than the one they were born into. The Habsburg family appeare to have served as something of a role model in how Martines was educated (beyond 'just' music) and how she presented herself – specifically pertaining to an implied piety, and in her focussed pursuit of music and learned matters as an unmarried woman.

Despite modern terminologies not yet existing, gender was a 'hot topic' in 18th-century Vienna. The thesis engages with the question of why it mattered that Martines was a woman composer,

and elaborates that her class and gender need to be understood intersectionally. Countless contemporary sources speak to many written and unwritten rules and laws that shaped, described, and contested in particular the lives of women. Martines herself, somewhat deliberately it seems, fashioned her persona into that of a well-educated and intelligent woman – not only in the field of music. Though 'bookish' women were not spoken of kindly by contemporary writers either, the alternative – superficial, vain, and glamour-obsessed women – were received with even more vitriol.

Empress Maria Theresia, often viewed as the 'mother' of the state, as well as other aristocratic women (such as the Austrian archduchesses, or Maria Antonia Walpurgis of Bavaria) who found themselves target of public interest, had an exemplary effect for other upper- and upper-middle-class women. This specifically also pertained to women's patronage, engagement with, and performance of art and music. For Martines herself, there is reason to believe that she modelled her own (non-)career after those of prominent aristocratic women musicians, carefully curating her image as a dilettante, irrespective of her actual, professional-level abilities. This is especially interesting as Martines was not of noble birth; she was only eventually ennobled. It is intriguing to see how Martines's pursuit of music throughout her life much more closely resembles that of aristocratic women, like pianists Kurzböck and Spielmann, rather than upper-middle class non-aristocratic women. Though, the latter two pianists appear to have performed a lot more than Martines did (judging by newspaper reviews), even if they too strongly favoured (semi-)private settings for their stage appearances. This might be explained by their much more securely established position in society – both through being born into (lower-ranking) aristocracy, and enjoying the socio-economic stability of marriage.

Marriage was a burning issue at the forefront of not just the people's but also the rulers' mind. The perceived 'endemic' of unmarried people, for which there were a number of reasons, not

least the slow-moving careers of men employed by the court and their resulting inability to sustain their own family, was evidently a matter of concern. The emperors specifically sought to intervene, evidenced by the fact that the four Habsburg monarchs who ruled between 1752 and 1819, issued just shy of 150 laws pertaining to and regulating marriage. Habsburg law enshrined patriarchal gender roles in legal text. A plethora of contemporary writers also commented (often in a vitriolic manner) on the social implications of the perceived aberration of 'old maids.' Particularly interesting are the social limitations placed on single women. Most remarkable is a quasi-anonymous early feminist writer, known only by her initials T.R.v.N., who published an essay strongly admonishing the severe injustice of women's lack of agency in matters of choosing a partner, as well as disadvantaging and general discrimination of women in Enlightenment Vienna.

Given Martines's striving for social mobility, her single status gains heightened importance for someone seeking to understand her narrative. Comments like that in Metastasio's will, which bemoans the 'bad fortune' the Martines sisters had may well refer to their unmarried status, which would have also affected their financial security. Further, the lack of freedom for single women, who could not venture out alone without breaking social decorum, would have affected Martines, especially considering her generally strict maintenance of social customs befit for a woman of her (desired) standing.

Given Martines's class- and gender-based obligations – also to her family – in performing her status adequately, her salon and academies gain importance as they provided a powerful tool for both aiding and securing her social upwards-trajectory, as well as providing her a (literal and metaphorical) stage for presenting her self-fashioned persona. This curated identity can be understood as *publicly private*: Martines maintained the status and image of a private, non-professional person and a dilettante in her musical undertakings; while she and her family found themselves repeatedly in the public eye, precisely through their achievements and

increased cultural capital that aided them in their social mobility and progressively more secure position among Vienna's upper-middle class. As such, it is worth noting that Martines's only (properly) public appearances occurred as a composer of (almost exclusively, save for the publications by Haffner) sacral music. Her 'public-facing' music thus emphasised a perceived piety that was venerated by the public, following the example of Empress Maria Theresia, whose overt display of piety was frequently highlighted by her contemporaries and subsequent writers of history. Other women composer-performers of the time, like Maria Theresia Paradis and Josepha Aurnhammer, who were arguably born into similar circumstances to Martines but lacked the apparent striving for social mobility and enjoyed the security of marriage (or a marriage-like relationship in Paradis's case), demonstrated decidedly different career strategies, deliberately seeking an active performance career. On the other hand, those who – like Martines – sought to cling to the label of dilettante implemented comparable strategies. One is reminded of Spielmann: while she preferred performing in private salons as a pianist, the (one currently known) account of a public performance of one of her compositions was of a liturgical work, a mass.[1084]

Another, more literal, display of Martines's identity is her one confirmed portrait, which seems to have been wrongly attributed to Anton von Maron: the case for the miss-attribution is made in Chapter III.ii. Since Martines, as was common, would have had agency in choosing how she was to be depicted, it is yet another indication of her deliberate self-fashioning – from the choice of garments and the direction of her gaze, to the *trompe-l'œil* effect of her hands protruding over the balustrade, and even the (miss-)attribution of Maron as the painter contribute to the paintings identity-constituting properties. The somewhat unusual choice of

[1084] See footnote 494.

showing her hands appears like a nod to her performer's self, in a portrait that otherwise depicts her as the academician composer and learned upper-class woman.

Martines's scores are yet another powerful source for understanding the agency in self-fashioning her persona and curating her interactions. The use of stylistic elements of the *galant* style, including schemata, rhythmic elements, and embellishments, alongside her repeated subversion of expectations and introduction of unexpected harmonic and melodic turns for 'shock value,' speak to the implementation of her music for sociability and engagement directed at a specific, musically educated, upper-class audience. Further, approaching her music through performance-centred epistemology gives insight to Martines's self-fashioned virtuosity. The somatic information captured in the score, accessible through playing the works, and connecting to Martines on an embodied level, allows further understanding of Martines as a *dilettante-virtuoso*. Martines's keyboard music oscillates between elegant ornateness, and wildly unexpected, yet highly controlled, virtuosity and jumps. This is best understood against the backdrop of historical body culture: it favoured graceful and deliberate movements, indicated, among others, by the rise in popularity of promenading in the increasing number of public gardens where the upper class went to be seen, curating their every move and facial expression. Additionally, the focus on cultivation of 'knightly play,' and sitting still (particularly for young women), as a means towards class embodiment adds to our understanding. Martines at the keyboard cleverly broke with the convention of upper-class women demurely sitting still – self-fashioning her virtuosity in a very much present, but less overt, way than some of her contemporaries like Aurnhammer, who lean into showmanship, particularly in her published variations.[1085]

[1085] See Chapter II.ii.

The somatic qualities of her music thus gain importance: within the liminal space of Martines's salon, a setting of cultivated sociability, she was able to self-fashion her *dilettante-virtuoso* stage persona, without risking her *publicly private* status, and emphasising the ideals of *sprezzatura* not only for her as a composer, but also as a performer. As such, her keyboard music – written for herself as a first intended performer – gives account of her personal agency and the embodiment of her social roles, as it purposefully conforms to and subverts norms and expectation. Martines at the keyboard deliberately toys with the listener and directs their gaze, keeping them in suspense and ever engaged.

Appendix 1 – Text

Marianna Martines – Autobiographical Letter

Quoted after: Marianna von Martines, Irving Godt (ed.). 1997. 'Dixit Dominus' in: *Recent Research in the Music of the Classical Era* Vol. 48. A-R Editions, pp. viif.

Most illustrious Milord Father
And Most Honorable Master,

A proper concern not to burden Your Honor, at least until I was assured of the recovery of your precious health by the last note it pleased you to direct to me, was nevertheless reasonable; it was the legitimate excuse for my tardiness in replying to you. Now I trust in your perfect recovery and pay the heavy debt with which the excess of your generous partiality has imposed on me by the favorable judgment you have pronounced upon the Psalm Miserere which I set to music and sent to your at your command; returning to you infinite and humble thanks for the course which your magisterial approbation inspires in me, united to the ardent desire to make myself worthy of it, and to justify for once the kindly disposition with which you so freely honor me.

You command me to inform you of the circumstances of my existence and of my studies without telling me toward what purpose; wherefore, although certain that I am unworthy of your attention, I sketch it herewith, despite the little that is known to me, not knowing how to bring myself to disobey you. My father, Don Nicolo Martines, was born in Naples of a Spanish father. In his youth, he followed in his father's footsteps by embracing a military career. He came to the Germanies in one of those regiments that supported the cause of Charles VI after the War of Succession. Here, preferring the comforts of civilian life to the alarums of the military, he took to himself a German wife of most respectable birth and character; and, having found an opportunity to settle himself properly in the Papal Embassy in the post of Master of Ceremonies, he passed the rest of his life there tranquilly under five nuncios: Passionei, Paolucci, Serbelloni, Crivelli, and Borromeo.

I was born in the year 1744 on the 4th day of May. In my seventh year they began to introduce me to the study of music, for which they believed me inclined by nature. Its rudiments were taught me by Signor Giuseppe Haydn, currently Maestro di Cappella to Prince Esterhazy, and a man of much reputation in Vienna, particularly with regard to instrumental music. In counterpoint, to which they assigned me quite early, I have had no other master than Signor

Giuseppe Bonno, a most elegant composer of the imperial court, who, sent by Emperor Charles VI to Naples, stayed there many years and acquired excellence in music under the celebrated masters Durante and Leo.

My exercise has been, and still is, to combine the continual daily practice of composing with the study and scrutiny of that which has been written by the most celebrated masters such as Hasse, Jommelli, Galluppi and the others who are famous today and who are praised for their musical labors – and without neglecting the older [generation] such as Hendel, Lotti, Caldara, and others. Being persuaded that to succeed in music one needs other knowledge, I set about acquiring, in addition to German and Italian (my native tongues), a familiarity with French, in order to be able to read the fine poets and writers who distinguish themselves in it; and [this] without failing to practice continually in speaking and translating from one language into the other such noteworthy writings as the *Galateo* of Monsignor Della Casa which I just translated from Italian into French.

But in all my studies, the chief planner and director was always, and still is, Signor Abbate Metastasio who, with the paternal care he takes of me and of all my numerous family, renders an exemplary return for the incorruptible friendship and tireless support which my good father lent him up until the very last days of his life. Thus are fulfilled the commands of Your Honor. I hope that my ready obedience will procure for me a continuation [of them]; and meanwhile, full of gratitude and respect, I devotedly affirm myself of Your Most Illustrious Reverence,

at Vienna, 16 December 1773

Your Most Devoted and Obedient Servant,

Marianna Martines,

Accademica Filarmonica

Pietro Metastasio – Codicillo

Source: Abate Conte d'Ayala (ed.). 1795. *Opere postume del Sig. Ab. Pietro Metastasio* Vol. 3, Vienna: Alberti, pp. 356-360.

CODICILLO

IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN.

Dopo aver fatto sin dall'anno 1765 il mio ultimo testamento, che appresso di me si conserva, scritto, e sottoscritto di mia propria mano, è piaciuto all'Altissimo di privarmi di due allor dimoranti in Roma miei carissimi fratello, e sorella, Leopoldo, e Barbara; onde avendo essi cessato di vivere, si trova la mia eredità scaricata del peso degli assegnamenti da me destinati nel testamento suddetto a favore di loro, e posso ora con minor parsimonia soddisfare agli altri obblighi che mi suggerisce la mia presentemente meno limitata gratitudine; ed a tal oggetto aggiungo alla già detta disposizione mia testamentaria il presente codi-cillo, intendendo, che si suppongano in esso espresse tutte le possibili legali clausole, che anno forza d'assicurarne la validità.

Alle persone della famiglia Martinez, con le quali convivo, incominciando dagli onorati loro genitori, io sono debitore per il corso di ben cinquanta anni di infi-nite, assidue, affettuose, utili, e necessarie assistenze, così nelle molte vicende della mia sempre cagionevole salute, come in tutte le innumerabili cure dome-stiche; e per legge di dovuta corrispondenza mi son creduto, e credo obbligato a renderne loro tutto il contraccambio, che per me si possa.

Dei sei, sì maschi, che femmine, figliuoli Martinez a me dai benemeriti padri loro, in punto di morte, teneramente raccomandati, il primogenito, signor consiglier Giuseppe Martinez mio erede, amico, e figliuolo d'elezione, se non di sangue, à già meritato co' suoi distinti ben impiegati talenti, ed incorrotti costumi dall'illuminata, e benefica giustizia de' nostri augustissimi sovrani l'adempimento delle mie premure, e de' miei voti per lui; e gli altri suoi fratelli minori Dionisio, Gioanni, e Carlo sono già tutti e tre da lungo tempo impiegati, e con approva-zione che autorizza le speranze de' loro progressi; ma alle due loro sorelle, più bisognose degli altri di sussistenza, e men degli altri, per cagion del sesso, abili ad onestamente procurarsela, non à somministrato la fortuna il mini mo de' suoi favori; onde non rimangon loro altri capitali, che gl'irreprensibili loro costumi, e la mia dovuta premura di assicurarle, per quanto è a me possibile, da una dolo-rosa indigenza.

Lascio perciò, e lego alla maggiore delle suddette signore sorelle, cioè alla signora Marianna Martinez, fiorini venti mila (dico fiorini 20000) viennesi, da pagarsi a lei una volta sola dal mio erede prontamente, o in carte del banco della città di Vienna, se così piacerà alla legataria, o in altra moneta corrente, se così fosse a lei più opportuno, o non se ne trovassero allora nella mia eredità; ma voglio che col pagamento di questi venti mila fiorini, che lascio e lego alla suddetta signora Marianna Martinez nel presente codicillo, s'intenda compreso ancora, e pagato l'altro legato di fiorini dodici mila (dico fiorini 12000) che a lei nell'antecedente mio testamento era già fatto, e che in questo codicillo ò voluto accrescere fino alla somma di fiorini venti mila (dico fiorini 20000) ed eguagliar così i legati delle due sorelle.

Lascio perciò parimente, e lego alla signora Antonia Martinez minore di lei sorella fiorini venti mila (dico fiorini 20000) da pagarsi prontamente a lei dal mio erede una volta sola in carte del banco della città di Vienna; e se a lei altri-menti piacesse, o non se ne trovassero allora nella mia eredità, in altra moneta corrente.

Benchè io creda superfluo il seguente mio suggerimento, non trascuro di raccomandare alle suddette due signore sorelle di continuar a coabitare, e convivere col signor Giuseppe Martinez mio erede, e loro maggior fratello, prestando a lui quell'affettuosa compagnia, ed assistenza, che gli ànno finora prestata, ed approfittandosi de' savj di lui consiglj, e contribuendo con discreta propor zione all'annue, e diurne comuni spese dell'alloggio, e del vitto coi frutti dei loro respet tivi capitali; e se pensassero esse a cambiar di stato, l'esorto con tutta la premura maggiore a non avventurarsi con un tal passo, da può cui dependere la felicità, o l'infelicità di tutto il rimanente della lor vita, senza la guida, e l'assenso del savio loro, ed amoroso maggior fratello.

Lascio parimente, e lego agli altri tre fratelli Dionisio, Gioanni, Carlo Martinez due mila fiorini per ciascheduno (dico fiorini 2000) da pagarsi loro una volta sola in moneta corrente di Vienna dal mio erede; e questi sei mila fiorini, cioè due mila per ciascheduno, ch'io lascio, e lego ai suddetti tre fratelli Dionisio, Gioanni, e Carlo, son un pegno del contraccambio d'amore ch'io ò sempre reso, e rendo a 'medesimi, benchè obbligati i due primi dai loro impieghi a viver sempre da me lontani, e non lasciando al terzo alcun ozio l'assiduo, e faticoso esercizio del suo, non abbiano potuto dimostrarmi in fatti al par degli altri la loro da me non ignorata riconoscenza.

Lascio parimente, e lego al signor Giuseppe Ercolini, abile, fedele, ed antico servitore della corte cesarea, e mio cordiale amico, fiorini mille (dico fiorini 1000) da pagarsi a lui prontamente una volta sola dal mio erede in moneta corrente; e questi non già per le molte copie da lui esattamente fatte degli scritti miei, così per servizio dell'augustissima corte, dalla quale mi era

egli stato a tale oggetto assegnato, come per le altre, delle quali per mio privato uso, à voluto amorevolmente incaricarsi, e delle quali, benchè non mai richiesto da lui, non ò trascurato di rendergli le ben meritate ricompense; ma per lasciargli una prova del mio gradimento, e corrispondenza dell'affetto da lui dimostratomi nella costante, e spontanea sua consuetudine di frequentar la mia casa.

Lascio parimente, e lego ai due antichi, fedele affezionati miei servitori Paolo e Mattia, che si trovano attualmente appresso di me fiorini cinquecento (dico fiorini 500) per ciascheduno da pagarsi prontamente loro per una volta sola dal mio erede in moneta corrente.

Nel resto (incominciando dall'instituzione dell'erede) confermo tutto ciò ch'è già stabilito, ed ordinato nell'antecedente mio testamento, al qual aggiungo ora il presente codicillo; avvertendo per altro, che se si trovasse in mia casa maggior numero di serve di quelle da me nel suddetto testamento supposte, intendo, che sian tutte egualmente trattate, e che il cocchiere ancora, che si troverà all'attual servizio in tempo della mia morte, sia parimente trattato come era da me ordinato, che si trattasse quello che si trovava appresso di me, quando io scrissi il suddetto mio testamento.

E perchè per il corso di oltre quarant'anni, ò io sofferto, e soffro tuttavìa strani, e tormentosi sconcerti di salute, che mi ànno reso talvolta quasi insopportabile la vita, senza che veruno de' tanti e tanti medici dottissimi, ed amici miei abbia potuto farmene mai neppur immaginar la cagione, desidero, e voglio che il mio erede, che mi à tanto perciò con filial tenerezza e compatito, e compianto, voglio, dico, che quando avrà piaciuto all'Onnipotente che il mio corpo sia divenuto cadavere, faccia che sia aperto, ed internamente esaminato da un abile chirurgo.

Sarebbe assai grande il frutto dell'opera, se i lumi che se ne potranno per avventura ritrarre, procurassero alcun sollievo a qualche infelice mio simile. Così e non altrimente testo, lego, ordino e dispongo.

Vienna 17 Aprile 1780.

Io Pietro Trapassi alias Metastasio dichiaro d'avere scritto e sottoscritto il presente Codicillo tutto di propria mano.

Item: Lascio per le scuole normali fiorini dieci moneta corrente.

Pietro Trapassi alias Metastasio.

Gioanni Ugone Barone di Hagen, Presidente delSupr.

Cons.Imp.Aul. come testimonio pregato.

Carlo Haubt come testimonio pregato.

Ed io Michele Costlunger d'Apostolica ed Imperial

Autorità Notaro Pubbl. giurato sono stato presente,

ed ò veduto sottoscrivere, e sigillare il presente
Codicillo dall'Illustrissimo Signo Codicillante
Pietro Metastasio ecc.

Translation

Codicil

In the name of the lord amen.

After having made my last will in the year 1765, that is preserved next to me, written, and signed with my own hand, it pleased the Highest to deprive me of two then residing in Rome, my dearest brother and sister, Leopold and Barbara; whereby, having ceased to live, my inheritance found itself discharged of the weight of the assignment intended by me in the aforementioned will in favour of them, it is now possible to fulfil my other obligations with less parsimony which suggest to me my presently great gratitude; and to that object I add this codicil to the aforementioned provision of my testament, meaning, that all possible legal clauses which have the power to ensure their validity are supposed to be expressed in it.

To the people of the Martinez family, with whom I live, starting with their honoured parents, I am indebted for the course of good fifty years of endless, affectionate, useful, and necessary assistance, such as in many events of my always frail health, as in all the innumerable domestic cares; and by law of due correspondence I believed and believe myself obligated to return to them all the reciprocation that is possible for me.

Of the six Martinez children, both male and female, tenderly recommended by their meritorious father, at the point of death; the firstborn, Mr. councillor Joseph Martinez, my heir, friend, and son by choice, if not by blood, he – with his distinguished, well-employed talents, and uncorrupted morals – has already earned from the enlightened and beneficial justice of our most majestic rulers the fulfilment of my solicitude, and of my votes for him; and his other younger brothers Dionysius, Giovanni and Carlo have all three of them already been employed for a long time, and that with recognition that justifies the hope of their progress; but to their two sisters, more in need of subsistence than the others, and less able than the others, by reasons of sex, to honestly procure it, fortune did not do them the least of its favours; so they have no other

capital left than their irreprehensible morals and my due care to secure them, as far as I can, from painful poverty.

Therefore, I leave, and I bind to the elder of the aforementioned sisters, that is to Ms. Marianna Martinez, twenty thousand (I mean 20 000) Viennese florins, to be paid to her only once by my heir promptly in bank notes of the city of Vienna, if the legatee so pleases, or another currency if that were more appropriate for her, or if there were none [no notes] in my inheritance; but I want that with the payment of these twenty thousand florins, which I leave and bind to the aforementioned Ms. Marianna Martinez in this codicil, it should be included again, and paid the other legacy of twelve thousand florins (I mean 12 000 florins) that was already made to her in my previous will, and that in this codicil I wanted to increase it up to the sum of twenty thousand florins (I mean 20 000 florins) and thus equate the legacies of the two sisters.

Therefore, likewise I leave, and bind to Ms. Antonia Martinez, her younger sister, twenty thousand florins (I mean 20 000 florins) to be paid promptly to her by my heir only once in bank notes of the city of Vienna, and if she liked it otherwise, or if they were not found in my inheritance, in another currency.

Although I think my following suggestion is superfluous, I do not neglect to recommend to the aforementioned two sisters to continue to cohabitate and live with my heir, and their older brother, Joseph Martinez, lending him that affectionate company and assistance which they have given him up till now, and taking advantage of his advice, and contributing with a fair proportion to the annual and daily expenses of accommodation, and food with the fruits of their respective funds; and if they thought about changing their situation, I urge them with all the greatest concern not to venture into such a move from which the happiness or the unhappiness of the rest of their lives can depend, without the guidance and assent of their wise and loving older brother.

I likewise bequeath and leave to the other three brothers, Dionisio, Gioanni, and Carlo Martinez, two thousand florins each (I say 2,000 florins), to be paid to them in a single instalment in current Viennese currency by my heir. And these six thousand florins – namely, two thousand for each of them –which I bequeath and leave to the aforementioned three brothers, Dionisio, Gioanni, and Carlo, are a token of the love I have always shown and continue to show them. Although the first two have been compelled by their occupations to live far from me, and the third, due to the constant and arduous exercise of his own, has had no leisure, preventing them from demonstrating their gratitude in deeds as much as the others, I have never been unaware of their appreciation.

I likewise bequeath and leave to Mr. Giuseppe Ercolini,[1086] a capable, faithful, and long-standing servant of the imperial court, and my dear friend, one thousand florins (I say 1,000 florins), to be paid to him promptly in a single instalment by my heir in current currency. This is not for the many copies he has diligently made of my writings – both for the service of the most august court, to which he had been assigned for this purpose, and for others that he willingly undertook for my private use, for which, though he never requested it, I did not fail to grant him well-deserved rewards. Rather, it is to leave him a token of my appreciation and acknowledgment of the affection he has shown me through his constant and spontaneous habit of frequenting my home.

I also bequeath and leave to the two ancient, faithfully affectionate servants Paolo and Mattia, who are currently with me, five hundred florins (I say 500 florins) each, to be promptly paid to them only once by my heir in current currency.

For the rest (starting with the institution of the heir) I confirm everything that is already established and ordered in my previous will, to which I now add the present codicil; furthermore warning that if there were to be found in my house a greater number of servants than those supposed by me in the aforementioned will, I intend that they should all be treated equally; and that the coachman, who will be in current service at the time of my death, should be equally treated, as I ordered the one who was with me when I wrote the aforementioned will be treated.

And because for the course of more than forty years, I have suffered, and still suffer, strange and tormenting health problems, which have at times made my life almost unbearable, without any of the many, many very learned doctors and friends of mine having ever been able to even imagine the cause, I desire, and I want, that my heir, who therefore has so much tenderness and compassion for me, and pitied me, I want, I say, that when it pleases the Almighty that my body has become a corpse, he will have it opened and internally examined by a skilled surgeon.

The fruit of the work would be very great if the lights that might perchance be drawn from it provided any relief to some of my unfortunate peers. Thus, and not otherwise, I make my will, bind, order, and decree.

Vienna 17 April 1780

I, Pietro Trapassi alias Metastasio, declare that I have written and signed this Codicil entirely by my own hand.

Idem: I leave ten florins in current currency for normal schools.

[1086] Ercolini was employed at the court and also worked as a copyist (see Emily M. Wuchner. 2017. The Tonkünstler-Societät and the oratorio in Vienna, 1771-1798. PhD Diss. University of Illinois, p. 82).

Pietro Trapassi alias Metastasio.
Gioanni Ugone Barone di Hagen, Presidente delSupr.
Cons.Imp.Aul. as a witness requested.
Carlo Haubt as a witness requested.
And I Michele Costlunger of d'Apostolica ed Imperial
Public Notary Authority I swore I was present,
and I saw the present
Codicil signed and sealed
by the Most Illustrious Codicilating Lord
Pietro Metastasio etc.

Joseph Martines – Custos Application

Source: AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Hofakten des Ministeriums des Inneren 11-10 'Neubesetzung der Stelle nach verstorbenen Kustos Nikolaus Forlosia'[1087]

Memoria

Giuseppe Martines Viennese d'anni 29 – in 30 Aggiunto per lingue Orientali alla Biblioteca Imperiale, supplica d'essere promosso al grado di Secondo Custode della medesima vacato per la morte di Niccolò Forlosia:

Primo

Appoggia le sue umilissime suppliche sull'assidrio e laborioso servizio da lui prestato in ogni impiego, anche fuori della sua prima destinazione, per lo spazio di sette anni col solo soldo di fiorini 250; senza aver mai mancato al Servizio della biblioteca ne pure un istante, se non quando lo à esatto il servizio delle persone Augustissime.

Secondo

Sulla cognizione di molte lingue (necessaria sopra ogn'altra cosa al preteso posto) cioè della Tedesca, Italiana Francese, Boema[,] Spagnuola, Inglese, Latina, Greca, Ebrea[,] Araba e Turca, delle quali alcune parla, e scrive, e tutte almeno intende, di che à dato numerose prove interpretando difficilissimi numismi dell'Augustissimo Imperatore.

Terzo

Sulla non ordinaria perizia da lui acquistata degli autori, del loro credito, delle varie edizioni, e del merito delle medesime, e specialmente della prattica meccanica che á dovuto contrarre della Imperial Biblioteca nel registrare, et ordinare di propria mano una gran parte di quella.

Sulla fortuna che à egli avuta di essere stato nutrito nelle buone lettere, onde non si trova forastiere affatto in alcuno dé varj rami della medisima.

Quatro

E finalmente sulla sua fin ora irreprensibile condotta et onesti costumi, de quali può render testimonianza tutta l'Imperial corte, dove già da cinque anni é notissimo per l'onore che gode d'insegnar la lingua Italiana a cinque SS^{mi} Areiduchi.

È se si richiedesse per la Biblioteca, persona pronfondamente informata della letteratura Tedesca, il Supplicante come nazionale e studioso la parla e scrive decentemente: à tutta quella cognizione degli autori, e libri Tedeschi, che à potuto prendere nel registrare et ordinare quelli

[1087] Source: https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=2891249 (accessed 2024-12-04).

che si trovano nell'Imperial Biblioteca, e per quella porzione di notizia che potesse mancargli, è cosa assai facile di provedersene, quando gli venga ordinato di applicarvisi particolarmente. Oltre ciò è da riflettere che quando il povero supplicante non sia promosso, si trova aver perduto sette anni da lui faticosamente impiegati per rendersi abile a quel mestiere al quale la Clementissima sua Sovrana lo avea destinato: e si troverà novizio in ogni altra carriera a 30 anni dell'età sua: quando avrebbe gran bisogno del frutto degli studj suoi per sostentare la povera sua famiglia, cioè un Padre inabile e cadente: una madre inferma e quattre tra fratelli e sorelle tutti bisognosi del suo soccorso.

Translation

Memory

Joseph Martines of Vienna, 29 years of age – in [his] 30[th year], Adjunct for Oriental Languages to the Imperial Library, begs to be promoted to the rank of second custodian of the same vacated by the death of Niccolò Forlosia:

First

He supports his most humble petition on [the base of] diligent and laborious service given by him in every job, even outside of his first destination, for the space of seven years with only a salary of 250 Florins; without ever failing in his service at the Library, not even for an instance, except when it is required by the service of the most Illustrious People.

Second

His extensive knowledge of many languages (necessary above all else in the claimed position) that is of the German, Italian, French, Bohemian, Spanish, English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish, some of which he speaks, and writes, and all of which he at least understands, as he gives numerous proofs by interpreting the most difficult numismatic pieces of the most August Emperor.

Third

On the exceptional expertise acquired by him of the authors and their credit, of various editions, and of the merit of the same, and especially of mechanical practice which he had to develop at the Imperial Library by registering, and organising a large part of it with his own hand, on good fortune he had to have been nourished in good letters, so that he is not found unfamiliar at all in any of the various branches of the same.

Fourth

And finally, about his hitherto blameless conduct and honest customs, of which the entire Imperial Court can testify, where already for five years he is well known for the honour he enjoys teaching the Italian language to five illustrious Archdukes.

He is, if it were required for the library, a person thoroughly acquainted with German literature, the applicant as a national and scholar speaks and writes it decently: to all that knowledge of the authors, and German books, that he was able to take in registering and ordering those found in the Imperial Library, and for any portion of information that he might have missed, it is very easy to obtain it when he is ordered to apply himself especially to it.

Beyond this, it is to be considered that, if the poor applicant is not promoted, he finds himself having wasted seven years laboriously employed to make himself skilled at the profession to which her most gracious Sovereign had destined him: and he will find himself novice in any other career at 30 years of his age: when he would have great need for the fruit of his efforts to support his poor family that is, an incapacitated and frail father, an ailing mother and four brothers and sisters all in need of his assistance.

Van Swieten on Joseph Martines

Excerpt of the ‘note sur la place vacante par la mort de Forlosia, premier custode de la bibliotheque Imperiale‘ by Van Swieten to Count Uhlefeld from 23 April 1758, as it pertains to Joseph Martines.

Source: AT-OeSTA/HHStA HausA Hofakten des Ministeriums des Inneren 11-10 ‘Neubesetzung der Stelle nach verstorbenen Kustos Nikolaus Forlosia’[1088]

Giuseppe Martines

Neè a Vienna, mais de race Italienne: il allegue cincq raisons pour avoir la place vacante, quete vas parcourir succintement.

i.

Son service assidu et laborieux pendant sept ans dans toute sorte de besogne, mesme quand elle fut pas de son departement. Sur cela il ij est a remarquer qu’il propose pas le fait tel comme il est.

Martinez fils d’un gentilhomme de la nunciature, qui estoit mal pourvu des biens de la fortune, avoit estudiè, mais pouvoit pas vivre. Le marquis de Poal, feu le feld marechal Konigsegg m’ont persecutè pour le placer dans la bibliotheque, mais il n’ij avoit pas de place vacante, et je fis voir a ces seigneurs, qu’il convenoit pas du tout de prendre un surnumeraire. Sa majestè par l’intercession de ces seigneurs a accordè f250 par an de pure grace, non comme un salaire des travaux, qu’il rendroit, mais pour le mettre en estat de vivre, pendant qu’il continueroit ses estudes. En mesme tems il avoit la permission de frequenter la bibliotheque plus tost pour se perfectionnet que pour ij travailler aussij n’aij je jamais insistè la dessus dans le commencement. De la paroit, qu’il a fort mal nommè la grace de sa majestè un soldo.

Apres quelque tems il m’a dit, qu’il souhaiteroit estre associè au travail de la bibliotheque, pour s’avancer ún jour: je luis aij accordè cela facilement, en l’exhortaut a la diligence.

Je puis pas dire qu’il m’a satisfait par son assiduitè, car il venoit sourvent trop tard, sortoit trop tost etc: Je luij aij donnè des admonitions, mais sans beaucoup de fruit: comme je n’avoij point besoin de son travail je me suis tu sur cet article. Mais j’aij priè Kolar de luij communiquer ses lumieres sur les langues orientales, ce qu’il a fait.

Il ij a cinq ans qu’il a trouvè le moijen de s’introduire a la cour pour enseigner la langue Italienne a L: L: A: A: Roijales: il me communiquoit, qu’il es toit-admij. Je luij dis, qu’aucune

[1088] Source: https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=2891249 (accessed 2024-12-04).

raison pouvoit empecher de servir sa Majestè de cette facon, puis qu'il avoit contractè aucune obligation avec le travail de la bibliotheque, mais je l'aij averti en mesmo tems, que cela sera jamais mis en ligne de compte comme un merite pour accuper un jour une place a la bibliotheque, puisque cette commission le detournoit entierement de ce travail.

Il m'a repondu, qu'il frequenteroit pourtaut la bibliotheque, autant qu'il pouvoit. Mais le tems, qu'il devoit donner a ses lecons, sur tout, a Schönbrunn dans l'esté, ou le travail de la bibliotheque est le plus necessaire, a fait, que j'y comptois point du tout.

Par consequent il est clair, que l'assiduo e laboriozo servizio se reduit a fort peu de chose. Je commencois mesme a m'apercevoir, que Martines, fier de la protection acquise fis pas grand cas de quelques remontrances, que je luij fis de tems en tems sur ses apparitions rares et fort courtes a la bibliotheque. Aussij j'aij laissè aller les choses leur train.

2

Il dit de posseder onze langues, au moins de les entendre toutes. Pour l'allemand il le parle, mais n'est point du tout initiè dans la literature allemande. Pour la langue Boheme tout au plus il a eu envie de l'apprendre pendant le tems que L: A: R: Madame Marie anne a commence. Ce tems est trop court, pour qu'aucune personne raisonnable pourroit croire Martinez sur sa parole, sur tout-si on considere la difficultè de la langue Boheme.

Il a commencè a apprendre l'anglois et Kolar ecris sij, mais tous deux sont-encore bien loin de la scavoir. Kolar l'avoue bonnement, mais Martinez augmente hardiment-le catalogue des langues.

Quant au langues scavantes et sur tout-les langues orientales, Kolar est bien, plus fort que luij, quoijque toute la cour retentit de son scavoir extreme, et que quelques nus le mettent bien au dessus de son maitre.

La verite est, que s'il continue de s'appliquer bien, pendant-long tems, il pourvoit parvenir a quelque chose. Jusques icij ce ne sont que des fleurs, mais le fruit est encore bien loin.

3.

Cet article contient une des plus fortes gasconnades, que j'aij vu depuis longtems. Un jeune homme encore, consumant beaucoup de tems a donner lecons dans la langue Italienne, s'appliquant a apprendre des langues se vante d'avoir une connoissance extraordinaire dans les auteurs, de leur credit, de leur merite, de la varietè des editions etc: et cela dans toutes sortes des sciences.

Une telle assertion choque le bon sens, et n'a pas besoin d'estre seriensement refutè[.] Quand a la pratique mechanique de trouver les livres, les valets de la bibliotheque ij sont fort cerses. Le catalogue est dressè, les tablettes sont numerotes, et par consequent cela signifie rien[.]

Quant a son travail a registrer et mettre en ordre, les livres, j'aij reduit tout cela a sa juste valeur dans le premier article[.]

4

Cela est une continuation de la mesme gasconnade. J'aij tous jours cru, qu'on gastoit le concert de ses louanges, quand on ij messe sa propre voix[.]

5

Je dois luij rendre justice, que jamais j'aij entendu blamer sa conduite, la qu'elle je regarde comme irreprochable.

Je crois donc pouvoir dire en toute veritè, que Martines a des talents, qu'on peut esperer, que cela fructifiera un jour, et qu'alors il pourroit estre utile.

Beaucoup de souplesse, un penchant declarè pour s'intriguer, et s'insinuer partout pour obtenir des recommandations tres respectables, une bonne opinion outrèe de soij mesme, un peu d'ingratitude, une bonne dose d'orgueil entrent dans la composition de cet individu.

On peut espere, que l'age, et l'experience le rendront plus prudent, et moins prevenu sur ses propres merites.

Translation

Giuseppe Martines

Born in Vienna, but of Italian race, he alleges five reasons for filling the opening which I will briefly go through.

i.

His diligent and laborious service for seven years in all kinds of work, even when he was not in his department. On this point it should be noted that he does not propose the fact as it is.

Martines, son of a gentleman of the nunciature, who was poorly provided with the goods of fortune, had studied, but could not live. The Marquis de Poal, [and] the late Field Marshal Konigsegg, badgered me to place him in the library, but there was no opening, and I showed these lords that it was not at all appropriate to take a supernumerary. Her majesty, through the plea of these lords, granted 250 florins per year out of pure grace, not as a salary for the work he did, but to put him in a condition to live, while he continued his studies. At the same time, he had permission to frequent the library earlier to improve his skills rather than to work there, so I never insisted on that in the beginning. It seems that he has very poorly named Her Majesty's grace a salary.

After some time, he told me that he would like to be associated with the work of the library, to advance one day: I granted this to him easily, urging him to be diligent.

I cannot say that he satisfied me with his assiduity, because he often came too late, left too early, etc. I gave him admonitions, but without much fruit: as I did not need his work, I kept silent on this matter. But I asked Kolar to communicate to him his insights on oriental languages, which he did.

Five years ago he found himself introduced at the court to teach the Italian language to Their Royal Highness: he informed me that he was admitted. I told him, that no reason could prevent him from serving his Majesty in this way, since he had contracted no obligation with the work of the library, but I warned him at the same time, that this will never be put down to count as a merit to one day hold a place in the library, since this commission diverted him entirely from this work.

He replied that he would still visit the library as much as he could. But the time he had to give to his lessons, above all, at Schönbrunn in the summer when the work of the library is most necessary, meant that I did not count on it at all.

It is therefore clear that diligence and labour of service amount to very little. I even began to notice that Martines, proud of the protection he had acquired, took little notice of a few remonstrations, which I made to him from time to time for his rare and very short appearances at the library. So I let things go their way.

2[.]

He says to command eleven languages, at least to understand them all. As for German, he speaks it, but is not at all familiar with German literature. For the Bohemian language, at most he wanted to learn it around the time that Her Royal Highness Madame Marie Anne began. This amount of time is too short for any reasonable person to take Martinez at his word, especially if we consider the difficulty of the Bohemian language.

He has started to learn English and Kolar writes it, but both are still far from knowing it. Kolar freely admits it, but Martinez boldly increases his catalogue of languages.

As for the learned languages and all oriental languages, Kolar is much stronger than him, although the whole court resounds with his immense knowledge, and a few put him well above his teacher.

The truth is, if he continues to apply himself well, for a long time, he may achieve something. So far there are only flowers, but the fruit is still far away.

3.

This point contains one of the strongest boasting I have seen in a long time. A young man, again, spending a lot of time giving lessons in the Italian language, applying himself to learning languages, boasts of having an extraordinary knowledge of the authors, their credit, their merit, the variety of editions, etc.: and this in all kinds of sciences.

Such an assertion shocks common sense, and does not need to be seriously refuted[.] When it comes to the mechanical practice of finding books, the valets of the library are very knowledgeable. The catalogue is drawn up, the tablets are numbered, and therefore it means nothing[.] As for his work to register and order the books, I reduced all this to its fair value in the first article[.]

4[.]

This is a continuation of the same boastfulness. I have always believed that we spoil the effect of our praises when we sing it ourselves.

5[.]

I must do him justice, as I have never heard his conduct blamed, which I regard as irreproachable.

So, I believe I can say in all truth that Martines has talents, that we can hope, that it will bear fruit one day, and that then he might be useful.

A lot of flexibility, a declared penchant for intrigue, and insinuating oneself everywhere to obtain very respectable recommendations, an outrageous good opinion of oneself, a little ingratitude, and a good dose of pride enter into the make-up of this individual.

One can hope that age and experience will make him more cautious, and less biased towards his own merits.

Sainsbury on Mariane Martinez

Source: John Sainsbury. 1824, 2009. *A Dictionary of Musicians, From the earliest ages to the present time* Vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123f.

Martinez (Mlle. Mariane, or, according to others, Elizabeth) was born at Vienna about the year 1750, in the same house which was then inhabited by the celebrated Metastasio, who was an old friend of her father. She was educated under the eyes of this great poet, who, on the death of her father, adopted her, and, among other accomplishments, taught her music. Dr. Burney, when at Vienna in 1772, heard her sing and perform on the piano several of her own compositions, and states that he cannot find words to express the energetic yet tender style of her singing. Metastasio always called her his St. Cecilia. Burney further says that she had a profound knowledge of counterpoint, and cites, among other sacred works of her composition, a “Miserere” for four voices, and several Italian psalms, translated by Metastasio, and arranged for four and eight voices and instruments. In 1773, she was elected a member of the Philharmonic society at Bologna. The abbé Gerbert states that he possessed a mass of her composition, written in the genuine church style.

Sonnleithner/ Mayenberg on Maria Anna Martinez

Source: A-WGM, 10907/134: Kurzbiographie Maria Anna Martinez.
Short biography of Martines by Sonnleithner (1926).[1089]

Fräulein Maria Anna Martinez, Tochter eines Beamten der päpstlichen Nunziatur am […] Hofe wurde zu Wien 1750 geboren. Ihr Bruder war der Unterbibliothekar an der K.K. Hofbibliothek. Der berühmte Metastasio, ein vieljähriger Freund ihres Vaters, mit dem er auch unter einem Dache wohnte, trug viel zur Erziehung und Ausbildung dieses talentvollen Frauenzimmers bey. Er leitete gleichsam ihren Unterricht im Clavier und im Gesang, worin sie es zu einem hohen Grade der Vollkommenheit brachte. Den Unterricht in Clavier erhielt sie von Joseph Haydn; es ist nicht bekannt, ob er auch ihr Lehrer in der Composition war, in der sie es gleichfalls weit brachte. Die große Maria Theresia ließ sie oft zu sich rufen und ergözte sich an ihrem Spiel und Gesang. Kaiser Joseph II pflegte hinter ihr zu stehen und die Noten umzublättern. Ihr liebenswürdiger Charakter wie ihre Kunsttalente, verschafften ihr allgemeine Achtung und Zutritt in die ersten Häuser. Dr Burney, der sie im Jahre 1772 eigene Kompositionen vortragen hörte, versichert seine Sprache sei zu arm, um den Ausdruck und das Rührende ihres Gesanges zu schildern. Sie hatte einen natürlich schönen und lieblichen Ton, einen schönen Triller, und mit größter Leichtigkeit trug sie die größten Schwirigkeiten vor. Ihr Portamento war unnachahmlich, und bewundernd wändig die unendlich kleinen Abteilungen an der halben Töne. Metastasio versicherte, ihre Art zu singen, würde sonst nirgends mehr angetroffen, weil sie die neueren Sänger zu viele Mühe und Geduld kosten würde. Er pflegte sie seine heilige Cäcilia zu nennen. Im Jahre 1771 [sic] ernannte sie die Gesellschaft de Filarmonici zu Bologna zu ihrem Mitglieder. Sie verstand den Contrapunkt sehr gründlich und hat viele Komposizionen geliefert. Als Metastasio starb, ernannte er sie und ihre Schwester Antonia zu Erbinnen. Maria Anna Martinez starb unverheyrathet im Jahre 1811.

Sie hat componiert.

1.) 1.) Ein Miserere von 4 Stimmen.

2.) Verschiedene Italienische Psalmen, in Metastasio's Uibersetzung, auf 4 bis 8 Stimmen mit Instrumentalbegleitung.

[1089] Author and date according to Biba 1996.

3.) Eine solenne Messe, von welcher der bekannte Abt Gerbert in seiner Geschichte der Musik sagt, dass er sie aus den eigenen Händen der Tonsetzerinn habe, und daß sie im wahre Kirchenstyle geschrieben sey.

4.) Lateinische Solo-Motetten.

5.) Einhundert sechs und fünfzig Arien und Cantaten.

6.) Zwölf Conzerte für das Pianoforte.

7.) Ein und dreißig Sonaten für das Pianoforte

8.) Mehrere Ouvertüren.

Einen Theil ihrer Compositionen hat sie dem Fräulein Engelhardt, einem Mitgliede der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates vermacht, und von diesem Fräulein hat die Gesellschaftsbibliothek eine Cantate, ein Conzert und eine Ouvertüre als Geschank erhalten.

Das Gesellschaftsarchiv besitzt von dieser Dame
15 Kirchencompositionen
3 Oratorien
1 Cantate
1 Concert für Clavier
1 Simphonie

Mayenberg

Translation

Fräulein Maria Anna Martinez, daughter of an official at the papal nunciature at the […] court, was born in Vienna in 1750. Her brother was the assistant librarian at the Imperial Court Library. The famous Metastasio, a long-time friend of her father who also lived under the same roof, played a significant role in the education and training of this talented woman. He essentially oversaw her instruction in piano and singing, in which she achieved a high level of distinction. She received piano lessons from Joseph Haydn, though it is not known whether he also taught her composition, in which she likewise excelled. The great Empress Maria Theresa often summoned her and took delight in her playing and singing. Emperor Joseph II would stand behind her and turn the pages of her sheet music. Her charming character and artistic talents earned her general respect and access to the most prestigious circles. Dr. Burney, who heard her perform her own compositions in 1772, stated that words were insufficient to describe

the expressiveness and moving quality of her singing. She had a naturally beautiful and lovely tone, a fine trill, and executed even the greatest difficulties with the utmost ease. Her portamento was inimitable, and she mastered the subtlest nuances between half-tones with astonishing skill. Metastasio declared that her singing style would never be found again, as modern singers lacked the patience and dedication required to achieve it. He affectionately called her his Saint Cecilia. In 1771 [sic], the Society of Filarmonici of Bologna appointed her as a member. She had a profound understanding of counterpoint and composed numerous works. Upon Metastasio's death, she and her sister Antonia were named his heirs. Maria Anna Martinez remained unmarried and passed away in 1811.

She composed:

1.) A Miserere for four voices.

2.) Various Italian psalms, translated by Metastasio, for four to eight voices with instrumental accompaniment.

3.) A solemn mass, which the well-known Abbot Gerbert described in his History of Music as having received directly from the composer herself, written in the true church style.

4.) Latin solo motets.

5.) One hundred fifty-six arias and cantatas.

6.) Twelve piano concertos.

7.) Thirty-one piano sonatas.

8.) Several overtures.

She bequeathed part of her compositions to Fräulein Engelhardt, a member of the Society of Friends of Music of the Austrian Empire, from whom the society's library received a cantata, a concerto, and an overture as a gift.

[different hand]

The society's archive holds:

15 church compositions

3 oratorios

1 cantata

1 piano concerto

1 symphony

[signed] Mayenberg

Fétis on Marianne Martinez

Source: F. J. Fétis. 1840. *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique.* Vol. 6. Bruxelles: Meline, p. 295.

Martinez (Marianne), femme d'un merit distingué dans la musique, a passé pour la nièce de Métastase. D'autres disent qu'elle était la fille d'un ami du grand poète, et qu'elle naquit à Vienne dans la maison même de celui-ci, vers 1745, ou un peu plus tard. Mais Scoppa, auteur de l'excellent livre intitulé Les vrais principes de la versification, rapporte á ce sujet une anecdote qui paraît mieux s'accorder avec l'origine mystérieuse de cette virtuose. Il assure que Mlle Martinez était fille d'un jardinier de Vienne, et que Métastase l'ayant rencontrée toute petite dans les rues, chantant d'un air vif et spirituel des chansons avec une jolie voix, l'arrêta, l'interrogea, et la demanda à ses parens pour faire son éducation; que ceux-ci acceptèrent ses propositions, et que l'enfant fut depuis lors la compagne inséparable du poète de la cour d'Autriche. Quoi qu'il en soit, Métastase tint toutes ses promesses et ne négligea rien pour donner à la jeune fille une éducation tout artistique. Mlle Martinez eut le bonheur de recevoir de Haydn, jusque-là peu connu, des leçons de musique et de clavecin, et Porpora lui enseigna l'art du chant et la composition. Ses progrès furent rapides. Claveciniste d'un talent élégant et gracieux; cantatrice suave et d'une expression aussi vraie que pénétrante; compositeur doué d'une vigueur de conception et d'un savoir très-étendu, elle réunissait en elle seule les qualités de plusieurs artistes distingués. Burney, qui l'entendit à Vienne en 1772, en parle avec admiration.

Il paraît que Métastase l'avait fait héritière de ce qu'il possédait, car en 1796 elle vivait à Vienne dans l'aisance. Les samedis de chaque semaine elle donnait chez elle des concerts dont l'entrée était ouverte à tous les étrangers. Elle avait aussi institué une école de chant où elle a formé de bons élèves. Burney cite avec éloge de sa composition des sonates de piano, beaucoup de chants italiens sur des poésies de Métastase, un Miserere à quatre voix, plusieurs psaumes italiens sur des traductions de Métastase, à 4 et à 8 voix, avec orchestre; et l'abbé Gerbert a tenu entre ses mains une messe et un oratorio écrits par elle. M. l'abbé Santini possède le psaume 41e à 4 voix et orchestres, de sa composition.

Translation

Martinez (Marianne), a woman of distinguished merit in music, passed for Metastasio's niece. Others say that she was the daughter of a friend of the great poet, and that she was born in Vienna in his own house, around 1745, or a little later. But Scoppa, author of the excellent book titled The True Principles of Versification, tells an anecdote on this subject which seems to fit better with the mysterious origin of this virtuoso. He assures us that Mademoiselle Martinez was the daughter of a gardener in Vienna, and that Metastasio, having met her as a small girl in the streets, singing songs with a lively and witty air, with a pretty voice, stopped her, questioned her, and asked her of her parents to educate her; that they accepted his proposals, and that the child was ever since the inseparable companion of the Austrian Court poet. Be that as it may, Metastasio kept all his promises and spared nothing to give the young girl a well-rounded artistic education. Mademoiselle Martines had the good fortune to receive music and harpsichord lessons from the at the time little known Haydn, and Porpora taught her the art of singing and composition. Her progress was rapid. A harpsichordist of an elegant and graceful talent; a suave singer with an expression as true as it is penetrating; a composer endowed with vigour of conception and a very extensive knowledge, she united in herself the qualities of several distinguished artists. Burney, who heard her in Vienna in 1772, speaks of her with admiration.

It seems that Metastasio had made her heir to what he owned, because in 1796 she was living in Vienna in comfort. On Saturdays of each week she gave concerts at her house, admission to which was open to all foreigners. She had also set up a singing school where she trained good students. Of her composition Burney praises piano sonatas, many Italian songs to poems by Metastasio, a Miserere for four voices, several Italian psalms to translations of Metastasio, for 4 and 8 voices, with orchestra; and Abbé Gerbert possessed a mass and an oratorio written by her. Abbé Santini owns the 41st psalm for 4 voices and orchestra, of her composition.

Fink & Schilling on Mariane Martinez

Source: M. Fink et al., Gustav Schilling (ed.). 1837. *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal=Lexicon der Tonkunst* Vol. 4. Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, pp. 571f.

Martinez, Mariane, nach Anderen auch Nanette und nach noch Anderen Elisabeth mit Vornamen, Sängerin, Clavierviruosin und Componistin, Schwester des als Gelehrten bekannten Kaiserl. Bibliothekars Martinez zu Wien, ward geboren daselbst gegen 1750. Metastasio, ein vieljähriger Freund ihres Vaters, unter dessen Augen sie erzogen, ja in dessen Hause sie geboren worden war, nahm sie nach ihres Vaters Tode zu sich, und lehrte sie zuerst seine Lieder in Musik setzen. Durch Talent und Fleiß ward die Schülerin aber bald selbst bewundert von ihrem großen Meister, wie von Allen, die sie oder ihre Werke kannten. Burney, der sie 1772 in Wien sah und einige ihrer eigenen Compositionen singen und spielen hörte, versichert, daß seine Sprache zu arm sey, den Ausdruck und das Rührende ihres Vortrags zu schildern. Dabei besaß sie die für ihre Zeit eminenteste Fertigkeit im Gesange sowohl als auf ihrem Instrumente. Nach Burney muß sie die vollkommenste Sängerin ihrer Zeit gewesen seyn. Besonders rühmt er ihr wunderherrliches Portamento. Und Metastasio schrieb irgendwo über sie, daß ihre Art zu singen seiner Zeit nirgends angetroffen werde. Ihrer Virtuosität auf dem Claviere wegen nannte er sie nur seine heilige Cäcilia. Ihre ersten Compositionsversuche fallen ins Jahr 1765. Sie wurden allgemein beifällig aufgenommen. Von ihren späteren größeren Werken nennen wir nur ein großes Oratorium, ein 4stimmiges Miserere, mehrere italienische Psalmen nach Metastasio's Uebersetzung für 4 und 8 Stimmen mit Instrumentalbegleitung, eine solenne Messe (welche der Abt Gerbert im Manuscript besaß), einige lateinische Motetten und mehrere Sonaten für Clavier. Im Kirchenstyle war sie besonders glücklich. Ihre Instrumentalsachen sind rein, aber voller Feuer und theilweise auch bravourmäßig. 1773 ward sie zum Mitglied der filharmonischen Gesellschaft zu Bologna ernannt. Um 1780 errichtete sie zur Unterhaltung ein wöchentliches Concert in ihrem Hause, an welchem auch jeder Fremde Theil nehmen konnte, und kurz darauf auch eine eigene Singschule, aus welcher in der That auch manche vortreffliche Sängerin hervorgegangen ist. Die darin aufgenommenen Schülerinnen unterrichtete sie nicht blos im Gesange, sondern auch in der Theorie der Musik, und namentlich im Contrapunkte, in welchem sie die gründlichsten Kenntnisse besaß.

Translation

Martinez, Mariane, according to others also Nanette and after others still Elisabeth with first name, a singer, piano virtuoso and composer, sister of the Imperial Librarian Martinez, who is known as a scholar, was born in Vienna around 1750. Metastasio, a friend of her father for many years, under whose eyes she was brought up, indeed in whose house she was born, took her in after her father's death and taught her first to set his songs to music. Through talent and diligence, however, the pupil was soon admired by her great master as well as by everyone who knew her or her works. Burney, who saw her in Vienna in 1772 and heard some of her own compositions sung and played, assures that his language is too poor to describe the expression and affection of her performance. At the same time, she possessed the most eminent skill of her time in singing and on her instrument. According to Burney she must have been the most perfect singer of her time. He especially admires her marvellous portamento. And Metastasio wrote somewhere about her that her way of singing could not be found anywhere else in his day. Because of her virtuosity on the keyboard, he called her alone his Saint Cecilia. Her first attempts at composition date back to 1765. They were generally received with approval. From her later larger works we mention only a large-scale oratorio, a 4-part Miserere, several Italian Psalms after Metastasio's translation for 4 and 8 voices with instrumental accompaniment, a solenne mass (which the Abbé Gerbert possessed in manuscript), some Latin motets and several sonatas for piano. She was particularly comfortable in the church style. Her instrumental pieces are pure but full of fire and partly also bravura. In 1773 she was made a member of the Philharmonic Society in Bologna. Around 1780 she set up a weekly concert for entertainment in her house, in which any stranger could take part, and shortly thereafter also her own singing school, from which indeed many excellent singers have emerged. She not only instructed the pupils who were accepted in singing, but also in the theory of music, and especially in counterpoint, in which she had the most thorough knowledge.

Czikann & Gräffer on Marianne Martinez

Source: Johann Jakob Heinrich Czikann, Franz Gräffer. 1838. *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie*. Vol. 3. Vienna: Mich. Schmidl's Witwe und Ign. Klang, p. 581.

Martinez, Marianne (nach Andern Elisabeth), ausgezeichnete Sängerinn, war geboren zu Wien 1750. Metastasio, ein vieljähriger Freund ihres Vaters, unter dessen Augen sie erzogen wurde, nahm sie nach ihres Vaters Tode zu sich, und sorgte für ihren Unterricht. Sie vereinigte in sich die Eigenschaften einer großen Sängerinn, fertigen Clavierspielerinn und ausgezeichneten Componistinn. D. Burney und Metastasio erklärten sei für die vollkommenste Sängerinn ihrer Zeit; sie zeichnete sich durch einen schönen lieblichen Ton, schöne Triller, Leichtigkeit im Vortrag der schnellsten und schwersten Stellen, und das Rührende und Ausdrucksvolle dieses Vortrages selbst aus. Schon 1765 bewunderte man ihre Talente in der Composition. Sie starb in Wien. Von ihr sind viele Compositionen für die Kirche: z.B. ein Miserere von 4 Stimmen. – Verschiedene italienische Psalmen. Nach Metastasio's Übersetzung von 4-8 Stimmen mit Instrumenten. – Messen=Gesangstücke nach Metastasio. – Lateinische Solomotetten und Sonaten fürs Clavier.

Translation

Martinez, Marianne (according to others Elisabeth), an excellent singer, was born in Vienna in 1750. Metastasio, a long-time friend of her father, under whose eyes she was brought up, took her in after her father's death and took care of her education. She combined the qualities of a great singer, accomplished piano player and excellent composer. D. Burney and Metastasio declared her the most accomplished singer of her time; she distinguished herself with a beautiful, lovely tone, beautiful trills, ease in performing the fastest and most difficult passages, and the touching and expressive nature of performance itself. As early as 1765 her talents in composition were admired. She died in Vienna. She wrote many compositions for the church: e.g. a Miserere for 4 voices. – Various Italian Psalms. After Metastasio's translation of 4-8 voices with instruments. – Masses=songs after Metastasio. – Latin solo motets and sonatas for the piano.

Anton Schmid on Marianna von Martines

Anton Schmid. 1846. ‘Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien’s aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts’ in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 128, 24. October 1846, pp. 513-514.

Anton Schmid. 1846. ‘Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien’s aus dem schönen Geschlechte in der zweiten Hälfte des verflossenen Jahrhunderts’ in: August Schmidt (ed.). *WaMZ* Vol. 129 27. Oktober 1846, pp. 517-518.

Die zweite, der Eingangs erwähnten musikalischen Berühmtheiten Wiens aus dem schönen Geschlechte war Marianna von Martines.

Dieses, als Tonsetzerin, Clavierspielerin und Sängerin gleich asugezeichnete Fräulein soll, nach Fétis (*Siehe dessen Biographie universelle des Musiciens T. VI. Seite 233.), die Gattin eines bedeutenden Musikers, und die Nichte des großen Dichters Metastasio gewesen sein: allein beide dieser Angaben sind unwahr, erstens, weil Marianna von Martines bis an ihr Ende unverehelicht geblieben ist, und zweitens, weil ihr Vater, ein von edeln spanischen Eltern abstammender Neapolitaner, den berühmten Dichter, der ein geborner Römer war, erst in Neapel kennen gelernt und auch erst dort mit ihm den Bund der Freundschaft geschlossen hatte. Noch weit ärger weicht von dem Pfade der Wahrheit die Erzählung ab, welche Hr. Fétis – wir wissen nicht aus welchem Grunde – für sehr wahrscheinlich hält, und einem uns ganz unbekannten Werke von Scoppa, mit dem Titel: „Les vrais Principes de la Versification“ entlehnt hat. Dieser Autor versichere nämlich, Marianna von Martines sei die Tochter eines Wiener Gärtners gewesen; und als eines Tages Metastasio in irgend einer Straße der Residenz dem kleinen Mädchen zufällig begegnete, habe er dasselbe ein munteres Liedchen mit schöner Stimme und reizendem Vortrage singen hören. Von diesem Gesange bezaubert, habe der Dichter sich von der Kleinen zu ihren Eltern geleiten lassen, und diesen den Vorschlag gemacht, ihr Töchterlein seiner Erziehung und Pflege zu übergeben. Die Eltern hätten das Anerbieten des Dichters mit Freuden angenommen, und so sei es dann geschehen, daß die kleine Marianna von nun an die unzertrennliche Gefährtin des großen Metastasio geworden ist. Dieser fabelhaften Erzählung können wir nur solche Daten entgegen setzen, welche der längst verblichenen Künstlerin nicht allein zur Ehre gereichen, sondern auch hinlänglich geeignet sind, den Schleier einer angeblich dunklen Abkunft zu lüften, das Räthsel eines geheimnißvollen Ursprungs (d’une origine mysterieuse) zu lösen, und so an die Stelle der Fabel die reine, historische Wahrheit zu sehen.

Marianna, oder eigentlich Anna Katharina von Martines hatte, zufolge eines authentischen, in der Wiener Hofpfarrei zum heil. Michael gehobenen Taufscheines, den der Verfasser dieser Zeilen besitzt, am 4. Mai des Jahres 1744 in dem alten Michaelerhause am Kohlmarkte zu Wien Nr. 1152 neuester Zählung, das Licht der Welt erblickt. Ihre Eltern hießen Nicoló und Maria Theresia di Martines, und waren mit dem damaligen päpstlichen Nuntius, bei welchem der Vater das Amt eines Gentilhuomo oder Ceremonienmeisters bekleidete, um die Mitte der 1720er Jahre nach Wien gekommen, wo sie auch bis zu ihrem Tode verblieben sind.

Als der vom Kaiser Carl VI. zum Hofdichter ernannte Abbate Pietro Metastasio im Jahre 1730 in Wien eintraf, mußte dieser sogleich bei seinem alten Freunde, dem Hrn. von Martines absteigen, und bei diesem so lange wohnen, bis er sich in demselben Hause eine besondere Wohnung eingerichtet hatte. Von nun an lebten Alle, zu einer Familie vereint, in ungestörter Harmonie so lange mit= und nebeneinander, bis ein Mitglied derselben nach dem andern, und zwar zuerst Mariannens Eltern, dann am 12. April 1782 der greise Dichter in ein besseres Leben hinübergegangen waren. Nun sah sie sich genöthigt, sammt ihren Geschwistern eine Wohnung zu verlassen, in welcher sie die schönsten Jahre ihres Daseins verlebt, und die herrlichsten Kunstgenüsse, die ungeheucheltsten Beweise der Liebe, die schmeichelhaftesten und ehrendsten Huldigungen, deren sie sich später sehr oft mit tiefster Rührung erinnerte, in reichlichem Maße empfangen hatte. Sie bezog nun das Haus Nr. 25 damaliger Bezeichnung, in der Herrengasse, welches einem Freiherrn von Gielleis gehörte und an der Stelle stand, wo jetzt die k. k. priv. Nationalbank sich befindet. Hier setzte sie mit den Ihrigen ein eintrachtsvolles Leben fort, und weihte dasselbe lange Zeit hindurch bloß dem dankbaren Andenken an ihren großen väterlichen Freund und Wohlthäter. Denn, wie innig und liebestreu Metastasio an der Familie Martines hing, beweist auch sein Testament, welches er schon im Jahre 1765 entworfen hatte, und worin er den an der k. k. Hofbibliothek angestellten Bruder unserer Sängerin, zum Universalerben seiner gesammten Habe einsetzte, die nebst einer wohleingerichteten Wohnung, in Roß und Wagen, einer Menge kostbarer Fürstengeschenke, einer ansehnlichen Bibliothek und einem Vermögen von 130,000 fl. bestand. Laut einem im Jahre 1780 der Urkunde angeführten Codicill vermachte er jeder der beiden Schwestern des Gesammterben, nämlich der Marianne und Antonia 20,000 fl. und jedem der drei jüngeren Brüder 2,000 fl. Als im Jahre 1788 auch ihr ältester Bruder, welcher an der k. k. Hofbibliothek die Würde eines Hofrathes und ersten Custos erlangt hatte, und im J. 1797 auch ein jüngerer Bruder, der k. k. Direktorial=Hofkoncipist Karl von Martines mit Tode abgegangen waren, bezog sie mit ihrer Schwester Antonia das, dem Schottenkloster gehörige Zinsgebäude auf der Freiung Nr. 137, jetziger Bezeichnung, von dem Volke der Schubladkasten genannt und

endlich auf die Seilerstätte in das Eckhaus der Weihburggasse Nr. 804 neuester Zählung, wo beide bis an ihr Ende geblieben sind.
In allen diesen Wohnungn verlebten sie ein, nicht nur durch den geistreichsten geselligen Verkehr, sondern auch durch zahllose Kunstgenüsse gewürztes Leben, welches sie gern mit Andern theilten, indem sie wenigstens einmal in der Wochen musikalische Abendunterhaltungen veranstalteten. (Schluß folgt.)[1090]

Marianna von Martines wurde sowohl wegen ihrer ausgezeichneten Körper= und Geistesgaben, als auch wegen ihrer überaus schönen Stimme, welche sich bereits in ihrer frühesten Kindheit entwickelt hatte, sehr bald allen ihren Geschwistern vorgezogen, und eben so bald, wie wir schon oben erwähnten, solch ein erklärter Liebling des Dichters Metastasio, daß dieser ihre Erziehung und Bildung mit aller Wärme eines sorgfältigen Vaters übernahm, und sie bis zu seinem Tode nicht mehr von der Seite ließ. Ja, er fand das größte Vergnügen darin, ihr den wissenschaftlichen Unterricht selbst zu ertheilen, und sogar ihre musikalische Ausbildung im Clavierspiele und Gesange zu leiten, worin sie von dem damals noch sehr jugendlichen Joseph Haydn, welcher in demselben Hause ein Dachstübchen bewohnte, sodann von dem Tonsetzer Nicolò Porpora (von dem letzteren auch in der Composition), und später noch von andern Meistern mehrere Jahre hindurch die gründlichste Anleitung erhielt, welche sie, von dem gereiften Rathe ihres väterlichen Freundes unterstützt und von dem eifrigsten Selbststudium befestigt, bis zu jener vollendetsten Kunstfertigkeit, mit welcher sie später so mächtig glänzte, vollkommen auszubilden unablässig bemüht war.
Die bösen Zungen Wiens wollten zwar dem freundschaftlichen Verhältnisse zwischen der Martines und Metastasio unlautere Zwecke unterschieben; allein, wenn man einerseits den würdevollen Charakter des großen Dichters kannte, und andererseits bedachte, daß, als Marianna die schönen Jahre der Jungfräulichketi erreicht hatte, Metastasio bereits dem hohen Greisenalter zueilte, so mußte auch der leiseste Hauch, der den Spiegel jenes reinen Verhältnisses zu trüben vermochte, in Nichts zerrinnen.
Marianna hatte, wie wir sagten, die feinste Bildung genossen; sie schrieb und sprach mehrere Sprachen mit seltener Reinheit und Geläufigkeit, und glänzte überall durch einen Geist, welcher mit ungewöhnlichen Kenntnissen ausgerüstet war. Ihre liebenswürdigen, mit seltenen Bescheidenheit verschwisterten Eigenschaften, wie ihre Kunsttalente, verschafften ihr die allgemeinste Achtung und zugleich den Zutritt in die ersten Häuser der Kaiserstadt. Das

[1090] Schmid, Schmidt (ed.), 24. October 1846, pp. 513-514.

Letztere fand um so leichter Statt, da die große Kaiserin Maria Theresia die Familie von Martines auch in den Ritterstand der k. k. Erblande erhoben hatte.

Diese erhabene Monarchin ließ sie sehr oft zu sich rufen, um sich an den Kunsttalenten derselben auf mannigfache Weise zu ergötzen; und Joseph der II., bekanntlich ein nicht minderer Freund der Tonkunst, pflegte bei dieser Unterhaltung der Martines gewöhnlich die Noten umzublättern. Diese Gnadenbezeugungen waren für die Sittenreinheit unserer Künstlerin ein Beweis mehr, da die streng sittliche Kaiserin durchaus mit keinem Frauenzimmer zu verkehren pflegte, deren Ruf nicht höchst unbescholten war.

In dem Jahre der Bekanntschaft des Dr. Burney mit der Marianna v. Gluck (1772) lernte dieser bei Metastasio auch das Frln. v. Martines kennen. Er hörte sie mehrmals spielen und singen, und erbat sich von ihr, und erhielt mehrere ihrer Compositionen. Das Urtheil dieses gelehrten Musikers über die künstlerischen Fähigkeiten dieses Fräuleins verdient auch hier einen Platz:

„Nach den großen Lobsprüchen, welche der Abbate Taruffi (Uditore und Secretär bei dem päbstlichen Nuntius) den Talenten dieses Fräuleins beilegte, war ich sehr neugierig, mit ihr zu sprechen und sie zu hören; und Metastasio war so gefällig sie aufzufordern, sie möchte sich an den Flügel setzen, welches sie denn auch augenblicklich that, ohne sich lange nöthigen zu lassen, oder mit falscher Bescheidenheit zu prahlen. Sie übertraf wirklich noch die Erwartung, die man mir von ihr beigebracht hatte. Sie sang zwei Arien über Worte von Metastasio, wozu sie sich selbst auf dem Flügel begleitete, und zwar in einer klar verständlichen meisterhaften Weise, und aus der Art, wie sie die Ritornelle spielte, konnte ich leicht urtheilen, daß sie sehr fertige Finger besitze. Ihre Stimme aber und ihr Vortrag flößte allgemeines Vergnügen und die höchste Bewunderung ein. Metastasio meinte, ihre Art zu singen werde sonst nirgends mehr angetroffen, weil sie den Sängern zu viel Mühe und Geduld kosten würde: „È perduta la scuola; non si trova questa maniera di cantar; domanda troppa pena per i professori d'oggidi!" – Burney fährt fort: Wenn ich sage, ihre Stimme habe einen natürlich schönen und lieblichen Ton, einen wohlgerunderten Triller, eine vollkommen reine Intonation, eine Leichtigkeit, die schnellsten und schwersten Läufe herauszubringen, und einen rührenden Vortrag: so sage ich nichts weiter, als was ich je zuweilen, und zwar mit Wahrheit von andern gesagt habe: hier aber fehlt es an Worten, die Bedeutung aller dieser Ausdrücke zu erhöhen, und ihnen das wahre Gewicht zu geben. Die italienischen Verstärkungsmittel möchten vielleicht meinen Wünschen weit mehr entsprechen, wenn ich in dieser Sprache schriebe; da dieses aber nicht der Fall ist, so kann ich nur noch hinzufügen, daß Frln. Martines in Ansehung des Portamento und der unendlich kleinen Abtheilung der Halbtöne, wobei sie auf das genauste immer wieder den rechten Hauptton trifft, die vollkommenste Sängerin sei, die ich jemals gehört habe. Auch ihre

Schlußsätze, die dieser Manier entsprachen, waren sehr gelehrt, und wahrhaft rührend und angenehm. Nach diesen beiden Arien spielte sie noch ein schweres Stück ihres eigenen Satzes auf dem Flügel mit großer Fertigkeit und Reinheit: denn sie versteht zugleich den Contrapunkt sehr gründlich.

Im Jahre 1773 erhielt Marianna das Diplom von der Gesellschaft der Filarmonici zu Bologna, als Mitglied, eine Auszeichnung, welche nur vorzügliche Tonsetzer zu erreichen im Stande sind.

Als am 11. Dezember 1812 ihre, um drei Jahre jüngere Schwester Antonia plötzlich mit Tode abging, ward sie von Schrecken und Gram über diesen schnellen Verlust so heftig erschüttert, daß auch sie schon nach Verlauf zweier Tage, nämlich am 13. desselben Monats im 69. Jahre ihres Alters vom Lungenbrande dahin gerafft wurde, und auf diese Weise nur zubalb derjenigen nachfolgte, welche durch eine lange Reihe von Jahren ihre einzige, innigste Freundin und Begleiterin gewesen war.

Die irdischen Überreiste Beider wurden auf dem Friedhofe vor der St. Marxer Linie zur Erde bestattet.

Ein Neffe, Namens Sigmund von Martines, k. k. Bergwerks=Markscheider zu Schemnitz war ihr Erbe.

In Wiens Mauern leben noch kunstsinnige Männer und Frauen, welche das Andenken einer Künstlerin, deren Ruhm nicht ganz zu erlöschen verdient, würdig ehren; so wie noch viele von ihren gebildeten Schülerinnen, die ihr trauernd und dankbar in das Jenseits nachblicken.

Ihre Compositionen sind folgende:

1. Ein Miserere zu 4 Stimmen
2. Verschiedene italienische Psalmen in Metastasio’s Übersetzung, zu 4 bis 8 Stimmen, mit Instrumentalbegleitung.
3. Eine solene Messe, von welcher der bekannte Abt Gerbert in seiner Geschichte der Musik sagt, daß er sie aus den eigenen Händen der Tonsetzerin habe, und daß sie ihm echten Kirchenstyle geschrieben sei.
4. Lateinische Solo=Motetten.
5. Einhundert sechs und fünfzig Arien und Cantaten.
6. Zwölf Konzerte für das Pianoforte.
7. Ein und dreißig Sonaten für das Pianoforte.
8. Mehrere Ouverturen.

Ein Theil ihrer Compositionen hinterließ sie ihrer Freundin, einem Frln. von Engelhardt, und von diesem Fräulein hat die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österr. Kaiserstaates folgende Stücke zum Geschenke erhalten:

1. Fünfzehn Kirchencompositionen.
2. Drei Oratorien.
3. Eine Cantate.
4. Ein Konzert fürs Clavier.
5. Eine Symphonie.

Die k. k. Hofbibliothek besitzt von ihr eine autographe Cantate in Partitur, welche 23 Blätter in kleinen Querfolio zählt und im Jahre 1778 componirt worden ist. Sie hat die Überschrift: „La Tempestà“ und ist nach Metastasio’s Worten für eine Sopranstimme mit Quartettbegleitung im Style der damiligen Zeit gesetzt.[1091]

Translation

The second musical celebrity of the fair sex mentioned at the beginning was Marianna von Martines.

According to Fétis (*See his Biographie universelle des Musiciens T. VI. page 233.), this young woman, who was equally distinguished as a composer, pianist, and singer, is said to have been the wife of an important musician and the niece of the great poet Metastasio: except both these statement are untrue, firstly because Marianna von Martines remained unmarried until she died, and secondly because her father, a Neapolitan descended from noble Spanish parents, first met the famous poet, who was Roman by birth, in Naples and it was there that he first formed the bond of friendship with him.

Another story, straying even further from the truth, considered very probable by Mr. Fétis –for reasons we do not know – and borrowed from a work by Scoppa, entirely unknown to us, with the title: ‘Les vrais Principes de la Versification.’ This author assures that Marianna von Martines was the daughter of a Viennese gardener; and when one day Metastasio happened to meet the little girl in some street of the residence, he heard her sing a lively little song with a beautiful voice and charming delivery. Enchanted by this singing, the poet asked the little girl to lead him to her parents and suggested to them that their young daughter be entrusted to his

[1091] Schmid, Schmidt (ed.), 27. October 1846, pp. 517-518.

upbringing and care. The parents gladly accepted the poet's offer, and so it happened that from then on little Marianna became the inseparable companion of the great Metastasio.

We can only counter this fabulous tale with facts that do the long-deceased artist not only honour, but are also sufficiently suitable to lift the veil of an allegedly dark descent, the riddle of a mysterious origin (d'une origine mysterieuse), and to solve it, and thus see the pure, historical truth instead of the fable.

Marianna, or actually Anna Katharina von Martines, according to an authentic baptism certificate dug up in the Viennese court parish of St Michael, which the author of these lines possesses, saw the light of day on 4 May 1744 in the old Michaelerhaus on Kohlmarkt in Vienna No. 1152 according to the latest count. Her parents' names were Nicoló and Maria Theresia di Martines, and they came to Vienna in the mid-1720s with the then papal nuncio, for whom the father held the position of gentilhuomo or master of ceremonies, where they remained until their deaths.

When Abbate Pietro Metastasio, appointed court poet by Emperor Charles VI., arrived in Vienna in 1730, he immediately had to stay with his old Friend Herr von Martines, and remained with him until he set up special lodgings in the same house. From then on everyone, united into one family, lived in undisturbed harmony and side by side until one member after the other, first Marianna's parents, then on 12 April 1782 the aged poet, had passed into a better life. Afterwards, she felt compelled, together with her siblings, to leave the apartment in which she had spent the loveliest years of her existence, and had received in abundance the most wonderful artistic pleasures, the most unfeigned proofs of love, the most flattering and most honourable homage, which she later very often remembered with the deepest emotion. She then moved into house No. 25, as it was known at the time, in the Herrengasse, which belonged to a Baron von Gielleis and stood on the spot where the private Imperial-Royal National Bank is located. Here she continued a peaceful life with her family, and for a long time dedicated it solely to the devoted memory of her great fatherly friend and benefactor. For, how intimately and lovingly Metastasio was attached to the Martines family is also demonstrated by his will, which he had already drafted by 1765, and in which he made our singer's brother, employed at the Imperial-Royal Court Library, universal heir to his entire possessions, which consisted of a well-furnished apartment, horse and carriage, a number of valuable princely gifts, a considerable library, and a fortune of 130,000 florins. According to a codicil cited in the deed in 1780, he bequeathed 20,000 florins to each of the two sisters of the heir, namely Marianne and Antonia, and 2,000 florins to each of the three younger brothers.

When in 1788, her eldest brother, who had attained the position of Hofrath [court councillor] at the Imperial-Royal Court Library and that of first custodian, and in 1797 also a younger brother, the Imperial-Royal directorial clerk Karl von Martines, both passed away, she and her sister Antonia moved into the tenement building belonging to the Schottenkloster at Freiung No. 137, according to current designation, called by the people The Drawer Box, and finally to the Seilerstätte in the corner house of Weihburggasse No. 804, according to the latest count, where both stayed until their end.

In all these dwellings they lived a life spiced not only by the most witty social interactions but also by innumerable artistic pleasures, which they gladly shared with others by arranging musical evening entertainment at least once a week. (Conclusion to follow.)

Marianna von Martines was very soon the favourite of the poet Metastasio among all her siblings, both because of her excellent bodily and mental gifts, and because of her exceedingly beautiful voice, which had already developed in her earliest childhood, resulting in the poet taking over her upbringing and education with all the warmth of a careful father, and her staying by Metastasio's side until his death. Indeed, he found the greatest pleasure in giving her scientific instruction himself, and even oversaw her musical training in playing the piano and singing, in which she was taught by Joseph Haydn, who was still very young at the time and who lived in an attic room in the same house; then by the composer Nicolò Porpora (from the latter also in composition), and later also received the most thorough instruction from other masters for several years, which she constantly endeavoured to perfect, supported by the mature advice of her fatherly friend and strengthened by the most zealous self-study, up to that most perfect artistry, with which she later shone so mightily.

The evil tongues of Vienna wanted to ascribe dishonest purposes to the friendly relationship between Martines and Metastasio; however, considering on the one hand the dignified character of the great poet, and on the other hand the fact that when Marianna had reached the beautiful years of virginity Metastasio was already approaching old age, then even the faintest breath that might dull the mirror of that pure relationship was to fade into nothing. As we mentioned, Marianna had enjoyed the finest education; she wrote and spoke several languages with rare purity and fluency, and shone everywhere with a mind endowed with uncommon knowledge. Her amiable qualities, combined with rare modesty, as well as her artistic talents, won her the most wide-spread respect and at the same time gained her entry into the premier houses of the imperial city. The latter took place all the more easily since the great Empress

Maria Theresia had also elevated the family von Martines to knighthood of the Imperial-Royal hereditary lands.

This sublime monarch often had her summoned, to be delighted by her artistic talents in various ways; and Joseph II, who is known to be no less a friend of the art of music, used to turn the pages of music during this performance of Martines. These attestations of grace were more proof of the moral purity of our artist, since the strictly moral Empress was not in the habit of associating with any woman whose reputation was not blameless to the highest degree.

In the year of the acquaintance of Dr. Bunrey with Marianna v. Gluck (1772) he also met Fräulein v. Martines through Metastasio. He heard her play and sing several times, and asked for and received several of her compositions. The judgment of this learned musician on the artistic abilities of this young lady also deserves a place here:

After Abbate Taruffi (Uditore and Secretary to the Papal Nuncio) gave great praise to this young woman's talents, I was very curious to speak to her and to hear her; and Metastasio was kind enough to invite her to sit down at the piano, which she did at once, without having to be urged or a sense of false modesty. She really surpassed my expectations. She sang two arias on words of Metastasio, to which she accompanied herself on the grand piano, in a clearly understandable masterly manner, and from the way she played the ritornello I could easily judge that her fingers were very accomplished. But her voice and her delivery inspired general pleasure and the greatest admiration. Metastasio said that her way of singing is nowhere else to be found anymore because it takes too much effort and patience from the singers: "The school is lost; this way of singing is not found; it is asking too much pain of today's teachers." – Burney continues: When I say that her voice has a naturally beautiful and lovely tone, a well-rounded trill, a perfectly pure intonation, an ease of bringing out the fastest and most difficult runs, and a touching delivery: I say nothing more than what I have at times said, indeed with truth, of others: but here there are want of words to increase the meaning of all these expressions, and to give them their true weight. The Italian means of reinforcement might perhaps correspond far better to my desires if I wrote in that language; but since this is not the case, I can only add that Miss Martines, with regard to the portamento and the infinitely small division of the semitones, in which she always hits the right main tone with the greatest precision, is the most perfect singer I have ever heard. Her concluding movements, too, which corresponded to this manner, were very learned, and truly touching and agreeable. – After these two arias she played a difficult piece of her own setting on the grand piano with great skill and purity, for she also understood the counterpoint very thoroughly.

In 1773 Marianna received the diploma of the Philharmonic Society in Bologna, as a member, an honour which only excellent composers are able to achieve.

When her sister Antonia, who was three years her junior, died suddenly on 11 December 1812, she was so violently shaken by the shock and grief of this sudden loss that after two days had passed, namely on the 13th of the same month, in her 69th year, she was swept away by tuberculosis, and in this way only too soon followed the one who had been her one dearest friend and companion through a long series of years.

The earthly remains of both were buried in the St Marx cemetery.

A nephew, named Sigmund von Martines, Imperial-Royal mine surveyor in Schemnitz was her heir.

In Vienna there are still art-loving men and women who honour the memory of an artist whose fame does not deserve to be entirely extinguished; just like many of her educated students who gaze after her with mourning and gratefulness.

Her compositions are as follows:

1. A Miserere for 4 voices.
2. Various Italian Psalms in translations by Metastasio, for 4 to 8 voices, with instrumental accompaniment.
3. A solemn mass of which Abbot Gerbert says in his History of Music, that he received it from the very hands of the composer herself and that it is composed in the true church style.
4. Latin Solo Motets.
5. 156 arias and cantatas.
6. 12 concertos for the pianoforte.
7. 31 sonatas for the pianoforte.
8. Multiple Overtures.

She left a part of her compositions to her friend, a Ms. von Engelhardt, and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde of the Austrian Imperial State received the following pieces as gifts from this lady:

1. Fifteen Church Compositions.
2. Three oratorios.
3. A cantata.
4. A concerto for the piano.
5. A symphony.

The Imperial-Royal Court Library has an autograph orchestral score of a cantata, which consists of 23 leaves in small transverse folio and was composed in 1778. It is titled: ‘La Tempestà’ and is set to words by Metastasio for a soprano voice with quartet accompaniment in the style of the time.

Frau T.R.v.N. – Der Sachwalter des schönen Geschlechts

T.R.v.N. 1782. ‘Der Sachwalter des Schönen Geschlechtes‘ in: P. M. Schmid (ed.). *Der Sachwalter des Schönen Geschlechtes. Oder Versuch eines Beweises, daß es der Ehre, dem Glücke, dem Vergnügen und den Rechten des weiblichen Geschlechtes höchst nachtheilig, so lange zu warten, bis ein Freyer kommt, und daß es so schicklich als nothwendig sey, daß Frauenzimmer selbst auf das Freyen ausgehen.* Vienna: Hartl, pp. 5-58.

Der Sachwalter des Schönen Geschlechtes

Wenn man das ganze Menschengeschlecht mit einem Blicke übersieht, so fällt es gar nicht schwer, zu bemerken, daß die Bestimmung der einen Hälfte desselben, ich meyne der weiblichen, sehr traurig ist. Die gütige Natur, die gewiß keine Stiefmutter an uns geworden, hat uns eben so frey und unabhängig lassen gebohren werden, als die Mannspersonen; wir haben Geist und Vernunft, wie sie; wir haben sogar in manchen Sachen vieles zum voraus: dem ungeachtet haben letztere sich beygehen lassen, so verschiedene uns mit ihnen gemeinschaftliche Rechte zu schmälern, und sich für unumschränkte Richter aller unserer Handlungen aufzuwerfen, so, daß wir unter ihrer schweren Tyranney, wir mögen im ledigen oder verheuratheten Stande seyn, unser Leben hinbringen müssen.

Ich habe keine Lust, eine genaue Zergliederung so mancher Gewohnheiten, die sie zu unserem Nachtheile eingeführt haben, vorzunehmen; dieß würde mich zu weit von meinem Entzwecke entfernen. Ich will es bloß versuchen, über eine derselben, die mir einer näheren Untersuchung würdig scheint, meine Gedanken niederzuschreiben, welche darin besteht: **daß man dem weiblichen Geschlechte in der Wahl des Gatten gewisse Gränzen setzt, und selbiges an solche Formalitäten binden will, die dem Vergnügen, der Ehre, dem Ansehen, dem Glücke und den Rechten desselben äußerst nachtheilig sind.** Ob ich Geschicklichkeit genug besitze, mich über diesen Stoff so zu erklären, wie es derselbe verdient, hierüber sollen meine Freundinnen entscheiden, denen ich diesen zu müßigen Stunden verfertigten Aufsatz zur Prüfung vorlegen werde.

Wenn ich behaupte, der Mensch sey überhaupt zur Gesellschaft gebohren, so werde ich vermuthlich der Mühe überhoben seyn, Beweise davon beyzubringen. Denn, sind wir Kinder, so verhalten wir uns bloß leidend, und ohne gesellschaftliche Wohlthaten würden wir vielleicht den ersten Tag unsers Daseyns umkommen; wächst mit den Jahren die Vernunft, so werden wir thätige Mitglieder der menschlichen Gesellschaft, die ohne wechselseitige Unterstützung

nicht bestehen könnte. Kein Mensch ist sich selbst genug, man mag ihn nun in Absicht auf seine Bedürfniße, oder auf sein Vergnügen betrachten.

Nebst diesem allgemeinen Band, welches die Menschen miteinander verbindet, hat aber die weise Natur noch einen besondern geheimen Hang **einem** Geschlechte gegen das **andere** eingepflanzt. Ohne diese angebohrne Zuneigung würde, wie ich mir wenigstens einbilde, das Leben unschmackhaft, bitter, und vielleicht unausstehlich seyn. Und eben hieraus läßt sich, als eine natürliche Folge, die Sehnsucht nach einer engern Verbindung, ich meyne, den Ehestand, leicht herleiten und erklären.

Wenn aber bey irgend einem Geschäfte in der Welt eine kluge Wahl nothwendig ist, so ist es unstreitig hier, wo es auf ein unzertrennliches Band ankömmt; und da beyde Theile gleich stark dabey interesßirt sind, so bleibt es eine unumstößliche Wahrheit, daß auch beyde in dieser Wahl selbsten gleiche Rechte gegen einander haben, und ausüben müssen, wenigstens sollten sie es. Allein wie sehr sucht man nicht, die unsrigen zu schmälern, oder vielmehr gar zu vernichten! die so betitelte **weibliche Sittsamkeit**, und die strengen **Gesetze der Gewohnheit**, die man **Wohlstand** zu nennen beliebt, verdammen uns Unglückliche zur gänzlichen Unterdrückung unserer Zärtlichkeit. Ein wahrhaft tyrannischer Gebrauch erlaubt uns nicht, den **ersten Schritt** zu thun, wenn wir je für eine Mannsperson eingenommen sind, in deren Gesellschaft wir hoffen können, unser Leben angenehm hinzubringen. Die Furcht, die Welt möchte Arges von uns denken, gebietet uns, jede auch unschuldigste Empfindung zu ersticken; gerade, als wenn es einem Frauenzimmer, das doch von dem Manne herkömmt, schändlich wäre, seinen Ursprung aufzusuchen. Nichts, gar nichts bleibt also in unserer Gewalt, als höchstens die Wahl, die auf uns gefallen, zu – billigen, oder zu – misbilligen. Und sehr oft steht auch dieses nicht einmal bey uns.

Aber gesetzt, wir unterwefen uns dieser harten Gewohnheit gutwillig, gesetzt, wir warten ab, bis ein Freyer kömmt; was sind wir dadurch gebessert? Wenn wir unter beständigem Hoffen alt werden, wenn wir gar in die äußerste Verachtung kommen, und ohne Versorgung bleiben, wer bekümmert sich alsdenn um uns? wer wird alsdenn bey der schrecklichen Aussicht, die sich vor unsern Augen öffnet, gerührt? wer hält uns schadlos dafür, wenn wir unsere Ruhe, und das wahre Glück unsers Lebens diesem Götzen, ich will sagen, der **Meinung der Welt**, aufgeopfert haben?

Man weiß ohne mein Erinnern, wie verachtet überall die alten Jungfern sind. Ohne zu untersuchen, ob sie aus eigener Schuld, oder nur wegen verjährten Vorurtheilen, in diese runzelreiche Zunft gekommen, würdigt man sie aufs niedrigste herab; man rechnet es ihnen als eine Schande an, daß sie grau geworden, ohne fähig gewesen zu seyn, ein männliches Geschöpf

zum Ehestand zu bewegen. Wahrhaftig! diese Betrachtung allein könnte schon vermögend seyn, auch das sanftmüthigste unverheurathete Frauenzimmer zu empören.

Ich will es über mich nehmen, meinem Geschlechte durch einige Proben begreiflich zu machen, wie groß ohngefähr die Anzahl der unverheuratheten, folglich Versorgung suchender Frauenspersonen überall seyn müsse. Vielleicht dürfte es mir einmal als ein Verdienst angerechnet werden, daß ich durch Darstellung solch trauriger Wahrheiten die Aufmerksamkeit manches Frauenzimmers rege gemacht habe.

Die Herren Aerzte versichern durchgehends, daß von dem männlichen Geschlechte in der Kindheit mehr sterben, als von dem weiblichen. Diesen von der über Leben und Tod gesetzten Fakultät geäußerten Ausspruch kann man um so weniger in Zweifel ziehen, als die politischen Rechenmeister, welche die Volksmenge in jedem Staate berechnen, denselben noch allzeit bestätiget haben. – Stoff zum Nachdenken.

Wie viele erwachsene Mannsleute gehen wohl nicht auf Reisen, die sich in fremden Ländern häuslich niederlassen? der Beruf des weiblichen Geschlechtes bringt es mit sich, zu Hause zu bleiben; aber jede, die sich auf einen von diesen Auswanderern etwa eine Rechnung hätte machen können, wird dadurch in ihrer angenehmen Hoffnung getäuscht.

Was entvölkert endlich ein Land mehr als der leidige, betrübte Krieg, er sey zu Wasser, oder zu Land? wie mancher wackere Mann muß da sein junges Leben lassen, der ein Stammvater mehrerer Generationen hätte werden können? viele tausend Mannsleute werden dort aufgeopfert, bis nur **zehn** vom weiblichen Geschlechte sterben. Der unvermeidliche Ueberschuß letzterer läßt sich also sehr leicht berechnen.

Wenn aber mein Vorgehen noch dem geringsten Zweifel unterworfen seyn sollte, so würde ich ihn ganz gewiß duch folgenden sehr auffallenden Beweis zu heben im Stande seyn. In einer gewissen großen und volkreichen Stadt (wollte man sich allenfalls **Wien** dabey denken, so würde es der Faßlichkeit wegen gar nicht übel gethan seyn) hat man bey der allerersten vorgenommenen Seelenbeschreibung einen überausgroßen Ueberschuß an Frauenspersonen gefunden; denn man hat, um sich von dem Verhältniße des einen Geschlechts gegen das andere vollkommen zu überzeugen, jeder **männlichen Seele** ohne Rücksicht auf Alter oder Stand eine **weibliche** zugesellt, mithin so viele Paar formirt, als es möglich war. Wir wollen nun hören, wie viel dieser **weiblichen Seelen** übrig geblieben sind, die man nicht **paaren** konnte. Etwa zehn tausend? – besser gerathen …. fünfzehn tausend? – nicht getroffen – also vier und zwanzig tausend? aber nun wird die Rechnung wohl übertrieben seyn – noch gefehlt … dieß wär ja erschrecklich; man sollte denken, die letzte Zahl sey schon mehr als zu groß – Hier gilt kein Scherz, sondern es ist eine traurige, niederschlagende Wahrheit, daß 40,000 sage **vierzig**

tausend weiblicher Seelen netto übrig geblieben sind. Wenn man nun zu diesen noch jene addirt, die man solchen Mannsleuten beygesellt hat, die entweder wegen moralisch-politisch- oder physischen Hindernissen nicht heurathen **können**, auch aus Kapritze oder andern gegründeten **Ursachen nicht wollen**, so wird man stets (ich ziehe einen sehr mäßigen Kalkul) wenigstens 70,000, sage **siebenzig tausend unverheurathete, folglich unversorgte Personen weiblichen Geschlechtes** antreffen. – Welch eine schaudervolle Vorstellung ist nicht dieses! wahrhaftig, wenn ich, die ich dieses schreibe, nicht schon selbst mit einem liebenswürdigen Manne versehen wäre, wofür ich dem Himmel täglich kniefällig danke, so würde ich (ohngeachtet mir mein Spiegel sagt, daß ich eben nicht unter die Häßlichen gehöre) mich kaum, kaum trösten können.

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In dem Augenblicke, da ich dieses niederschreibe, überfällt mich eine Wehmut, die ich ohnmöglich beschreiben kann, weil mir die Natur ein Herz geschenkt hat, das empfindlich ist, und von einem edlen Mitleiden über das Unglück meiner Mitbürgerinnen äußerst gerührt wird. Die kurz zuvor gemachte Rechnung schlägt mich selbst so sehr darnieder, daß ich meinem beklemmten Herzen nicht anderst, als durch einige Thränen Luft machen kann, die ich dem traurigen Schicksale so vieler meiner Mitschwestern widme.

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Ich habe nun meinem Geschlechte den Zoll meiner zärtlichsten Liebe entrichtet, meine Augen sind wieder trocken worden, und ich komme dahin zurück, wo ich geblieben bin.

Nach den Gesetzen der Natur kann jeder Mensch mit seinem Eigenthume, so wie mit seiner Person frey schalten. Wenn gewiße Umstände je einige Einschränkungen nöthig gemacht haben, so sollten doch dergleichen in keinem Falle weniger statt haben, als in demjenigen, wo es auf die Wahl einer Person ankömmt, mit welcher man sich auf immer vereinigen will. Mit den Augen eines andern sehen, ist eben so ungereimt, als mit dem Herzen eines Fremden lieben wollen; und dieß würde doch nothwendig geschehen müßen, wenn man in gedachter Wahl nur der Willkühr eines dritten zu folgen hätte. Wie manche Mädchen werden während dem, als ich dieses schreibe, in geheim darüber seufzen, daß ihre Eltern, aus einem Mißbrauch der ihnen von der Natur aufgetragenen Sorge für ihre Kinder, denselben mit Gewalt Gatten bestimmen wollen, ohne ihre Neigung dabey zu Rathe zu ziehen. Wie viel unglückliche Schlachtopfer dieser Art wird wohl nicht jede zahlreiche Stadt aufweisen können, ohne daß man zur Zeit noch absieht, wie diesem Uebel könnte abgeholfen werden. Man sucht einem Frauenzimmer die Vortheile ihrer Vermählung mit diesem oder jenem Manne aus einem mannigfaltigen Gesichtspunkte sichtbar zu machen, und dieß zwar so lang, bis es entweder vom falschen

Schimmer verblendet, oder aus Noth gehorsam wird, und sich zum Altare führen läßt, um eine menschliche Thorheit durch eine heilige Handlung zu bestättigen.

Jede Absicht kann nur durch gewiße Mitteln erreicht werden. Dieß ist keinem Zweifel unterworfen. Alle Frauenzimmer sind zur Erhaltung des menschlichen Geschlechtes erschaffen. Eine jede ist auch so geneigt, als schuldig, ihren Beruf nach Möglichkeit zu erfüllen, dieß ist alles wahr. Aber sucht man ihnen nicht zu gleicher Zeit durch das Verbot, sich eigenmächtig einen Gatten zu wählen, die größte Hinderniß in den Weg zu legen, ihre Hauptabsicht zu erlangen?

Den unverheuratheten Frauenzimmern verbieten wollen, sich selbst einen Ehegatten zu wählen, heißt eben soviel, als sagen: „Mädchen! Ihr seyd und bleibt der unnatürlichen Nothwendigkeit ausgesetzt, ohne Liebe zu leben. Es ist euch zwar erlaubt, Geist und Verstand zu haben: aber Denken ist euch nicht erlaubt: Es ist wahr, ihr habt Herzen, die, so wie ihr sie von der Natur bekommen habt, zur Liebe gestimmt sind, aber wehe derjenigen, die sanfte Empfindungen darinnen nährt: Augen könnt ihr zwar haben; aber das Sehen ist euch verboten: Ohren sind euch ebenfalls gegönnt, nur nicht zum Hören: Auch schön, könnt ihr seyn, denn die schöpferische Natur sowohl, als die Erziehung hat euch zur Liebe gebildet; aber von dieser Gabe einigen Gebrach zu machen, dieß laßt euch nur nicht in Sinn kommen, „ – Welch schreckliche Widersprüche!

Ein schönes Gesicht ist ein Empfehlungsschreiben der Natur, und es hat schon mancher von unserem Geschlechte statt eines Heurathgutes gedient. Aber man sollte auch bedenken, daß das Reich der Schönheit, von einer sehr kurzen Dauer ist, und daß das Alter, der große Verwüster der Schönheit, allen Reizen ein Ende macht. Dieß vorausgesetzt, will es nothwendig seyn, entweder in derjenigen Zeit, wo noch ein jugendliches Feuer die Wangen färbt, Vorkehrungen zum Heurathen zu machen, oder – im ganzen Leben nicht mehr daran zu gedenken. Man glaube mir auf mein Wort, (denn ich habe hundert Exempeln davon erlebt) für ein Mädchen, das einst eine gute Bildung gehabt, kann keine größere Mortifikation erdacht werden, als wenn es die so schreckliche Epoche des Altwerdens heran kommen sieht, und wenn es von sich sagen hört: **Sie war einmal schön**. Es geschieht oft, daß auch ein zierliches Gesicht von den Mannsleuten übersehen wird, und in Rückstand bleibt; wie muß nun erst einer solchen zu Muthe seyn, die in Rücksicht auf Schönheit kein gutes Numero gezogen hat? In beyden Fällen also, man mag schön seyn oder nicht, ist unser Schicksal immer schwankend und zweydeutig, und Klugheit sowohl als unser Interesse räth uns an, nach meinem Vorschlage das Sichere zu spielen.

Man nennt uns nicht selten das **schwache Geschlecht**. Will man damit sagen, daß der Körper eines Frauenzimmers nicht zu so starker und anhaltender Arbeit eingerichtet sey, als es der

Beruf des männlichen Geschlechtes mit sich bringt: will man dadurch andeuten, daß ihr Nervenbau empfindlicher, ihre ganze Constitution schwächer sey, als bey den Mannspersonen, so habe ich nichts, gar nichts wider diese Benennung einzuwenden. Sollten aber Spötter unter dem Ausdruck **schwaches Geschlecht** etwa verstehen wollen, als wenn es eben so viel sey, als: **das Frauenzimmer ist von Natur dumm, ungeschickt, und nur zu Kleinigkeiten und Tändeleyen aufgelegt**, so wird man nicht übel nehmen, wenn ich auf die feyerlichste Art darwider protestire. Die Kräfte des Geistes sind nicht an die Gestalt des Körpers gebunden, und der Unterschied zwischen beyderley Geschlecht geht nicht bis auf die Seele. In den Seelenkräften sind wir einander ähnlich; wir können eben so gut denken, nachsinnen, begreifen und erfinden, wie die Männer. Ich könnte dieses durch zwanzig Beyspiele beweisen, durch eine gelehrte **Schurmann, Gottsched, Bassi etc**. wenn ich mir nicht selbst Gränzen gesetzt hätte. – Gesetzt aber auch (allein nicht zugegeben) daß eine gewiße Schwäche des Geistes, oder des Körpers, oder einige Furchtsamkeit uns angebohren sey (welches uns eben so wenig zu einer Beschimpfung wäre, als es den Tauben zu keiner Schande gereicht, daß sie keine Adlersklauen haben) gereicht es denn einem Menschen zur Ehre, der einen schwächern, als er selbst ist, bekriegt und unterdrückt? und was ist wohl andererseits natürlicher, als daß wir uns in dieser Rücksicht um einen Schutzgott umsehen? was kann man weniger thun, als uns die freye Wahl desjenigen zu überlassen, dessen Schutze wir uns anvertrauen wollen?

Wollte man hingegen so gefällig seyn, und sich das weibliche Geschlecht auf einer schimmerndern Seiten vorstellen, wie es nämlich von der Natur dazu bestimmt zu seyn scheint, **Eroberungen** zu machen, warum will man es einem Frauenzimmer in diesem Falle schwer machen, sich seines Sieges vollkommen zu versichern, und denjenigen im Triumpf einherzuführen, der in seinen Augen der **Würdigste schien, von ihm überwunden zu werden**?

Rousseau, der abscheuliche Mensch, der doch von vielen Männern für einen so grossen Philosophen gehalten wird, hat es gewagt, in einer seiner Schriften ganz verwegen zu behaupten: **daß ein Frauenzimmer niemals etwas mehr als ein großes Kind werde**.

Soll dieß philosophiert seyn? wie läppisch, wie seicht! er mag nur seine Philosophie für sich behalten, es wird ihn niemand darum beneiden. Ich weiß zwar, daß die ganze vernünftige Welt von dem Gegentheile mehr als zu sehr überzeugt ist; allein bey allen dem ist es doch ärgerlich, daß viele Mannsleute, wenn man es beym Lichte betrachtet, uns nicht viel anderst traktiren, als wie Kinder. Sie tändeln, sie spielen mit uns; aber, wie es scheint, bloß in der boshaften Absicht, uns unter dem Scheine einer besondern Neigung die unbilligsten Gesetze aufzulegen. Ein solches Gesetz ist ohnstreitig jenes, durch welches uns, und zwar bey Strafe, für männersüchtig

ausgeruffen zu werden, untersagt wird, denjenigen selbst zu wählen, dessen **großes Kind** wir gerne seyn möchten.

Rousseau ist also, wie gesagt, bey weitem der Mann nicht, der uns seine paradoxen Sätze als Orakelsprüche aufdringen könnte, und er hätte gewiß sehr geirrt, wenn er je einen solchen stolzen Gedanken gehabt hätte. Inzwischen hat er in seiner Art zu philosophiren immer seine Anhänger; denn es giebt Mannsleute, die, weil sie an guten Einfällen und Erfindungen äußerst arm sind, keinen andern Scherz vorzubringen wissen, als auf Kosten unsers Geschlechtes. Mir sind zween Vorfälle von einem jüngern Datum bewußt, wo man sich so weit vergangen hat, daß man das weibliche Geschlecht sogar aus der Zahl der Menschen hat ausschließen wollen. Um das Hinfällige, Abgeschmackte und ungesittete dieser Raisonneurs zu zeigen, darf man solche **bloß** erzehlen. Ich nehme es um so williger über mich, solches zu thun, als ich überzeugt bin, dadurch nichts zu unternehmen, was meinem Endzwecke zuwider seyn könnte.

In *** nahm sich ein gewißer **** die Freyheit heraus, in einer Gesellschaft guter Freunde zu behaupten, daß die **Frauenzimmer nicht zum menschlichen Geschlecht gehörten**, welches er benöthigten Falls zu beweisen sich anheischig machte. Den anwesenden kam dieß um so befremdlicher vor, als er sonst für einen eifrigen Verehrer derselben bekannt war. Genug, die Sache blieb nicht verschwiegen. Man sprach in der weiblichen Welt von Abbitte, Genugthuung, Strafe, und dergleichen, wie denn auch endlich die Sache so gekartet wurde, daß der Frevler durch eine unschuldige List in eine große meistens aus Frauenzimmern bestehende Gesellschaft gebracht wurde. Er erschien vor diesem Ritterstuhl, der ihm so fürchterlich hätte seyn sollen, mit einer sehr zuversichtlichen Mine, und war nichts weniger als betroffen, als nach verschiedenen gleichgiltigen Reden derselbe von einer anwesenden Mannsperson zur Probe seines paradoxen Satzes aufgefordert wurde. Nach einer tiefen Verbeugung gegen alle im Zirkel herumsitzende Frauenzimmer soll er sich also vertheidigt haben: „So leid es mir ist, daß ich, wie ich auf allen Gesichtern deutlich lesen kann, das Unglück gehabt, den schweren Haß des ganzen weiblichen Geschlechtes auf mich zu laden, so sehr freut es mich doch auch im Gegentheile, daß ich von demjenigen, was ich nur einigen guten Bekannten in der Stille gesagt, nun vor einer so glänzenden Versammlung Rechenschaft geben soll. Daß ich so schwarz beschrieben worden, rührt wahrscheinlich von meinen Verläumdern her, die mich vielleicht wegen dem Glücke, daß ich bey einigen Schönen wohl gelitten war, beneiden. Sie sollen aber gewiß beschämt werden. Obschon ich auf das feyerlichste betheure, daß mir ein so verächtlicher Gedanken, das Frauenzimmer zu schimpfen, nie in den Sinn gekommen: so kann ich doch auch andererseits das, was ich einmal gesagt, unmöglich wiederrufen. Ich wiederhole also nochmal, daß die Frauenzimmer keineswegs unter die Menschen können gerechnet

werden, aus der ganz natürlichen Ursache, weil sie alle - - **Engeln** sind.“ Hier sah man sich untereinander an, und die Komödie hatte ein Ende. Meine Korrespondentinn fügt aber bey, gedachter **** habe seinen Endzweck, den er vermuthlich mag gehabt haben, da er der Sache diese Wendung gegeben, weit verfehlt, weil weder den **wirklich schönen**, noch auch den **wahrhaft vernünftigen Frauenzimmern** mit dieser Erklärung Genugthuung geschehen sey. **Ersteren** nicht, weil sie durch diesen Ausspruch mit denjenigen in eine Klasse gesetzt worden, gegen welche die Natur bey Ausspändung ihrer schönen Gaben sparsam und geizig gewesen; **Letzteren** nicht, weil sie gedachten Herrn für einen niederträchtigen Schmeichler hielten, der für seinen übertriebenen Lobspruch mehr Tadel als Beyfall verdient.

Ein anderer übertrieb die Sache auf eine minder höfliche Art. Nachdem er sich mit seiner vermeinten Weisheit ungemein gebrüstet hatte, und gleich eben angeführten Helden ganz stolz dem weiblichen Geschlechte die menschliche Würde abläugnen wollte, so nahm eines von den anwesenden Frauenzimmern das Wort (ich für meine Person hätte mich zu erhaben gedäucht, diesen abgeschmackten Menschen einer Gegenantwort zu würdigen) **Wir reden ja, und haben auch Vernunft**, sagte dasselbe, **folglich gehören wir so gut, wie die Mannsleute, unter die Menschen und nicht zu den Thieren, zu welchen Sie uns herabwürdigen wollen.** Man vernehme aber die Antwort dieses Unverschämten: „O dieß beweiset nichts, gar nichts. Können nicht auch Thiere reden? plaudern nicht Staaren, Raaben und Papageyen? hat nicht das langohrigte Thier des Balaams auch geredet? Wer wird aber wohl so unbesonnen seyn, diese Geschöpfe bloß darum unter das Menschengeschlecht zu zehlen, weil sie reden? Ohne Vernunft reden ist so viel, als gar nicht reden. Wenn aber Frauenzimmer mit **Vernunft** redeten, würde wohl jener große Mann sie in der Gemeinde geheißen haben stillzuschweigen? Ist ihnen nicht durch die Gesetze verwehrt, öffentliche Aemter und Bedienungen zu versehen, wobey es aufs Reden ankömmt? Auch die Geschickteste und Gesprächigste kann bey Gerichte keinen Advokaten vorstellen; sie dürfen eben so wenig ein richterliches Amt bekleiden; sie können in einer zweifelhaften Sache nicht einmal bloße Schiedrichterinnen seyn; es ist ihnen verbothen, jemanden an Kindesstatt anzunehmen, eine Vormundschaft zu verwalten, oder ein Zeugniß vor Gerichte abzulegen, und noch hundert andere Sachen sind ihnen untersagt. Würde man sie aber von all diesen Verrichtungen ausschließen, wenn sie Vernungt besäßen? Aber auch alsdenn, wenn die Frauenspersonen Vernunft hätten, so macht sie das noch nicht zu Menschen. Engeln und Deufeln haben eine vernünftige Seele, und reden auch, sie sind deswegen doch keine Menschen.“

Verlohnt es sich wohl der Mühe, den schaalen Witze dieser ungesitteten Spötter zu widerlegen? Nein, wahrhaftig nicht, man würde sich dadurch nur selbst erniedrigen. Wenn ich euch, liebste

Mitschwestern! inzwischen um was bitten darf, so habt Mitleiden mit diesen armen Leuten, denn sie sehen gewiß nicht, was sie reden. Haltet sie für solche, die arm im Geiste sind, denn sie gehören unter die Blödsinnigen. Allein, wenn euch ein Zufall in ihre Gesellschaft bringt, so habt die Güte, sie – zu verachten: laßt sie auf euern Gesichtern lesen, daß ihr eines edlern Umgangs gewohnt seyd. Ueberlaßt sie ganz ihrem Schicksale, und sie sind gewiß gestraft genug. Die Erfahrung hat es gelehrt, daß diejenigen, die sich in den Spöttereyen über das weibliche Geschlecht ganz besonders ausgezeichnet haben, demselben schon oft dadurch eine stillschweigende öffentliche Genugthuung geleistet haben, daß ihre Wahl gemeiniglich auf eine der unwürdigsten Kreaturen, die nur hat können gefunden werden, gefallen ist. Der Liebesgott läßt nicht mit sich scherzen, und er weiß sich nachdrücklich an denjenigen zu rächen, die dreist genug waren, wider ihn oder die unter seine Fahne gehörigen Personen Lästerungen auszustoßen. Selbst obengedachter Rousseau ist ein noch nicht verjährtes Beyspiel davon. Er heurathete eine geringe Dienstmagd, die nun dem Philosophen einen von ihrer Klasse, einen Bedienten, zum Nachfolger gegeben hat.

Ich bin weit davon entfernt, meinem Geschlechte eine Lobrede zu halten, und solches von allen Fehlern frey zu sprechen; ich bin nicht partheyisch oder blind genug, etwas dergleichen zu behaupten: aber ich getraue mir doch, all jenen gegründete Vorwürfe machen zu können, die sich von einer unüberlegten Hitze oder von einem tadelswerthen Hange zu hämischen Anspielungen dahin reißen lassen, **unser ganzes Geschlecht überhaupt** anzuschwärzen, ohne denjenigen Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen, die **wirkliche Verdienste** besitzen. Sie sollten bedenken, daß Stachelreden oder Schriften von dieser Gattung, wo alle Personen auf den nämlichen Fuß behandelt werden, ganz gewiß ihren Endzweck verfehlen.

Inzwischen wäre ich doch begierig, was diese Witzlinge zur Antwort geben würden, wenn man ihnen diese oder ähnliche Fragen vorlegte:

Ist nicht das erste Weib aus einem viel besseren Stoffe gemacht worden, als der Mann? Ist eine Menschenrippe nicht von Leimen unterschieden, und besser als dieser?

Ist nicht das Weib gleichsam das letzte Meisterstück und die Krone der ganzen Schöpfung? und wäre diese, ohne die Eva, nicht ganz unvollkommen gewesen?

Nach ihr kam nichts mehr; schien also nicht alles **vor ihr** Erschaffene, und unter diesen ohnstreitig auch der Mann, nur **ihretwegen** da zu seyn?

Man nennt unser Geschlecht das **schöne Geschlecht**, und dieß gewiß nicht ohne Grund. Die Schmeicheley hat gar keinen Antheil an diesem Beynamen. Wer nur immer Augen und Vernunft hat, wird eingestehen müßen, daß das Frauenzimmer überhaupt an geistiger und leiblicher Schönheit das männliche Geschlecht übertrift. Ihre zärtern Glieder und feinere Haut,

ihre schönere Farbe des Leibes können nicht geläugnet werden: der sanftere Charakter ihres Gemüthes, ihre empfindungsreiche Seele hat mehr Schönes, als jene der Männer. Unsere Vorgänger haben die **Tugenden**, die **Grazien**, die **Künsten** und **Wissenschaften** unter weiblicher Gestalt vorgestellt. Wie viele nicht minder wichtige Punkten wäre ich noch beyzubringen im Stande, wenn ich nicht befürchtete, zu weitläufig zu seyn. Ich begnüge mich also von diesem reichhaltigen Stoffe nur etwas weniges berührt zu haben, in der gewißen Zuversicht, daß obige Helden mir ewig die Antwort schuldig bleiben werden.

Tiefsinniges Studiren und mühsames Lernen schicken sich nicht wohl für ein Geschlecht, das aufhören würde, liebenswürdig zu seyn, wenn es sich mit gelehrten Grübeleyen abgeben wollte. Wenn die Natur bey der Bildung eines Frauenzimmers mit ihren Reizen nicht sparsam gewesen; wenn es den angebohrnen Mutterwitz wohl anwendet; wenn es durch eine gewiße Leichtigkeit allen seinen Handlungen einen Schwung zu geben weiß, so ist schon viel gewonnen. Meines geringen Dafürhaltens sollte der Innhalt der ganzen Wissenschaft des Frauenzimmers, und ihr einziges Studium der **Mensch**, und unter den Menschen der **Mann** seyn. Unsere Weltweisheit bestehet nicht im **Vernünfteln**, sondern im **Empfinden**. Wir därfen nicht darüber verlegen seyn, daß wir gewiße hohe Einsichten nicht besitzen; daß wir furchtsam, und zu wichtigen Geschäften nicht aufgelegt sind; hingegen können wir alle diese Eigenschaften am Manne fodern, und jede von uns kann die Erhabenheit ihrer Seele nicht besser zeigen, als wenn sie diese edlen Eigenschaften zu schätzen wieß, sofern solche bey **ihm** anzutreffen sind. Ist es aber nicht eine Art von äußerster Ungerechtigkeit, daß, wenn wir die Geschicklichkeit haben, einen solchen zu entdecken, deßen Wahl uns sowohl Ehre als Vergnügen machen würde, daß es uns dennoch, blos wegen der von langem her beybehaltenen Gewohnheit, verbothen ist, unsere Gesinnungen demselben deutlich an Tag zu geben?

Ist die Ehe ein Stand der Freuden, der Ruhe und Zufreidenheit, so sehe ich nicht ein, aus was Grunde man sich diejenige Person soll aufdringen lassen, mit welcher man dieses Vergnügen gemeinschaftlich genießen will. – Ist er aber wie andere wollen, ein Joch, ein nothwendiges Uebel, ein Stand, welcher den Verlust der Freyheit unumgänglich nach sich zieht, so laß man dem armen Frauenzimmer wenigstens den traurigen Trost, denjenigen selbst zu wählen, dem es mit dieser so kostbaren Freyheit ein Opfer machen will. Und wenn je die Ehe eine Bürde ist, so sollte man ja vielmehr andere zu Uebernehmung einer Last aufzumuntern, als ihnen solche schwer zu machen suchen. So viele durch einen verjährten Gebrauch in Ehesachen adoptirte Vorurtheile sind gewiß eben so viele Hinderniße davon.

In alten Zeiten sollen Aufmunterungen zur Ehe eine Sache des Staats gewesen seyn; ja man sagt sogar von Gesetzen, die wider jene Mannsleute gemacht worden, die sich bis zu gewißen

Jahren nicht verehligt haben. Die Wahrheit zu sagen, will mir ein solcher Zwang, obschon man triftige Ursachen dazu gehabt haben mag, nicht gar wohl gefallen; denn so wie ich die Menschen kenne, so haßt ihr Willen alle gewaltsame Mittel, und er sträubt sich gegen Nichts so sehr, als wider das, was ihm gebothen wird. Sollte es aber nicht möglich seyn, ein leichteres, weniger Aufsehen machendes Mittel ausfindig zu machen, die Heurathen zu befördern, ohne daß man den Zwang der Gesetze nöthig hätte?

Der Mann ist es, der Brod ins Hause schaft. So ist es beynahe in der ganzen Welt Sitte und Gewohnheit. Die Verrichtungen der Männer, sie mögen nun seyn, von welcher Klasse sie wollen, machen, daß der Schornstein rauchet. Die Frauenzimmer sind also bestimmt, von der Männerhand ihren Unterhalt zu erwarten; denn was man auch immer von dem Verdienste der Handarbeiten des weiblichen Geschlechtes sagen wollte, so kömmt er doch in Rücksicht auf das Ganze in gar keine Betrachtung. Ist es nun aber nicht höchst unbillig, wenn man es blos der Ersteren Willkür anheim gestellt seyn läßt, **ob** und **wenn** sie eine Person wählen wollen mit der sie den Genuß ihrer erworbenen Güter theilen wollen? Ist es etwa wider die Natur, wenn Frauenzimmer, unter Voraussetzung obiger Umstände, jemanden aufsuchen, der sie versorgt? Beynahe sollte man es glauben; denn man ist grausam genug, sie zu einem Warten zu verdammen, das ihnen eben so beschwerlich, als nachtheilig seyn muß. Man erlaubt ihnen, immer zu **hoffen**, ohne zu beherzigen, wie gegründet jenes Sprichwort sey: **Wer allein von der Hoffnung lebt, steht in großer Gefahr, im Spitale zu sterben**. Höchstens ist es nur einer Reichen aus unserm Geschlechte vergönnt, unter mehreren Anwerbern einen zu wählen, und diesem zufolge ertheilt das Geld allein die Fähigkeit, einen Stand zu ergreifen. Wenn deme also, so hat *La Bruyere* in dem entgegengesetzten Falle nicht übel gesagt: „Manches Mädchen ist nicht reich genug, um in einem Kloster das Gelübd der Armuth abzulegen."

Leider! sieht man sehr oft das männliche Geschlecht sich des größten Undanks schuldig machen. Manche unschuldige Kreatur, die schwach genug war, den betrügerischen Versprechungen einer Mannsperson Glauben beyzumessen; die das **wirklich empfand**, was ein Treuloser für sie **zu empfinden** nur **geschienen hat**; die eine so gute Meinung von ihm hatte, daß sie sich und ihr ganzes Glück seinen Händen anvertraut hat, wird doch nach allen diesem auf das gleichgiltigste von ihm behandelt. Und solcher Männer, welche die ihnen von ihren Weibern erwiesenen Zärtlichkeiten mit einer für empfindsame Seelen äußerst kränkenden Kaltsinnigkeit belohnen, giebt es leider nur zu viel. Hat eine Mannsperson durch Heurathskontrakt ein Weib erhalten, so soll es ihr glatterdings genug seyn, **dem Manne ganz** zuzugehören, ohne daß sie sollt verlangen därfen, daß **der Mann ganz ihr** gehöre. Sich selbst das Privilegium geben, ungestraft ungetreu zu seyn; sich selbst alles erlauben, dem Gegentheile

aber alles verbieten, schmeckt nach einer offenbaren Tyranney, und jeden, der so was unternimmt, kann man mit Grunde als einen, der sich des **Lasters der verletzten Menschheit** schuldig macht, ansehen.

Beynahe sollte man glauben, die Mannsleute hätten sich blos darum einer solchen Autorität und Oberherrschaft über das Frauenzimmer angemaßt, um nur dessen Vollkommenheiten, deren ganze Stärke sie mehr als zu wohl fühlten, dadurch das Gleichgewicht halten zu können. Sie schmeichelten sich, ihre Gebieterinnen vor sich selbst zu verbergen; und da die Gesetzgebung in ihren Händen war, so bedienten sie sich derselben, um wenigstens den Schein, als wenn sie das weibliche Geschlecht in einer sklavischen Abhängigkeit erhielten, beyzubehalten. Wendungen und Drehungen, die zum Lachen sind.

Je mehr Zwang bey einem Vertrage herrscht, den zwey Parthien miteinander machen, je weniger Freyheit man in der Wahl der Mitteln hat, die man für sein Bestes am zuträglichsten zu seyn glaubt, desto schwerer fällt es, die Bedingniße eines solchen Vertrages zu erfüllen, und man wird folglich auch weniger strafbar, wenn man sich dawider verfehlt. Wahrhaftig! die Mannsleute bedenken ihren Vortheil sehr schlecht, denn sonsten würde in vielen Sachen ihr Betragen ganz anders gegen uns seyn. Da sie sich das Recht herausnehmen, nur zu befehlen, und die Rolle unumschränkter Despoten zu spielen, so zwingen sie ja, so zu sagen, die armen Frauenzimmer, ihre Zuflucht zur Kunst zu nehmen, um sich von diesem harten Joche wo nicht gar zu befreyen, doch wenigstens dasselbe, soviel möglich, zu erleichtern. Man sagt, wir haben es in der Verstellungskunst weiter gebracht, als das männliche Geschlecht; man giebt vor, daß es **weibliche Machiavellistinnen** gebe, die es im ledigen Stande aus dem Grunde verstünden, durch List Anbeter zu bekommen, und unter selbigen denjenigen zu fangen, welchen sie gern haben möchten: im Ehestande hingegen müßten sie vollkommen die Kunst, ihre Männer zu besiegen, zu beherrschen, das ganze Haus nach ihrem Kopfe zu regieren, die Befehle des Mannes willkürlich auszulegen, mit einem Worte, deren ganze Politik und Moral in einem Gewebe von listigen Streichen, Ränken, Intriguen, Verstellungen und Heucheleyen bestehe. Sollte nun dieses Vorgeben wahr seyn, wie ich denn nicht dreist genug bin, die Möglichkeit davon in Zweifel zu ziehen, so haben die Mannsleute solches niemand anders, als sich selbst zuzuschreiben. Man zwingt unser Geschlecht mit Gewalt, der natürlichen Freymüthigkeit untreu zu werden, und anders zu scheinen, als es ist.

Es ist ausgemacht, daß nichts so sehr wider die Gesetze der Natur und der Vernunft ist, als von dem weiblichen Geschlechte einen blinden Gehorsam zu fordern. Es scheint, die Männer wollen ihre Rechte auf eine durch gewiße Ausdrücke ihnen eingeräumte Herrschaft gründen. Wie? wenn ich es über mich nehme, sie eines bessern zu belehren? Kömmt, kömmt her ihr

männlichen Geschöpfe! Lernet von einem Weibe den wahren Verstand und den ächten Begrif der euch so geläufigen Redensart: **das Weib muß dem Manne unterthänig seyn**. Diese Herrschaft, auf die ihr euch so vieles zu guten thut, die ihr so widerrechtlich ausdehnet, und die bey vielen in eine unterdrückende Sklaverey ausgeartet ist, besteht nicht sowohl in einer **Obermacht**, als vielmehr in einer **guten Ordnung**, damit die häusliche Einigkeit besser erhalten werde, das ist, wenn die Meinungen getheilt sind, so soll des Friedens und der Ordnung wegen der Wille des Mannes den Vorzug haben. Der Mann und die Frau bekleiden **beyde** die erste Würde im Hause, und der Mann hat in derselben nur die erste Stelle. Die Frau ist ihm nicht als eine **Sklavinn**, sondern als eine getreue **Rathgeberinn** zugetheilt, deren Gedanken er hören, und wenn er sie für gut befindet, billigen und zur Ausübung bringen soll. Und nun fodere ich mit Beybehaltung aller frauenzimmerlichen Bescheidenheit jeden Männerkopf auf, mir etwas anstößiges, widersprechendes oder unvernünftiges in diesem Satze zu zeigen.

Wenn es bey den Lacedemoniern, einem berühmten klugen Volke in dem alten Griechenlande, an deme war, daß eine Heurath sollte vollzogen werden, so zog die Braut Mannskleider an, zum Zeichen, daß sie in dem neuen Stande mit ihrem Manne gleiche Rechte und Gewalt haben und ausüben werde.

Wenigstens ist es außer allen Zweifeln, daß die Ehe, ihrer Natur nach betrachtet, ein Vertrag ist, den zwey Personen miteinander eingehen, und bey welchem durch jene Punkten, über die man übereingekommen ist, die wechselseitige Rechten bestimmt werden; eine klare Probe, daß die Herrschaft eines Mannes über seine Ehegattinn ganz ohne allen Grund ist. Denn sie kann nicht hergeleitet werden aus der **Natur der Sache**, weil sie der natürlichen Gleichheit der Menschen gerade entgegen gesetzt ist, weder aus der **Natur des Geschlechtes**, weil daraus, daß der Mann mehr dazu gemacht zu seyn scheint, zu befehlen, noch nicht folgt, daß er auch wirklich das **Recht** dazu habe. Zudem ist es eben noch nicht ausgemacht, daß die Männer allzeit mehr Stärke des Geistes und des Leibes haben, als die Personen von unserem Geschlechte.

Wenn ein Frauenzimmer bey sich überzeugt ist, daß sie einen höhern Rang, ein größeres Vermögen, mehr Vernunft und Klugheit besitzt, als diejenige Mannsperson, die sich zu ihrem Gemahle anbietet, so kann sie sich allerdings, mit Einwilligung des letztern, verschiedene Vorzüge vorbehalten, und ohne allen Widerspruch von dem natürlichen Gesetze, ich meine, der gänzlichen Gleichheit der Menschen abgehen. Der Fall, wenn eine regierende Frau sich entweder mit einem Prinzen unter ihrem Range, oder, wenn man will, mit einem von ihren Unterthanen vermählt, beweiset genugsam, daß die Autorität einer Frau über ihren Gemahl (selbst in Sachen, welche die Regierung der Familie betrift) gar nichts in sich enthält, das mit

der Natur der ehelichen Gesellschaft streitet. In der That hat man von jeher bey den gesittesten Nationen der Welt Heurathen gesehen, wo der Mann der Herrschaft der Frau unterworfen war. Wenn es nun nicht wider die Vernunft, noch wider die Natur ist, daß Frauenzimmer **ganze Königreiche** regieren, so streitet es um so weniger dawider, wenn sie in einer **Familie** alles nach ihrer Willkühr anordnen und regieren.

Noch wäre ich im Stande eine Menge meiner Absicht entsprechender Beweise beyzubringen; allein ich will abbrechen, um dadurch, wenn es anders möglich wäre, diejenigen zu beschämen, welche unartig genug sind, unserem Geschlechte die Gabe der Zurückhaltung im Reden oder Schreiben geradehin abzustreiten. Es wird übrigens nicht wenig schmeichelhaft für mich seyn, wenn meine guten Freundinnen in diesen bey müßigen Stunden hingeworfenen Gedanken ein Herz nicht verkennen wollten, das an allen dem den wärmsten Antheil nimmt, was die Gerechtsame und das Interesse unseres Geschlechtes betrift. Wenigstens kann ich betheuern, daß dieses eine der angenehmsten Beschäftigungen war, die ich je in meinem Leben unternommen habe. Meine größte Belohnung wird darinn bestehen, wenn ich von gedachten meinen Freundinnen vernehmen werde, daß ich eine **gute Sache nicht ganz schlecht vertheidiget habe**. Ob ich aber auf den Beyfall **männlicher Leser** (wenn mein Aufsatz je wider alles Vermuthen in die Hände eines derselben kommen sollte) würde Rechnung machen därfen, daran habe ich alle Ursache zu zweifeln. Der Lieblingsfehler sehr vieler unter ihnen ist, wie bekannt, **Tadeln**, und ein Frauenzimmer, das man außer dem Küchenzettelmachen mit der Feder in der Hand erblickt, ist in ihren Augen ein Greuel; ja, vielleicht kann, ihrer Meinung nach, kein größeres Verbrechen gedacht werden, als eine Gewohnheit zu bestreiten, wobey sie, wenn solche sollte aufgehoben werden, so viel zu verlieren glauben. Diesem zufolge würde ich zwar ihrerseits Widersprüche **erwarten**, aber – **nie fürchten**. Von der Wahrheit meiner Gründe überzeugt würde ich mich in die Unschuld meiner Absicht einhüllen, und bey allem ruhig bleiben. Inzwischen kann ich nicht umhin, dem **männlichen Geschlechte** vorzustellen, daß ich im höchsten Grade billig und discret bin; ich mache ja nicht die geringste Foderung, wodurch dasselbe könnte empört werden; ich verlange gar nicht, daß die Gewohnheit, von der hier die Rede ist, durch ein allgemeines Gesetz sollte getilgt werden; Nein, unser ganzes Geschlecht (meine Wenigkeit nimmt es allenfalls über sich, dasslebe zu verantworten) würde sich an einer **stillschweigenden Gutheißung und Duldung alles dessen, was bisher nicht gebräuchlich war, vollkommen begnügen**. Ein ausdrückliches Verbot würde allzeit eine seit so vielen Jahrhunderten unrechtmäßig ausgeübte Gewalt **voraussetzen**; unser eigener Vortheil erfodert aber, daß wir den Herren Mannsleuten diese Scham ersparen. Ich meinerseits kann mich nicht bereden, daß das ganze männliche Geschlecht so gar sehr verdorben seyn sollte, der erkannten

Wahrheit hartnäckig zu widerstreben, und wenigstens werden doch einige davon mit unbefangenem Gemüthe das betrachten, was andere aus Bosheit **nicht** sehen **wollen**, vielleicht auch wegen schwachen Augen nicht sehen **können**. **Johannes Frauenlob**, der blos wegen einiger zum Ruhme unseres Geschlechtes verfertigten Gedichten diesen Namen sich erworben, wurde nach seinem Tode von **zwölf Jungfrauen** zu Grabe getragen, auf welches sie aus Dankbarkeit, nach damaliger Sitte und Gewohnheit, Oel und Wein gegossen haben. Wenn zu unsern Zeiten ein geschickter Mann, der bey einem gefühlvollen Herzen alle Dinge nach seinem Werthe zu schätzen weiß, sich hervorthäte, und die fernere Vertheidigung unseres Geschlechtes über sich nähme (weil noch mehrere Beschwerden und Eingriffe in unsere Rechte vorhanden) so würde ich, nicht ohne guten Grund, demselben gewiß ein viel glänzenderes Schicksal prophezeyen. Kann er wohl eine schönere Belohnung haben, als wenn in allen weiblichen Gesellschaften sein Lob **laut** ertönen wird? Es giebt Dichterinnen unter uns; die beste Lobschrift einer männlichen Feder würde einem wohlgerathenen weiblichen Sinngedichte nachstehen müßen. – Er würde des ledigen, so wie des verheuratheten Frauenzimmers Liebling, und der geheime Rath in allen ihren Herzensangelegenheiten werden. – Man würde gemeinschaftlich seine Parthie ergreifen, wenn je ein Lästermaul gegen unsern Sachwalter und Vertheidiger losziehen wollte. – Man würde ihm in allen seinen Wünschen zuvorkommen, und ich stehe nicht gut dafür, daß man sich nicht oft in Geheim die Lust machen würde, ihn durch unerwartete Galanterien und Geschenke zu überraschen, um denselben ferners aufzumuntern. – Und endlich würde diejenige, die er auf seiner Laufbahne zu seiner Freundinn und Gesellschafterinn wählen würde, durch ihr Wohlwollen, durch ihre Zärtlichkeit und ganzes Betragen die Verbindlichkeiten, die ihm, so zu sagen, unser ganzes Geschlecht schuldig ist, in vollkommenstem Maaße abzutragen suchen.

T. R. v. N.

Translation[1092]

Advocate of the Fair Sex

If one gazes over the entirety of humankind, it is not difficult to note that the destiny of one half, I mean the female one, is very sad. Benevolent nature, that was surely no stepmother to us, saw us be born just as free and independent as men; we possess intellect and reason like them; in some things we are even ahead of them: irrespectively, the latter have set out to curtail our rights, both those unique and those we have in common with them, and positioned themselves as sovereign judges of all our doing, so that we must endure our lives under their heavy tyranny, regardless of whether we are single or married.

I do not feel any desire to the detail many customs they introduced to our disadvantage; this would lead too far away from my ultimate purpose. I only wish to try to write down my thoughts on one of them that appears worthy of closer examination, consisting hereof: **that one limits the female sex in their choice of spouse, and wants to bind her to formalities that are highly detrimental to the joy, the honour, the reputation, the luck, and the rights of the same.** Whether I possess enough skill to explain myself regarding this matter in the way that it deserves – in this respect my girlfriends shall judge this essay, written in leisurely hours, that I will submit to their scrutiny.

If I assert that humans were generally born for companionship, I will presumably be safe from the burden of having to produce any proof. Because, when we are children we act only helpless, without societal backing we might perish the first day of our existence; when throughout the years reason grows, we become active members of human society that cannot exist without reciprocal support. No human is sufficient unto themselves, whether one views them with regards to their needs or their pleasures.

Along with this general bond that connects humans with each other, wise nature also implanted **one** sex an especially secret inclination **towards the other**. Without this innate fondness, at least I imagine as much, life would be unpalatable, bitter, and maybe unbearable. And precisely hereof, as a natural consequence, the longing for a closer connection, I mean matrimony, can easily be deduced and explained.

[1092] This translation is added for context. Anyone wishing to seriously engage with T.R.v.N.'s essay is strongly encouraged to refer to the German original, for every translation is ultimately an interpretation and re-writing (see Svetlana Geier, Taja Gut (ed.). 2008. *Ein Leben zwischen den Sprachen*. Fischer).

However, if there ever was a business in the world where a smart choice was necessary, it is indisputably here where it comes to an unbreakable bond; and since both parts share an equally strong interest in the matter, it remains an irrefutable truth that both should also enjoy the same rights and must execute them, at least they should, in this choice themselves in relation to the other. But, alas, how much does one seek to diminish, or rather even destroy them! the so-called **feminine modesty** and the strict **laws of habit** that one deigns to call **prosperity**, condemns us unlucky ones to entirely suppress our tenderness. A truly tyrannical implementation does not permit us to make the **first step**, if ever we feel inclined towards a man, in whose company we can hope to spend our life in a comfortable manner. The fear the world might think maliciously of us dictates suffocation of all feeling – even the most innocent; as if it were nefarious for a woman, who, after all, originates from man, to seek their origin. Nothing, nothing at all remains in our power except perhaps to – **approve** or to – **disapprove** of someone else's choice that elected us. And oftentimes, even that will not be down to us.

But granted that we benevolently submit to these rough customs, granted that we wait until a suitor comes; how will that have improved us? If we grow old under constant hope, if we are even target of the utmost scorn and remain without support, who will then care for us? who will be moved by the abhorrent prospect that unfolds before our eyes? who indemnifies us if we sacrificed our peace and the true happiness of our life to these tin gods, I mean the **opinion of the world**?

One knows, without my reminder, how despised old maids are. Without examining whether they joined this wrinkly guild of their own fault or just because of lapsed prejudices, one vilifies them; one charges them for the shame of having grown grey, without having been able to bring a male creature to enter matrimony. Truly! these considerations alone could suffice to make the gentlest unmarried woman indignant.

With a few examples, I want to take it upon myself to make my sex understand how large approximately the number of unmarried, thus support seeking, women must be everywhere. Maybe I will be given credit for rousing the attention of some women with my accounts of such dejected truths.

The good doctors assure us non-stop, that more children of the male sex die during childhood than of the female one. This dictum of the faculty of life and death can be doubted even less as political arithmeticians, that calculate the population in every state, confirm the same at all times. – Food for thought.

How many adult men do not indeed travel, that settle down in foreign countries? the job of the female sex brings with it to stay at home; but everyone that might have counted on one of those emigrants, will be disappointed in her comfortable optimism.

Finally, what depopulates a country more than the wretched, sorrowful war – be it on water or land? how many young men, who could have been patriarchs of multiple generations, have to lose their life there? **many thousand** men are being sacrificed there while only **ten** of the female sex die. Hence, it is easy to calculate the inevitable surplus of the latter.

Should my purport still be called into the slightest doubts, then I will definitively remove them with the following, rather striking evidence. In a certain big and densely populated city (if one were to imagine **Vienna** in this context, it would not affect comprehensibility badly) a vast surplus of women was discovered in the very first official population census; for, in order to fully conceive of the relation between one sex to the other, every **male soul**, without consideration of age or class was put together with a **female** one – thus as many pairs as possible were formed. We now wish to hear how many of these **female souls** were left over, that could not be **paired** up. Something like **ten-thousand**? – a better guess…. **fifteen-thousand**? – missed the target – then **twenty-four-thousand**? surely the calculation is exaggerated now – far from it … this would indeed be shocking; one would think the last number was already more than too large – There is no joking here, but it is a sad, dejecting truth that 40.000, in words **forty-thousand female souls net remained**. Now, if one were to add all that were paired up with those men that **cannot** marry either for moral, political or physical obstacles, or **do not want to** because of caprices or otherwise founded reasons, then one will unfailingly arrive at (I am calculating with great moderation) at least 70.000, in words **seventy-thousand unmarried, and therefore not provided for, people of the female sex**. – Is this not a dreadful idea! truly, if I, who writes this, were not myself already provided with an endearing man, for which I thank the heavens daily on my knees, I would (irrespective of my mirror telling me that I do not exactly belong among the ugly) barely, barely be able to console myself.

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In this moment, writing these lines, I am overcome by melancholy that I cannot possibly describe, for nature has gifted me a heart that is sensitive and that is intensely moved with noble sympathy for the ill fortune of my fellow women citizens. The previous calculation renders me so very dejected that I cannot vent my anguished heart other than through shedding a few tears that I devote to the sad fate of so many of my sisters.

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I have now paid the dues of my most tender love for my sex, my eyes have gone dry again, and I return to where I left off.

According to the laws of nature every human can do with their possessions, as well as with their person, as they please. If certain circumstances have ever necessitated some restrictions, then suchlike should be made least of all in the case where it is a matter of choosing a person with whom one wishes to unite for life. To see with the eyes of another is just as nonsensical as wanting to feel with the heart of a stranger; but that would inevitably happen if one had to only follow the arbitrariness of a third party, in this very choice. How some girls will sigh, when I write this, that their parents, out of an abuse of the care for their children that nature bestowed upon them, will force spouses upon them without consulting their inclinations. How many unlucky sacrifices of that kind will every big city have, without being able to foresee at present how this evil could be remedied. One seeks to make a woman see the advantages of her marriage to this or that man from a variety of viewpoints, and this continues until she is either blinded by the false spark or becomes obedient out of necessity and allows herself to be led to the altar in order to affirm a human folly through a sacred act.

Every intention can only be achieved through certain means. There is no doubt about it. All women are created for the preservation of the human race. Each one is also as inclined as she is obligated to fulfil her calling as far as possible, this is all true. But at the same time, is it not putting the greatest obstacle in the way of attaining one's main intention by prohibiting her from choosing a husband herself?

To forbid unmarried women to choose a husband themselves is just like saying: 'Girl! You are and remain subjected to the unnatural necessity of living without love. You are admittedly allowed to have a mind and understanding: but you are not allowed to **think**: It is true, you have hearts that are attuned to love, just as you received them from nature, but woe to those who nourish gentle feelings in them: You can have eyes, but you are forbidden from seeing: You have also been granted ears, but not to hear: You can be beautiful, too, for creative nature as well as the rearing attuned you to love; but to make use of this gift, this you should not even let cross your mind.' – What a terrible contradiction!

A beautiful face is a letter of recommendation from nature, and it has already served many of our sex instead of a dowry. But one should also remember that the realm of beauty is of very short duration, and that old age, the great ravager of beauty, puts an end to all charms. Accepting all this, it becomes necessary either to make arrangements for marriage during the time when youthful fire still colours the cheeks – or never to think of it again for the rest of one's life. Believe me when I say this (for I have witnessed a hundred examples of it): for a

girl who was once well-educated, no greater mortification can be imagined than when she sees the dreadful epoch of aging approaching and hears others say of her: **She used to be beautiful**. It often happens that even a pretty face is overlooked by men and is left behind; so how must one feel who, in terms of beauty, has not had the luck of the draw at all? In both cases, then – whether one is beautiful or not – our fate is always uncertain and ambiguous, and both prudence and our own interest advises us to play it safe, as I have suggested.

We are not infrequently called the **weak sex**. If, by this, one means that the body of a woman is not suited to such strong and enduring labour as the profession of the male sex requires: if one thereby intends to suggest that her nervous system is more sensitive, her entire constitution weaker than that of men: then I have nothing, absolutely nothing, to object to in this respect. If, however, mockers wish to imply with the expression **weak sex** something like: **women are by nature stupid, inept, and inclined only towards trifles and frippery**, then I beg no offense be taken when I most solemnly protest against it. The powers of the mind are not bound to the shape of the body, and the difference between the two sexes does not extend to the soul. In the powers of the soul, we are alike; we can think, reflect, comprehend, and invent just as well as men. I could prove this with twenty examples, with an erudite **Schurmann, Gottsched, Bassi**, etc. – if I had not set myself limits. But even if it were granted (though not conceded) that a certain weakness of mind or body, or some timidity, were innate in us (which would be no more a disgrace to us than it is to the dove that it does not have the talons of an eagle), does it then redound to a man's honour, that he fights and oppresses someone weaker than himself? And what, on the other hand, is more natural than that we, in this regard, look around for a protector? What could be more reasonable than to grant us the free choice of the one whose protection we wish to entrust ourselves to?

If, on the other hand, one was so obliged as to imagine the female sex on a more brilliant side – namely, as it seems to be destined by nature, to make **conquests** – why then does one wish to make it difficult for a woman, in this case, to fully assure herself of her victory, and to lead in triumph the one who, in her eyes, seemed the **worthiest to be overcome by her**?

Rousseau, the vile person, whom so many men admire as a great philosopher, dared to assert in one of his writings: **that women will never become anything more than a big child.**

Is this supposed to be philosophy? how silly, how shallow! he may keep his philosophy to himself, no one will envy him for it. I do know, to be sure, that the entire reasonable world is more than thoroughly convinced of the opposite; but for all that, it is nevertheless vexing that many men, when we look at it in the cold light of day, treat us not much differently than as children. They dally, they play with us; but, as it seems, merely with the malicious intent of

imposing upon us, under the guise of a special affection, the most unjust laws. One such law is undoubtedly that by which it is forbidden to us – on penalty of being denounced as man-crazy – to choose for ourselves the one whose **big child** we would like to be.

Thus Rousseau is, as mentioned, by no means the man who could impose upon us his paradoxical maxims as oracular pronouncements, and he would certainly have been very much mistaken had he ever entertained such a proud thought. In the meantime, he has, in his way of philosophising, always had his followers; for there are men who, being extremely poor in good ideas and inventions, know of no other jest to bring forth than at the expense of our sex. I am aware of two incidents of more recent date, in which one went so far as to want to exclude the female sex even from counting among human beings. To show the feebleness, absurdity, and incivility of these reasoners, it suffices **merely** to recount such things. I take it upon myself to do so all the more willingly, as I am convinced that in doing so, I am undertaking nothing that could undermine my ultimate purpose.

In ***,[1093] a certain ****,[1094] in the society of good friends, went so far as to claim that **women did not belong to humankind**, which he was willing to prove if required. The company present was all the more perplexed as he was otherwise known as an avid admirer of them. Enough, the matter did not remain a secret. In the female world there was talk of apology, satisfaction, punishment, and the like – and indeed, the affair was finally thus arranged that the offender was, by means of an innocent trick, brought into a large society consisting mostly of women. He appeared before this court of chivalry, which ought to have been so fearsome to him, with a very confident expression, and was anything but disconcerted when, after various indifferent speeches, he was called upon by a man present to account for his paradoxical statement. After a deep bow to all the ladies sitting around the circle, he is said to have defended himself thus: ‘As much as it pains me that I have had the misfortune, as I can clearly read on all your faces, to incur the heavy hatred of the entire female sex, it nonetheless gives me, on the other hand, great pleasure that I am now to give account, before so brilliant an assembly, of something which I had spoken only privately to a few good acquaintances. That I have been painted so black likely originates with my slanderers, who perhaps envy me for the favour I have enjoyed with certain beauties. But they shall surely be put to shame. Although I most solemnly swear that such a contemptible thought as insulting womankind has never crossed my mind, I cannot, on the other hand, retract what I once said. I therefore repeat once more, that women can in no

[1093] Redacted location.
[1094] Redacted name.

way be counted among human beings, for the entirely natural reason, because they are all - - **angels**.' At this, people looked at one another, and the comedy came to an end. My correspondent adds, however, that the said **** had badly missed his intended aim, which he presumably had in giving the affair this twist, because with this explanation he gave satisfaction neither to the **truly beautiful**, nor to the **truly reasonable women**. Not to the **former**, because with this statement they were placed in the same category as those upon whom nature had been stingy and miserly in the distribution of her fair gifts, nor to the **latter**, because they considered the said gentleman a despicable flatterer who, for his exaggerated praise, deserved more blame than approval.

Another overdid the matter in an even less polite manner. After boasting immensely of his supposed wisdom, and – like the hero just mentioned – proudly wishing to deny the female sex human dignity, one of the ladies present took the floor (I, for my part, would have deemed myself too lofty to honour this absurd man with a reply). **We speak, and we also have reason**, said she, **therefore we belong just as much as the menfolk among human kind, and not among animals, to which you would degrade us**. But listen to the reply of this impudent man: 'Oh, that proves nothing, absolutely nothing. Can animals not also speak? Do not starlings, ravens, and parrots chatter? Did not the long-eared beast of Balaam also speak? But who would be so thoughtless as to count these creatures among humankind merely because they speak? Speaking without reason is as good as not speaking. But if women were able to speak with reason, would the great man have indeed asked her to hold her tongue in the congregation? Is she not prevented by law to fill public positions and services that depend on speaking? Even the most adept and eloquent cannot pose as an advocate before the court; nor can she occupy a judicial position; in ambiguous matters she cannot even be a simple arbitrator; it is forbidden to them to adopt a child, or to maintain a guardianship, or to testify before a court, and another hundred things are prohibited to them. Would one really exclude them from all these endeavours if they possessed reason? But even then – if women did possess reason – that still would not make them human. Angels and devils have rational souls, and they also speak, but they are nevertheless not human.'

Is it really worth the trouble to refute the stale jests of these uncivil scoffers? No, truly not, one would only degrade oneself in doing so. If I may meanwhile ask you, dearest sisters! for something, then have compassion with these poor people, for they surely do not see what they are saying. Consider them as those who are poor in spirit, for they belong among the feebleminded. Only, if chance brings you into their company, have the kindness – to condemn them: let it be read on your faces for them that you are accustomed to nobler company. Leave

them entirely to their fate, and they are surely punished enough. Experience has shown that those who have particularly distinguished themselves in mockeries against the female sex have often rendered it a silent public satisfaction thereby, that their choice usually fell upon one of the most unworthy creatures that could be found. The god of love does not allow himself to be mocked, and he knows how to take striking revenge upon those who were bold enough to utter blasphemies against him or the persons who belong under his banner. Even the aforementioned Rousseau is a still-unexpired example thereof. He married a lowly maidservant, who has now given the philosopher a successor from her own class, a servant.

I am far from delivering a panegyric to my sex, and declaring it free from all faults; I am not partisan or blind enough to assert something of the kind: but I do dare to level just accusations against all those who, driven by unconsidered heat or by a blameworthy inclination toward spiteful allusions, allow themselves to smear **our whole sex in general**, without doing justice to those who possess **true merit**. They ought to consider that stinging speeches or writings of this kind, where all people are treated on the same level, most certainly miss their ultimate aim. Meanwhile, I would truly be curious to know what these wits would answer, if one were to pose to them these or similar questions:

Was not the first woman made of a much better substance than the man? Is a human rib not different from clay, and better than it?

Is not the woman, as it were, the final masterpiece and the crown of all creation? And would it, without Eve, not have been entirely incomplete?

Nothing came after her; then did all created **before her** – and among them, undeniably, also man – not seem to exist only **for her sake**?

Our sex is called the **fair sex**, and this certainly not without reason. Flattery has no part at all in this epithet. Whoever has eyes and reason must admit, that women in general surpass the male sex in both spiritual and bodily beauty. Their more delicate limbs and finer skin, their more beautiful complexion of body cannot be denied: the gentler character of their temperament, their soul, rich in feeling, has more beauty than that of men. Our forebears have represented **virtues**, the **graces**, the **arts** and **sciences** in female form. How many, no less important, points would I still be able to add, if I did not fear being too lengthy. I therefore content myself with having touched only slightly upon this rich matter, in the firm confidence that the aforementioned heroes will remain eternally in my debt for a reply.

Deep study and laborious learning do not well suit a sex that would cease to be amiable if it were to occupy itself with scholarly brooding. If nature, in the forming of a woman, has not been sparing with her charms; if she applies her inborn mother wit well; if she knows how to

lend all her actions a certain lightness of grace – then much is already gained. In my humble opinion, the content of all science for women, and their only study, should be the **human being** – and among human beings, the **man**. Our philosophy consists not in **rambling reasoning**, but in **feeling**. We need not be embarrassed that we do not possess certain lofty insights; that we are timid, and not inclined to important business affairs; on the other hand, we may demand all these qualities from the man, and each of us can best show the nobility of her soul by knowing how to value these noble traits, insofar as they are to be found in him. But is it not a kind of utmost injustice, that when we have the skill to discover such a one, whose choice would bring us both honour and pleasure, we are nevertheless forbidden – merely because of a long-standing custom – to clearly show our sentiments to him?

If marriage is a state of joy, of peace, and contentment, then I do not see for what reason one should be forced upon a person with whom one is to share this pleasure. - But if it is, as others say, a yoke, a necessary evil, a condition which inevitably entails the loss of freedom, then at least let the poor woman have the sad consolation of choosing for herself the one to whom she wishes to sacrifice such precious freedom. And if marriage is ever a burden, then surely one should rather encourage others to take on such a burden than try to make it harder for them. So many prejudices adopted in marriage matters by long use are certainly just as much obstacles. In ancient times, encouragements to marry were supposedly a matter of the state; indeed, it is even said that there were laws made against those men who had not married by a certain age. To tell the truth, such compulsion, although there may have been sound reasons for it, does not much please me; for as I know people, their will hates all violent means and rebels against nothing so strongly as against that which is commanded to it. But should it not be possible to find a gentler, less attention-drawing means of promoting marriages, without needing the compulsion of laws?

It is the **man** who brings bread into the house. Such is the custom and habit nearly throughout the whole world. The occupations of men – regardless of class – make the chimney smoke. Women, then, are destined to expect their sustenance from the hand of man; for whatever may be said of the merits of women's handiwork, it is, in the grand scheme, of no real account. Is it then not most unfair, if it is left entirely to the arbitrary will of the former, whether and when they wish to choose a person with whom to share the enjoyment of their earned goods? Is it somehow against nature if women – under the assumption of the above circumstances – seek out someone who will provide for them? One could almost think so; for people are cruel enough to condemn them to a waiting that must be just as burdensome as it is harmful. They are **always** allowed to **hope**, without considering how true that proverb is: **The one who lives on hope**

alone is in great danger of dying in the hospital. At most, it is only a wealthy woman among us who is granted the privilege of choosing from among several suitors – and accordingly, it is money alone that confers the capacity to enter a married state. If that is the case, then *La Bruyere* did not speak badly in the opposite situation: 'Many a girl is not rich enough to take the vow of poverty in a convent.'

Alas! One all too often sees the male sex guilty of the greatest ingratitude. Many an innocent creature, who was weak enough to place faith in the deceitful promises of a man; who **truly felt** what the faithless one only **feigned** to feel for her; who held him in such good esteem that she entrusted herself and her entire happiness into his hands – such a one is, after all this, treated by him with utter indifference. And men of this kind – who reward the tenderness shown them by their wives with a coldness most wounding to any feeling soul – there are, alas, far too many of them. If a man has obtained a woman through the contract of marriage, then it is supposed to suffice her that she belongs **entirely to the man**, without her being permitted to desire that **the man**, in turn, should belong **entirely to her**. To claim for oneself the privilege of being unfaithful without consequence; to allow oneself everything while forbidding the same to the other – this smacks of open tyranny. And anyone who dares such a thing may rightly be regarded as one who is guilty of the **vice of injured humanity**.

One might almost be led to believe that men arrogated to themselves such authority and dominion over women solely in order to balance out the perfections of the latter – perfections whose full force they felt only too well. They flattered themselves that, in doing so, they could obscure their sovereign mistresses even from their own view; and since legislation lay in their hands, they made use of it to preserve, at the very least, the appearance that the female sex was held in a state of slavish dependency. Twists and turns, fit to provoke laughter.

The more constraint governs a contract entered into by two parties; the less freedom one has in choosing the means that seem most suitable to one's own best interest, the harder it becomes to fulfil the terms of such a contract, and accordingly, the less blame one deserves when one falls short. In truth! men consider their own advantage very poorly, else their conduct toward us would, in many respects, be quite different. Since they assume the right to command alone and play the part of absolute despots, they thereby, so to speak, force poor women to take refuge in artifice, in order – if not entirely to cast off this harsh yoke – then at least to lighten it as far as possible. It is said that we have surpassed the male sex in the art of disguise; it is claimed that there exist **female Machiavellians**, who in their unmarried state know well how to ensnare admirers through cunning, and among them, capture the one they desire. Once married, these same women are said to have mastered the art of overcoming and ruling their

husbands, of governing the entire household according to their own will, of interpreting the husband's commands as they see fit – in short, that their entire politics and morality consist in a web of clever tricks, schemes, intrigues, dissimulation, and deceit. Now should these accusations be true – and I am not bold enough to doubt the possibility – then men have no one to blame but themselves. They have forced our sex by sheer compulsion to be unfaithful to its natural openness, and to appear other than it is.

There is a consensus that nothing is quite as against the laws of nature and reason, as demanding of the female sex to be blindly obedient. It seems, men wish to establish their rights in a reign based on an authority which has been granted to them based on certain expressions. How? if I take it upon myself to disabuse them of this belief? Come, come you male beings! Learn from a woman the true reason and the real meaning of the common figure of speech: **a wife has to be submissive to her husband**. This authority, upon which you pride yourselves so greatly, which you so unlawfully extend, and which in many cases has degenerated into oppressive slavery, this authority consists not so much in a **supreme power**, as rather in a **well-ordered arrangement**, meant to better preserve domestic harmony; that is to say: when opinions are divided, then – for the sake of peace and order – the will of the man is to take precedence. The man and the woman both hold the highest dignity within the household, and the man occupies therein only the first place. The woman is not assigned to him as a **slave**, but as a faithful **counsellor**, whose thoughts he ought to hear, and, if he finds them good, to approve and put into practice. And now I demand, maintaining all feminine modesty, that any male head point out to me something offensive, contradictory, or unreasonable in this statement.

When, among the Lacedemonians, a renowned and wise people of ancient Greece, a marriage was to be solemnized, the bride would don men's garments, as a sign that in this new state she would possess and exercise equal rights and authority with her husband.

At the very least, it is beyond all doubt that marriage, considered in its nature, is a contract entered into by two persons, whereby – through those points upon which agreement has been reached – the mutual rights are determined; a clear proof that the dominion of a man over his wife is entirely without foundation. For it cannot be derived from the **nature of the matter**, as it stands in direct opposition to the natural equality of human beings; nor from the **nature of the sex**, for it does not follow from the fact that man seems more inclined to command, that he truly possesses the **right** to do so. Moreover, it is by no means established that men at all times possess greater strength of mind and body than persons of our sex.

When a woman is convinced within herself that she possesses a higher rank, a greater fortune, more reason and prudence than the man who offers himself as her husband, then she may

indeed, with the consent of the latter, reserve to herself certain privileges, and depart from that principle, without any contradiction to the natural law – by which I mean the complete equality of all human beings. The case in which a reigning woman weds either a prince of lesser rank, or, if one prefers, one of her own subjects, proves sufficiently that the authority of a wife over her husband (even in matters concerning the governance of the family) contains nothing contrary to the nature of the marital union. In truth, among the most civilized nations of the world, marriages have always been seen wherein the man was subject to the rule of his wife. If it is thus neither against reason nor against nature that women govern **entire kingdoms**, then it is all the less contrary when they, within a **family**, arrange and rule all according to their own will.

I could still produce a great number of proofs in support of my purpose; but I shall break off here, in the hope, if at all possible, of shaming those who are rude enough to flatly deny our sex the gift of restraint in speaking or writing. It will, moreover, be no small flattery to me if my good girlfriends do not fail to recognize, in these thoughts thrown down during idle hours, a heart that takes the warmest interest in everything that concerns the rights and the welfare of our sex. At the very least, I can attest that this was one of the most pleasant occupations I have ever undertaken in my life. My greatest reward will consist in hearing from said friends that I have **defended a good cause, not entirely poorly**.

Whether I may count on the approval of **male readers** (should my essay, contrary to all expectation, fall into the hands of any among them), I have every reason to doubt. The most common fault of many among them is, as is well known, **criticism**; and a woman whom they see with a quill in hand, outside the task of writing kitchen lists, is to them an abomination. Indeed, in their opinion, perhaps no greater crime could be conceived than the challenge of a custom from which they believe they have so much to lose, were it ever to be abolished. Accordingly, while I may **expect** contradiction on their part, I shall **never fear** it. Convinced of the truth of my arguments, I would wrap myself in the innocence of my intent and remain calm in all things. In the meantime, I cannot help but remind the **male sex** that I am, in the highest degree, fair and discreet; for I make not the slightest demand that might provoke them. I do not at all insist that the custom in question be abolished by any general law. No – our entire sex (my humble self, if necessary, shall take responsibility for this statement) would be **perfectly content with a tacit approval and toleration of that which has not previously been customary**. An explicit prohibition would always presuppose a power unjustly exercised for centuries; but our own interest demands that we spare the gentlemen this shame. For my part, I cannot persuade myself that the entire male sex is so deeply corrupted as to stubbornly

resist recognized truth, and at least some among them will see, with unprejudiced spirit, what others **refuse to see** out of malice – or perhaps **cannot see**, due to weak sight. **Johannes Frauenlob** [aptonym: women's praise], who earned that name solely on account of a few poems composed in praise of our sex, was, after his death, borne to the grave by **twelve maidens** who, according to the custom of the time, poured oil and wine upon it in gratitude. If in our own time a capable man – one who, along with a feeling heart, knows how to value all things at their true worth – should step forward and take upon himself the further defence of our sex (since there remain yet more grievances and encroachments on our rights), then I would, with good reason, prophesy a far more splendid fate for him. What finer reward could he receive than that his praise should ring out in all women's circles? There are female poets among us; the best panegyric from a man's pen would have to yield to a well-composed epigram of feminine wit. – He would become the favourite of both unmarried and married women alike, and the secret counsellor in all matters of the heart. – All would rally to his cause if ever some slanderer dared to assail our advocate and defender. – They would seek to anticipate his every wish, and I would not guarantee that he might not, in secret, often find himself delighted with unexpected tokens of gallantry and gifts, meant to encourage him further. – And finally, she whom he chose in his journey to be his friend and companion would, through her affection, her tenderness, and her entire conduct, strive to repay – most fully – the debt which, so to speak, our entire sex owes him.
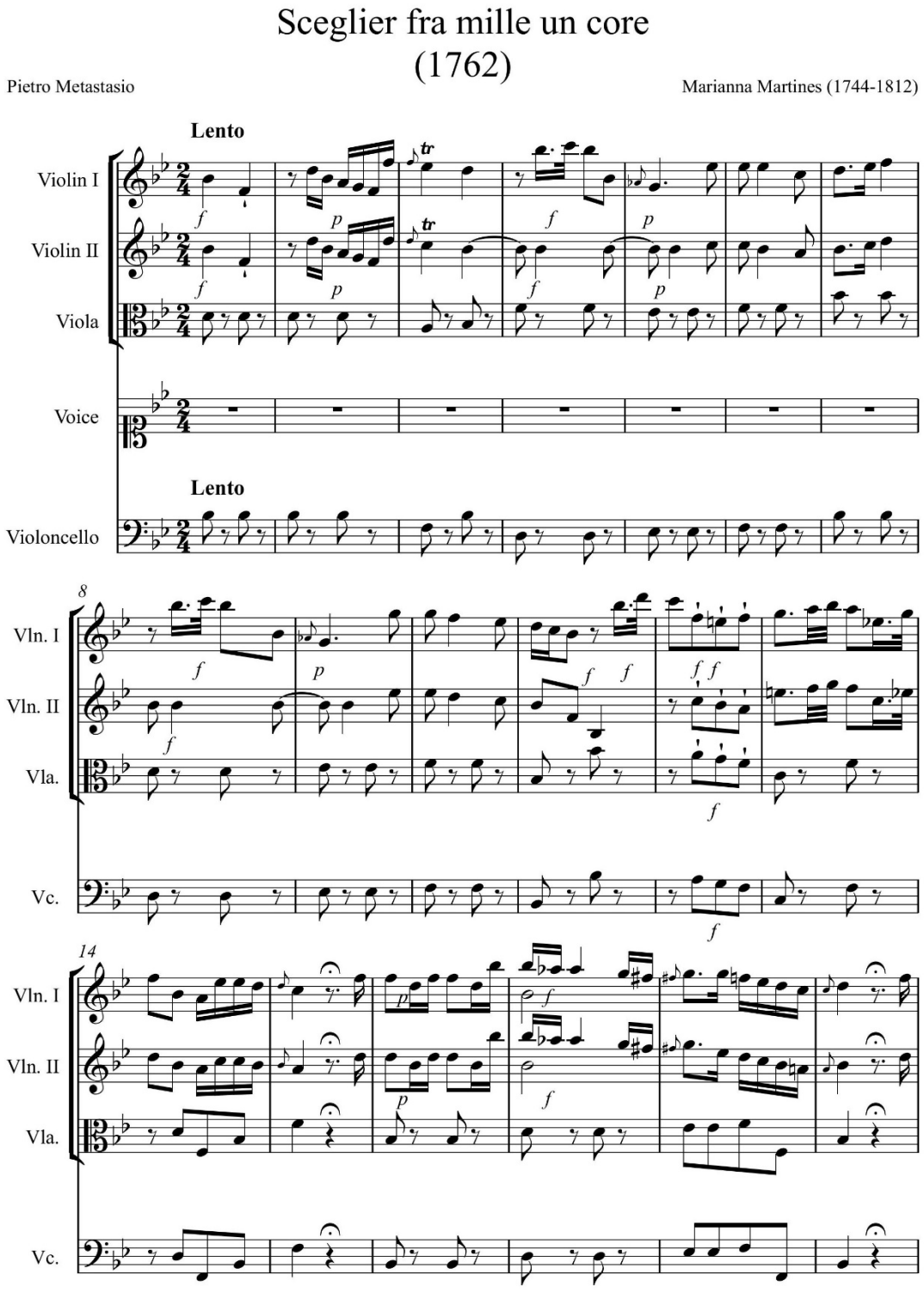
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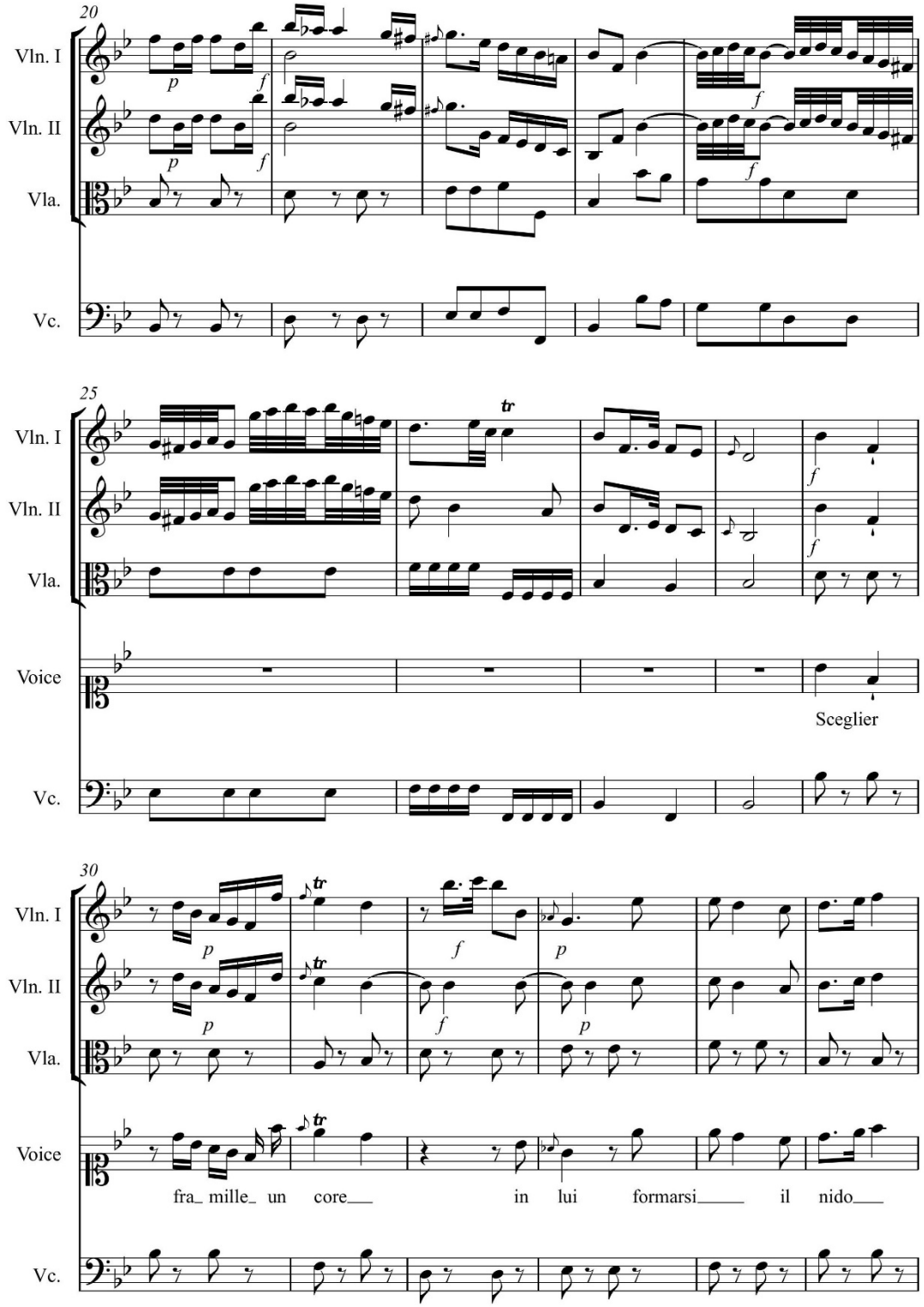
Appendix 2 – Music
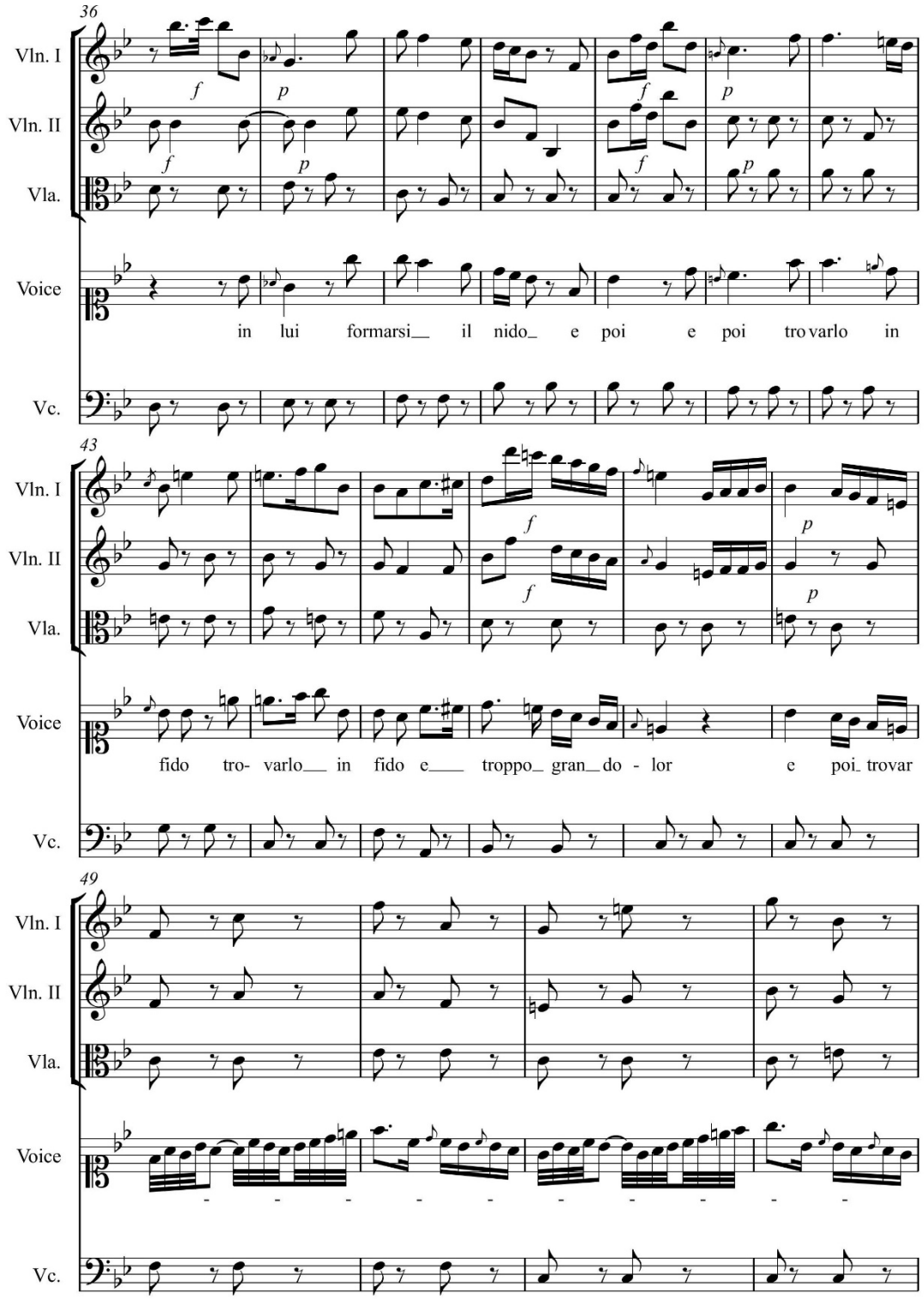
Marianna Martines: *Sceglier fra mille un core*
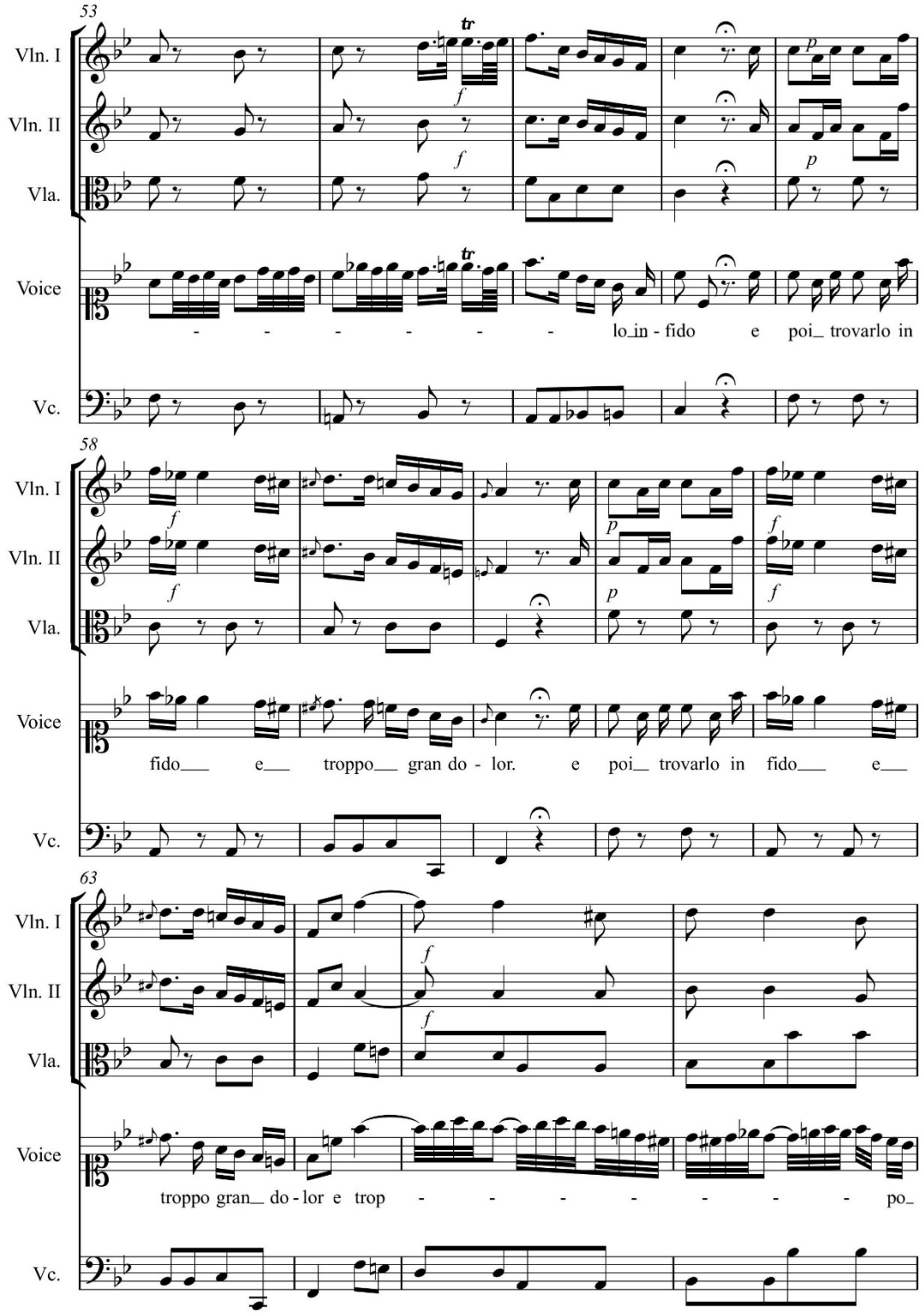
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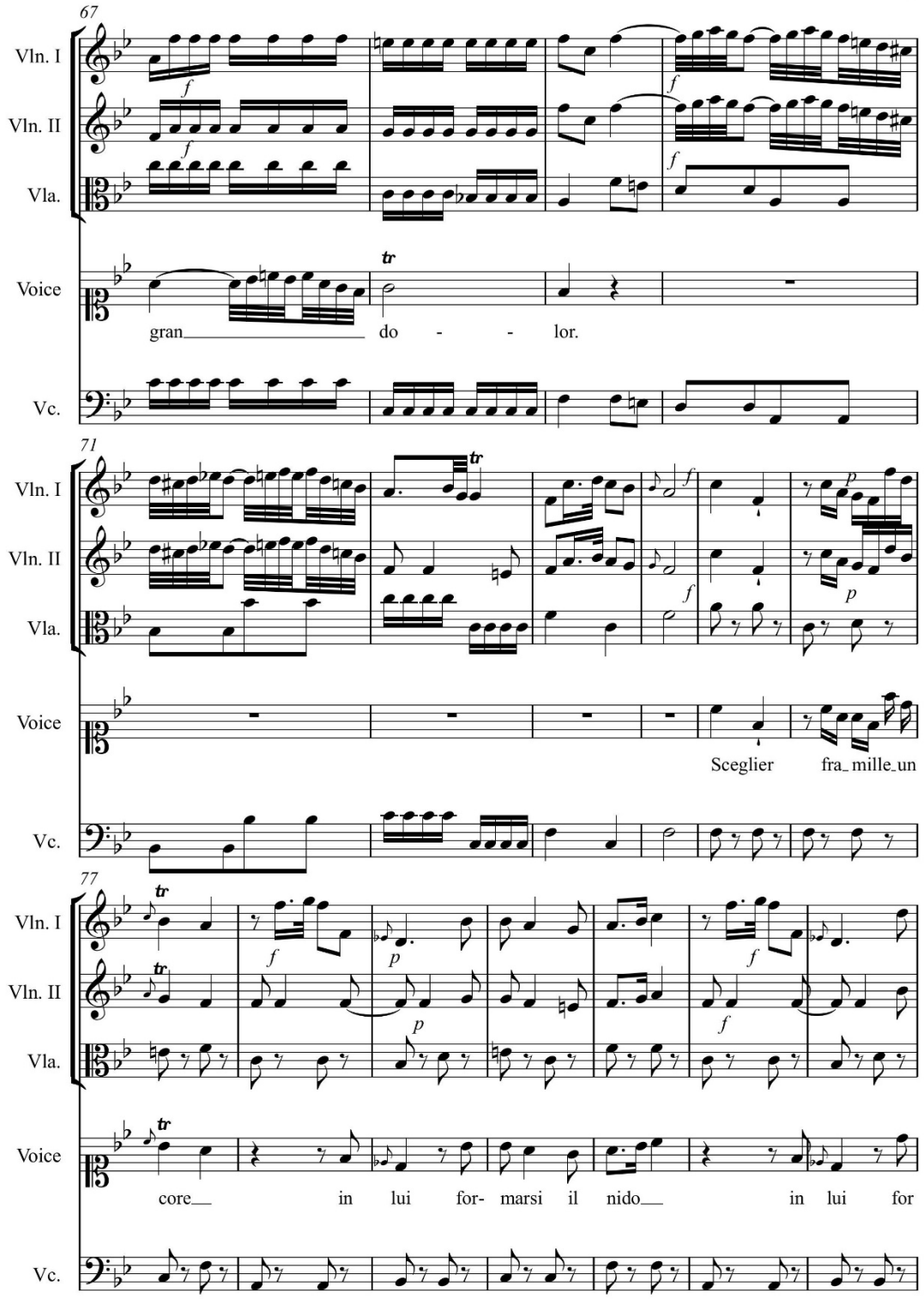
Libretto: Pietro Metastasio, *Temistocle.*
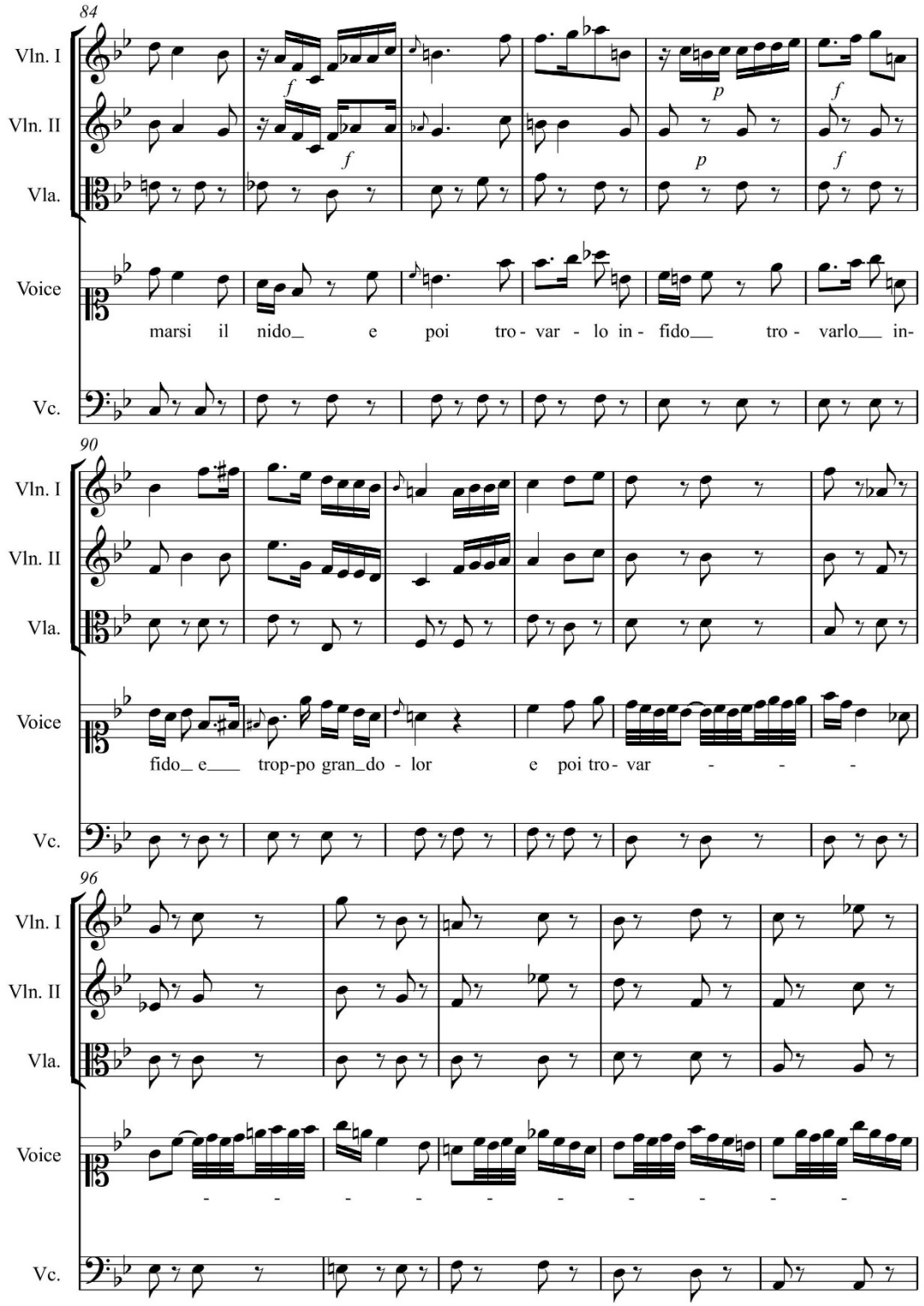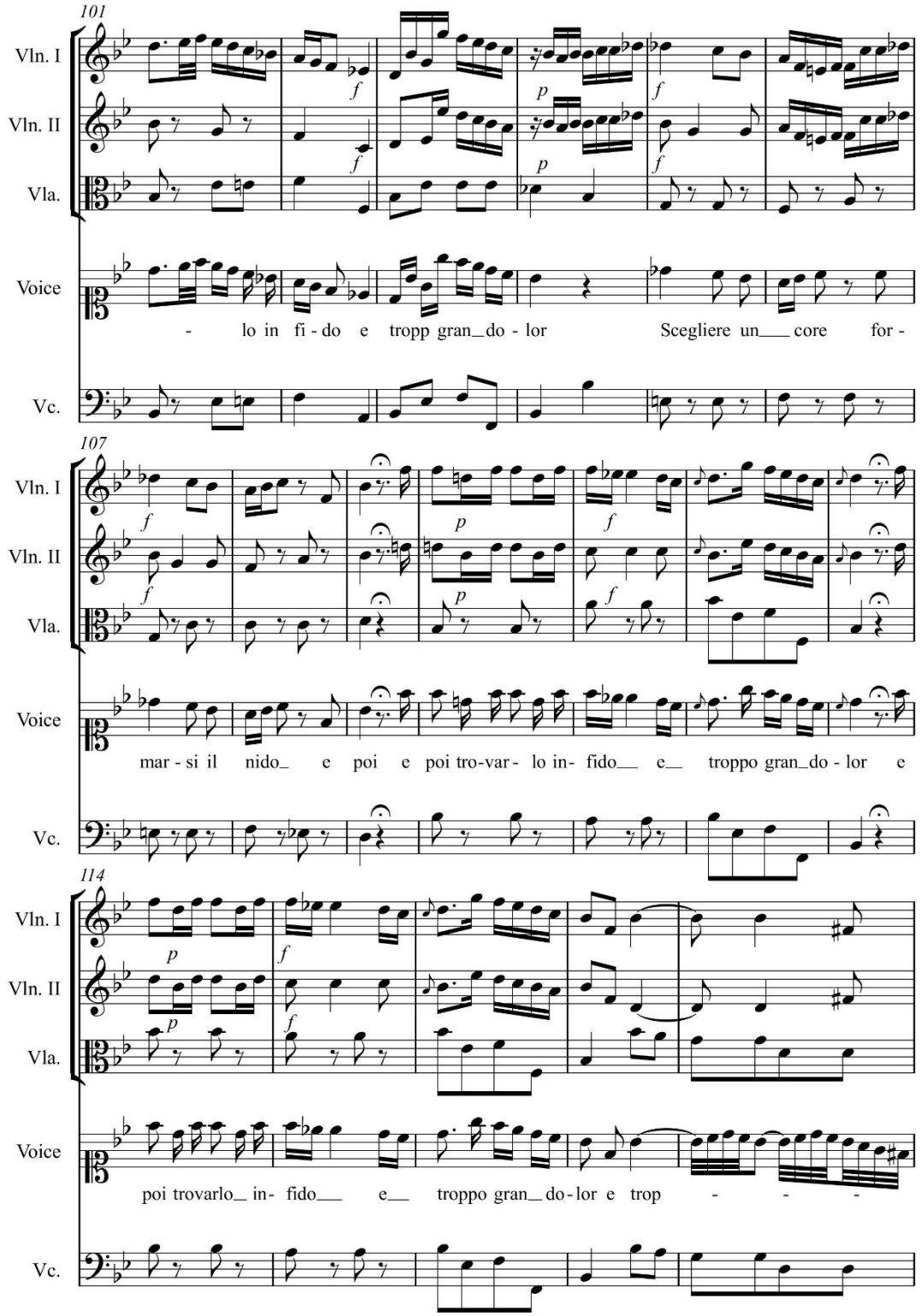



20
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
25
Voice
Sceglier
30
fra_ mille_ un core___ in lui formarsi____ il nido___
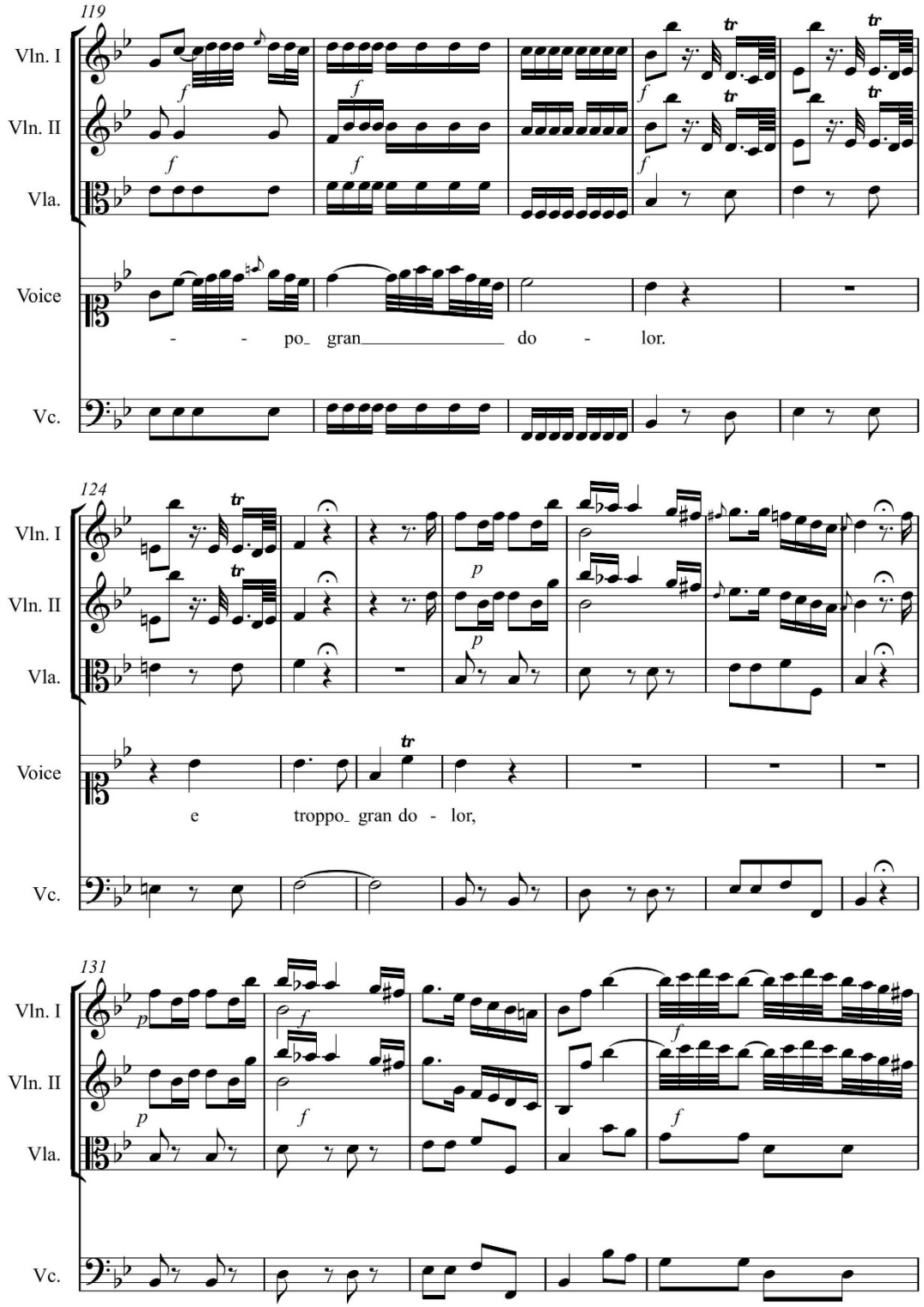

36
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
in lui formarsi__ il nido_ e poi e poi tro varlo in
43
fido tro- varlo__ in fido e___ troppo_ gran_ do - lor e poi_ trovar
49
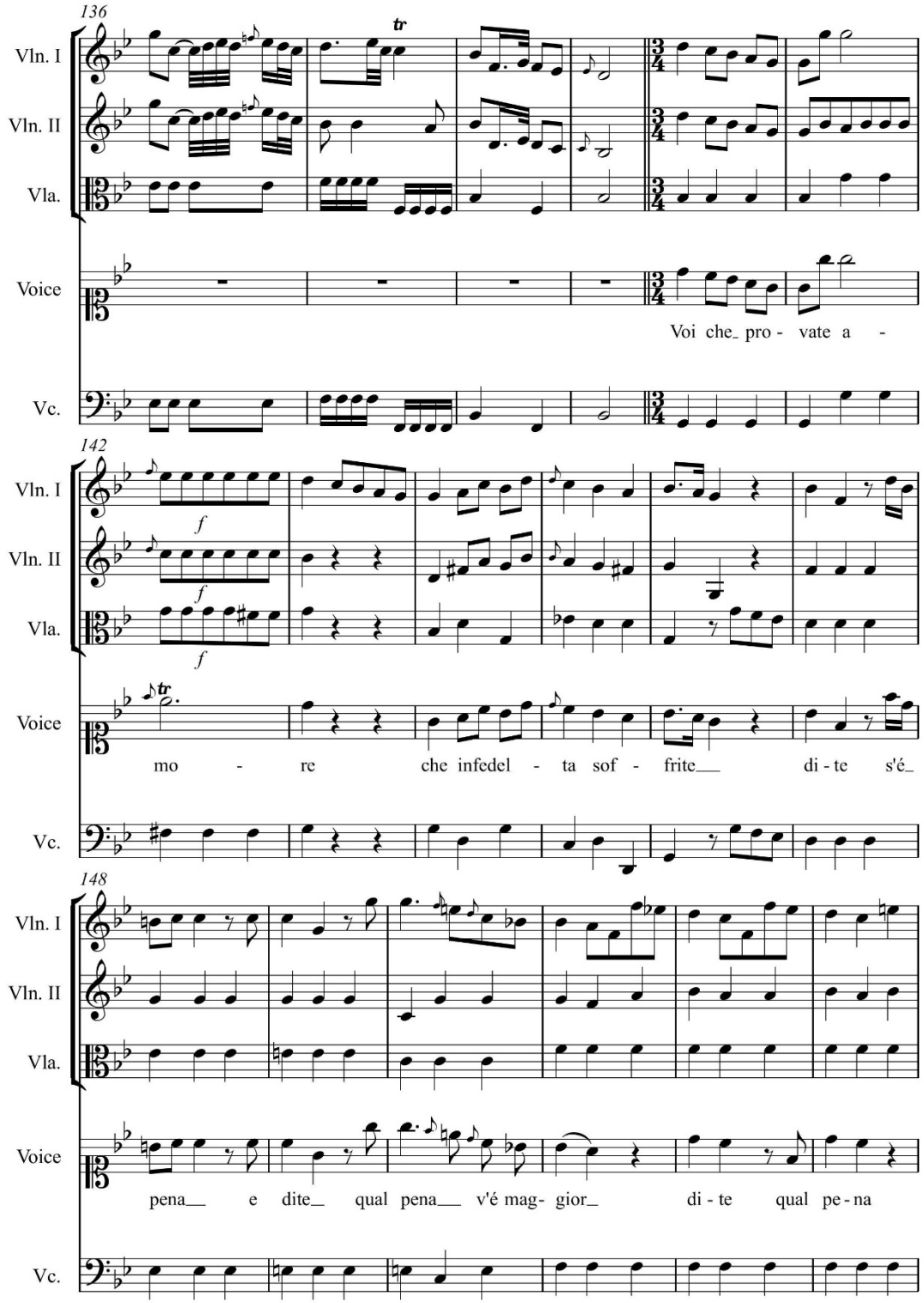

53
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
lo_in - fido e poi_ trovarlo in
Vc.
58
fido___ e___ troppo___ gran do - lor. e poi_ trovarlo in fido___ e___
63
troppo gran_ do - lor e trop - - - - - - - po_

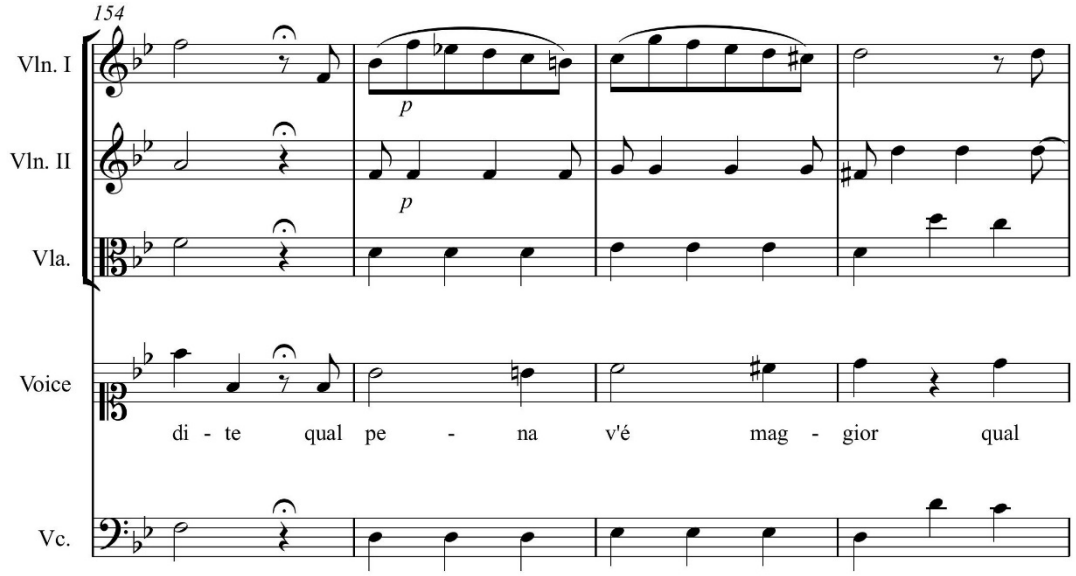

67
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
gran do - - lor.
Vc.
71
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Sceglier fra_ mille_un
Vc.
77
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
core in lui for- marsi il nido in lui for
Vc.
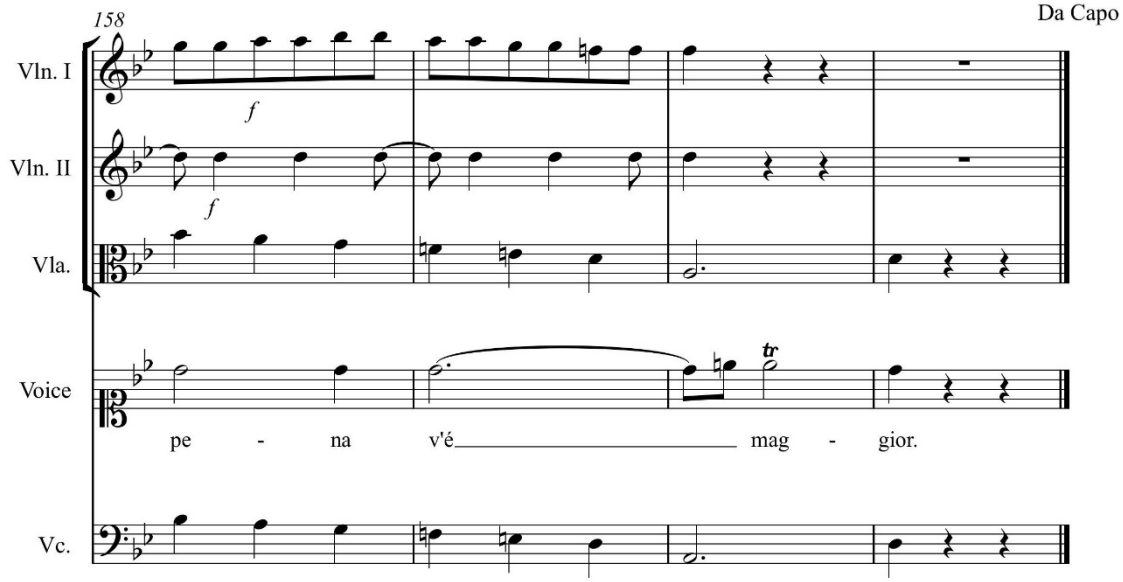

84
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
f
p
f
marsi il nido_ e poi tro - var - lo in - fido__ tro - varlo__ in-
90
fido_ e___ trop-po gran_do - lor e poi tro - var - - -
96


101
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
- lo in fi - do e tropp gran_do - lor Scegliere un___ core for -
107
mar - si il nido_ e poi e poi tro-var - lo in- fido___ e___ troppo gran_do - lor e
114
poi trovarlo_ in- fido___ e___ troppo gran_ do - lor e trop - - -


119
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
- - po_ gran_____ do - lor.
Vc.
124
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
e troppo_ gran do - lor,
Vc.
131
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
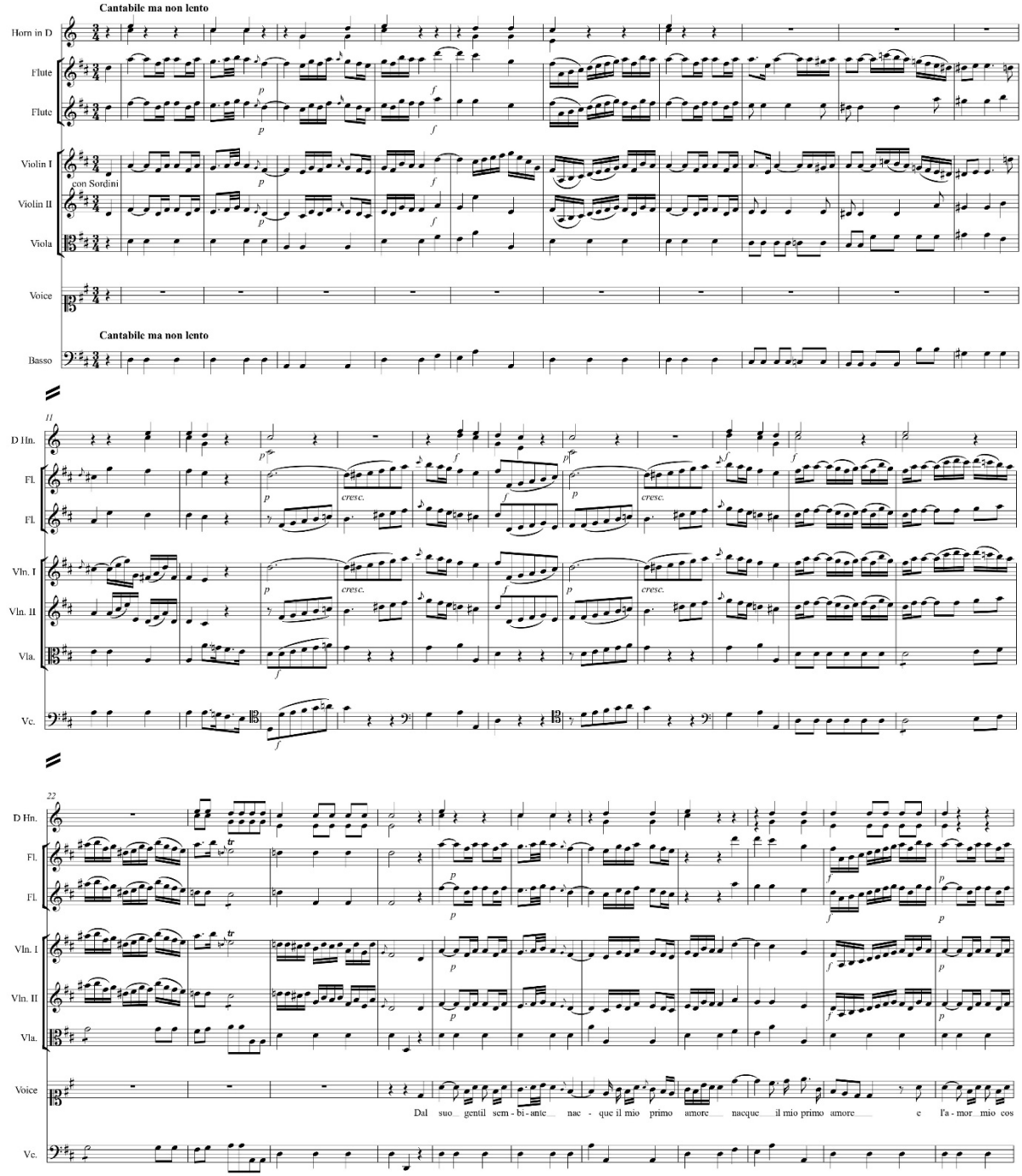

136
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Voi che_ pro - vate a -
Vc.
142
f
mo - re che infedel - ta sof - frite__ di - te s'é_
148
pena__ e dite_ qual pena__ v'é mag- gior_ di - te qual pe - na
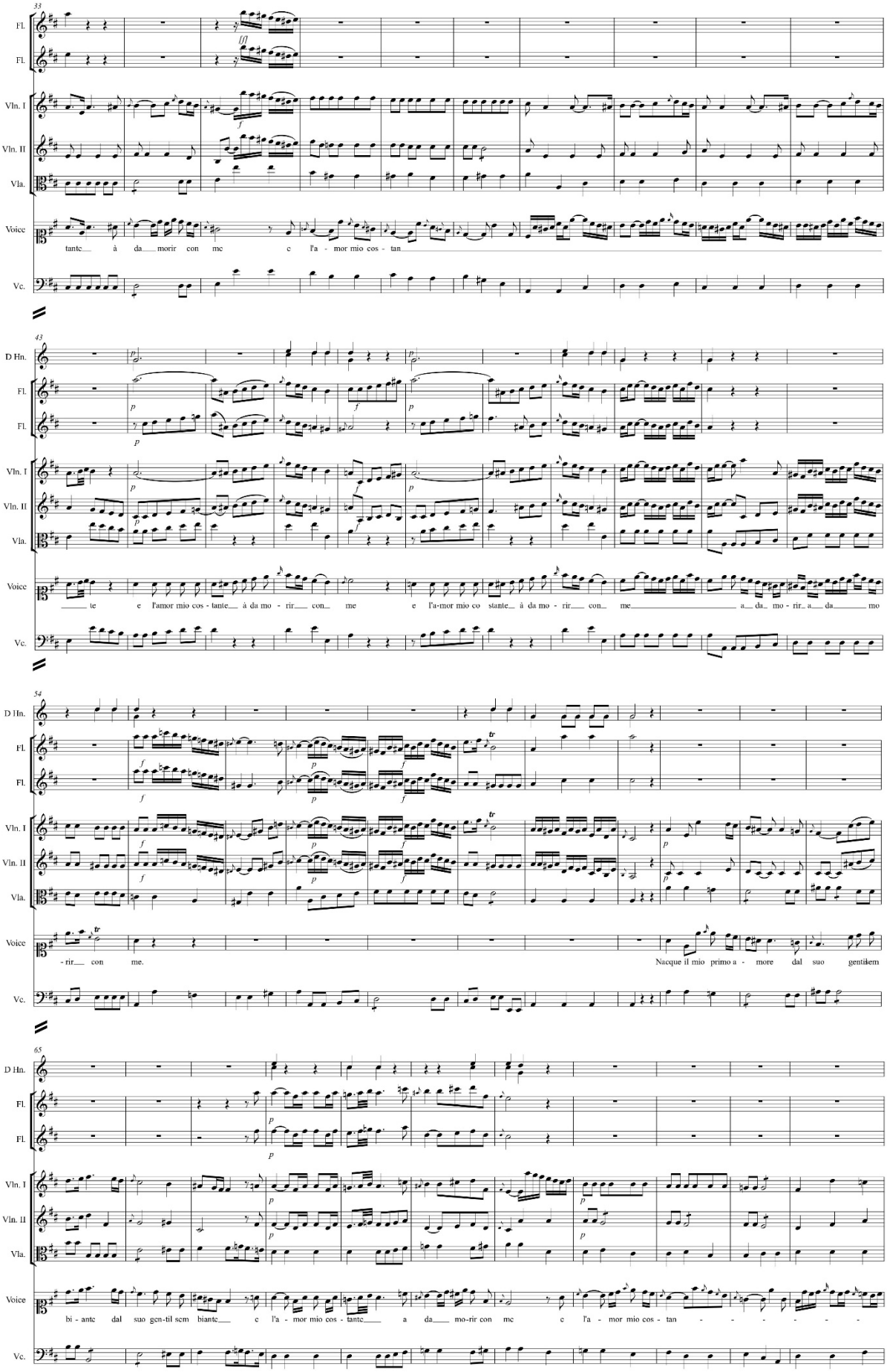

154
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
p
p
di - te qual pe - na v'é mag - gior qual
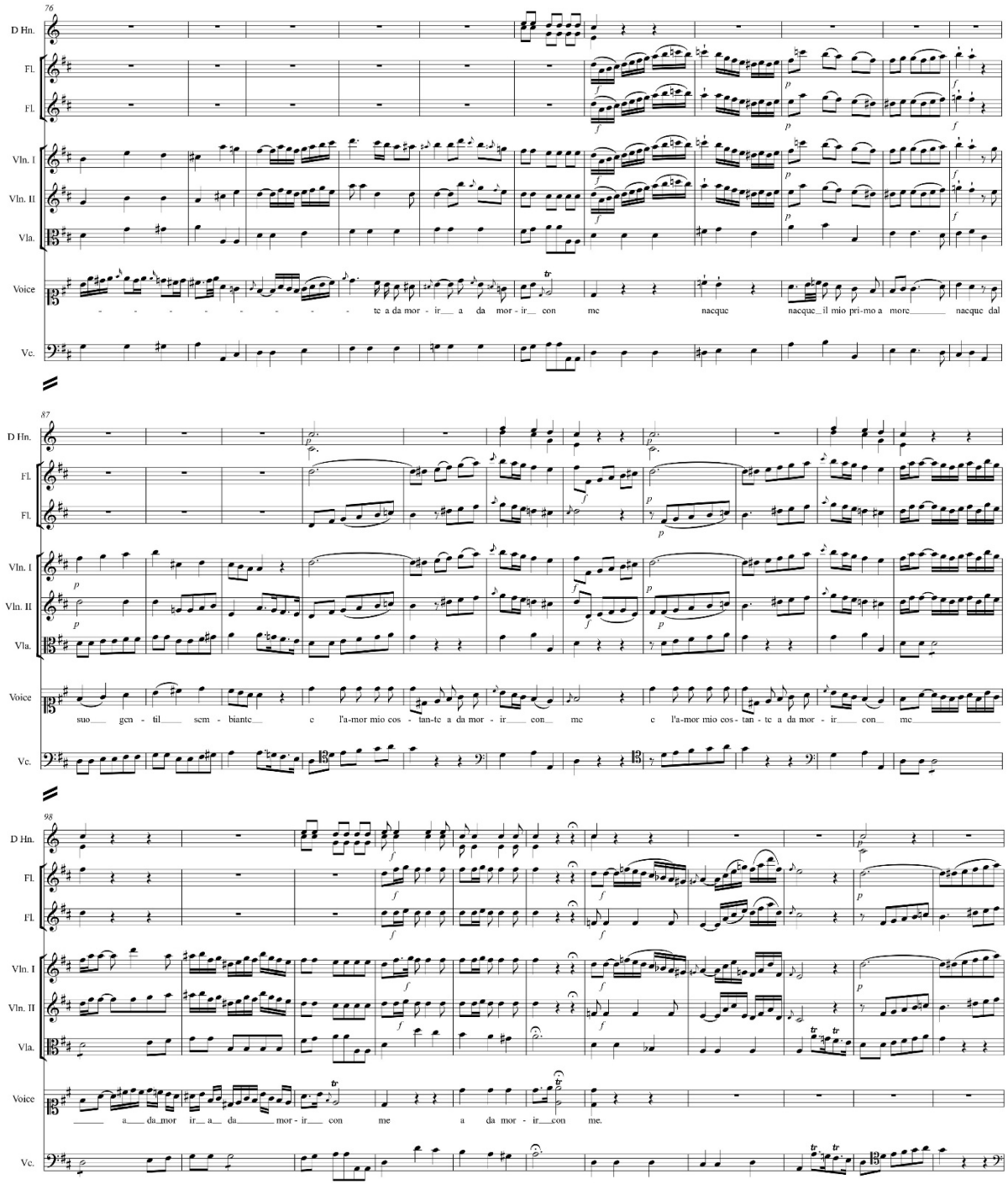

158
Da Capo
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
f
f
tr
pe - na v'é mag - gior.
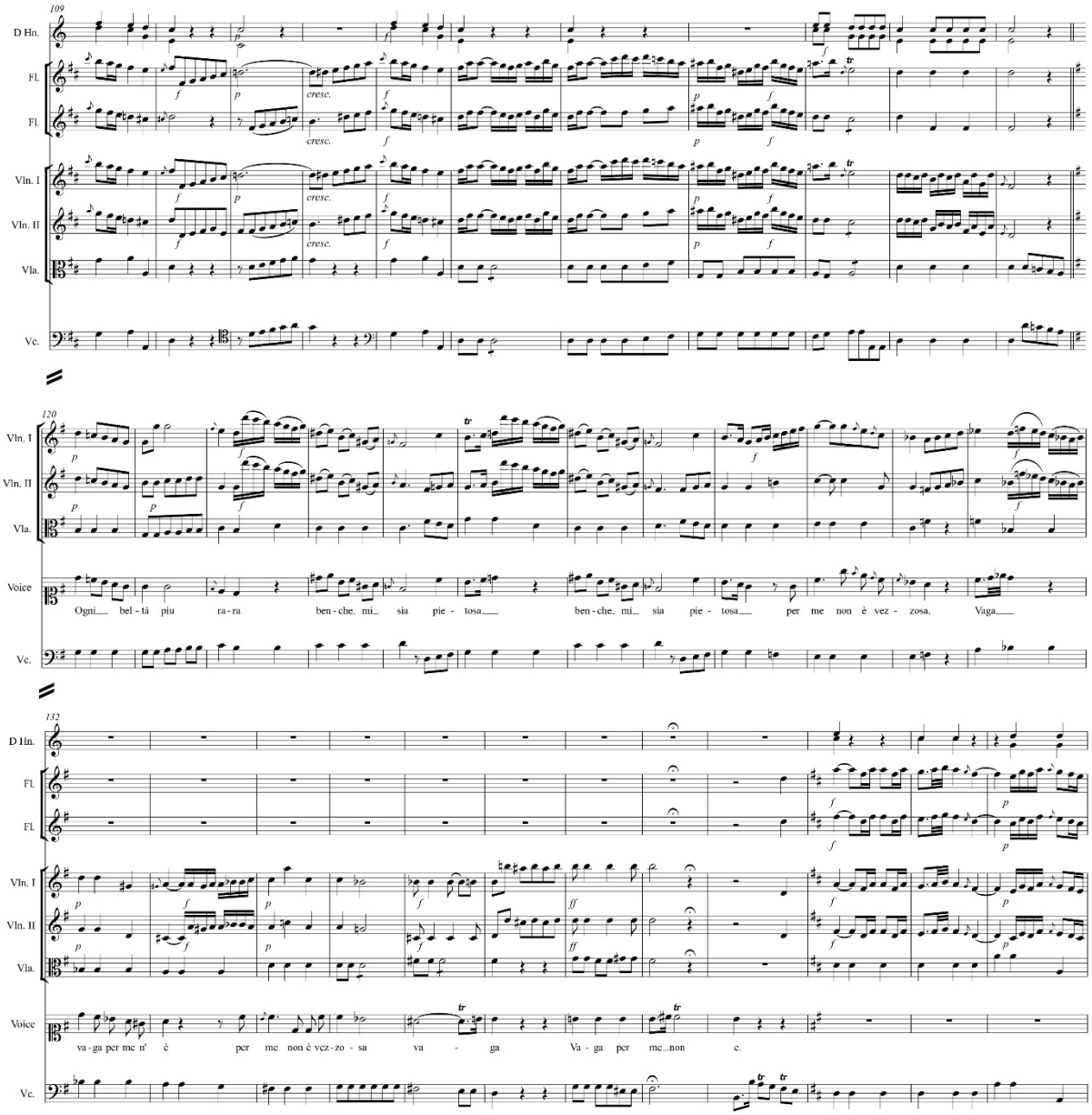
Marianna Martines: *Dal suo gentil sembiante*
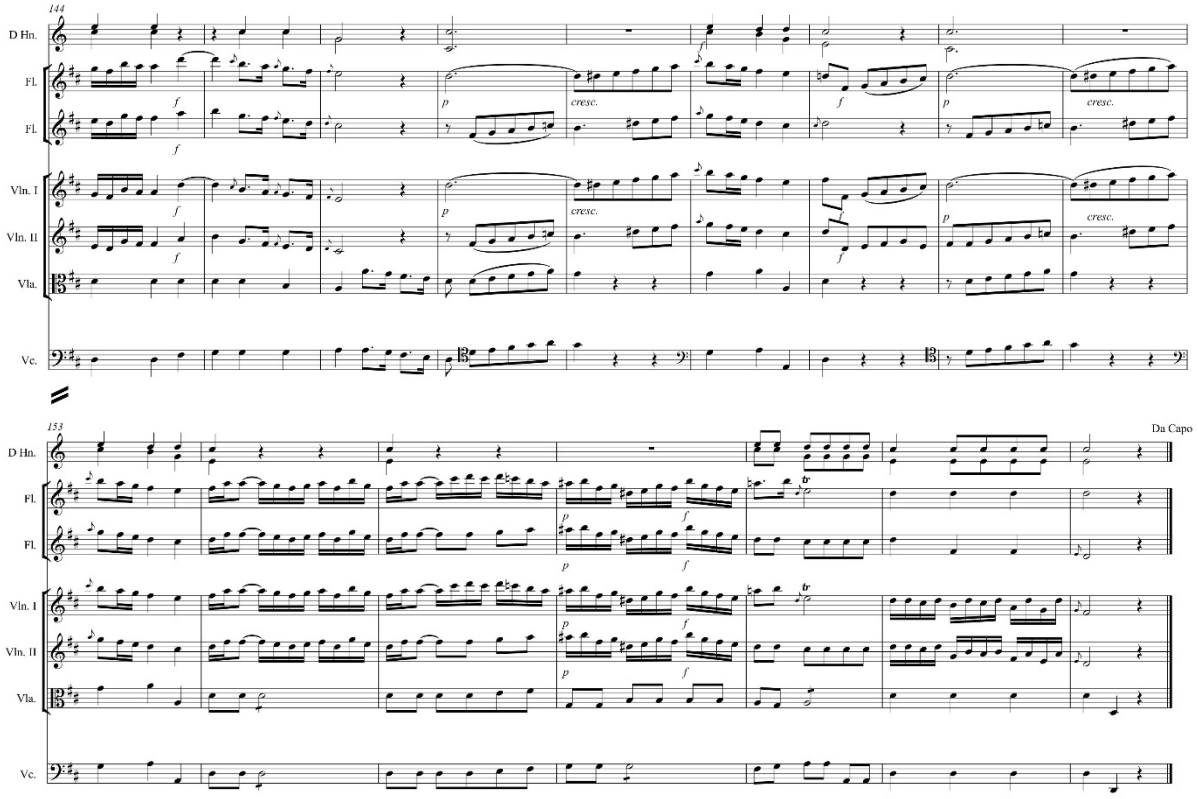
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33
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
tante à da morir con me e l'a - mor mio cos - tan
Vc.
43
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
te e l'amor mio cos - tante à da mo - rir con me e l'a-mor mio co stante à da mo - rir con me a da mo - rir a da mo
Vc.
54
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
- rir con me. Nacque il mio primo a - more dal suo gentilsem
Vc.
65
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
bi - ante dal suo gen-til sem biante e l'a - mor mio cos - tante a da mo-rir con me e l'a - mor mio cos - tan
Vc.
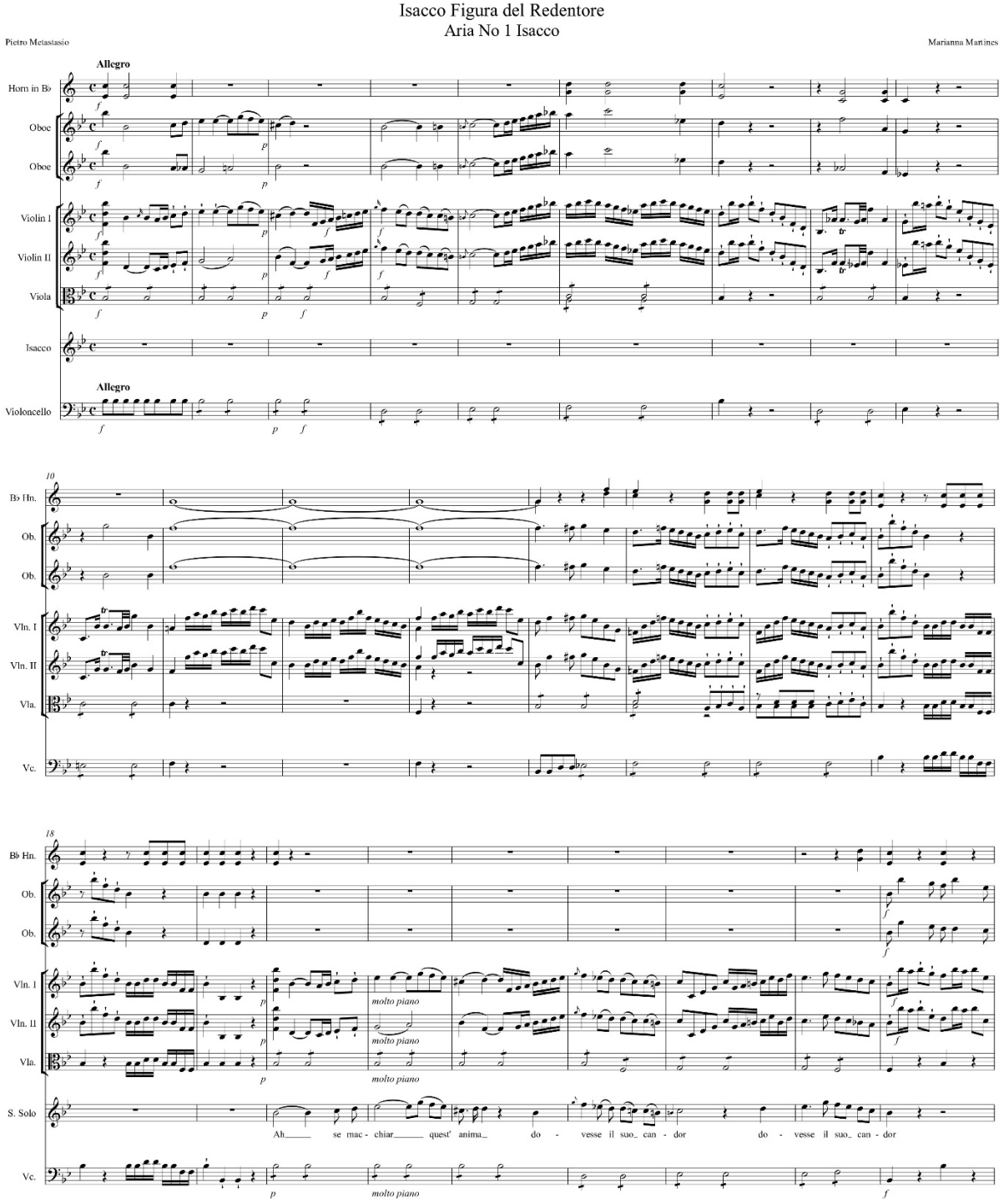

76
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Voice
Vc.
te a da mor - ir__ a da mor - ir__ con me nacque nacque_il mio pri-mo a more_____ nacque dal
87
suo___ gen - til___ sem - biante__ e l'a-mor mio cos - tan-te a da mor - ir___ con__ me e l'a-mor mio cos - tan - te a da mor - ir___ con__ me
98
_____ a___ da_mor ir__ a__ da_____ mor - ir___ con me a da mor - ir___con me.
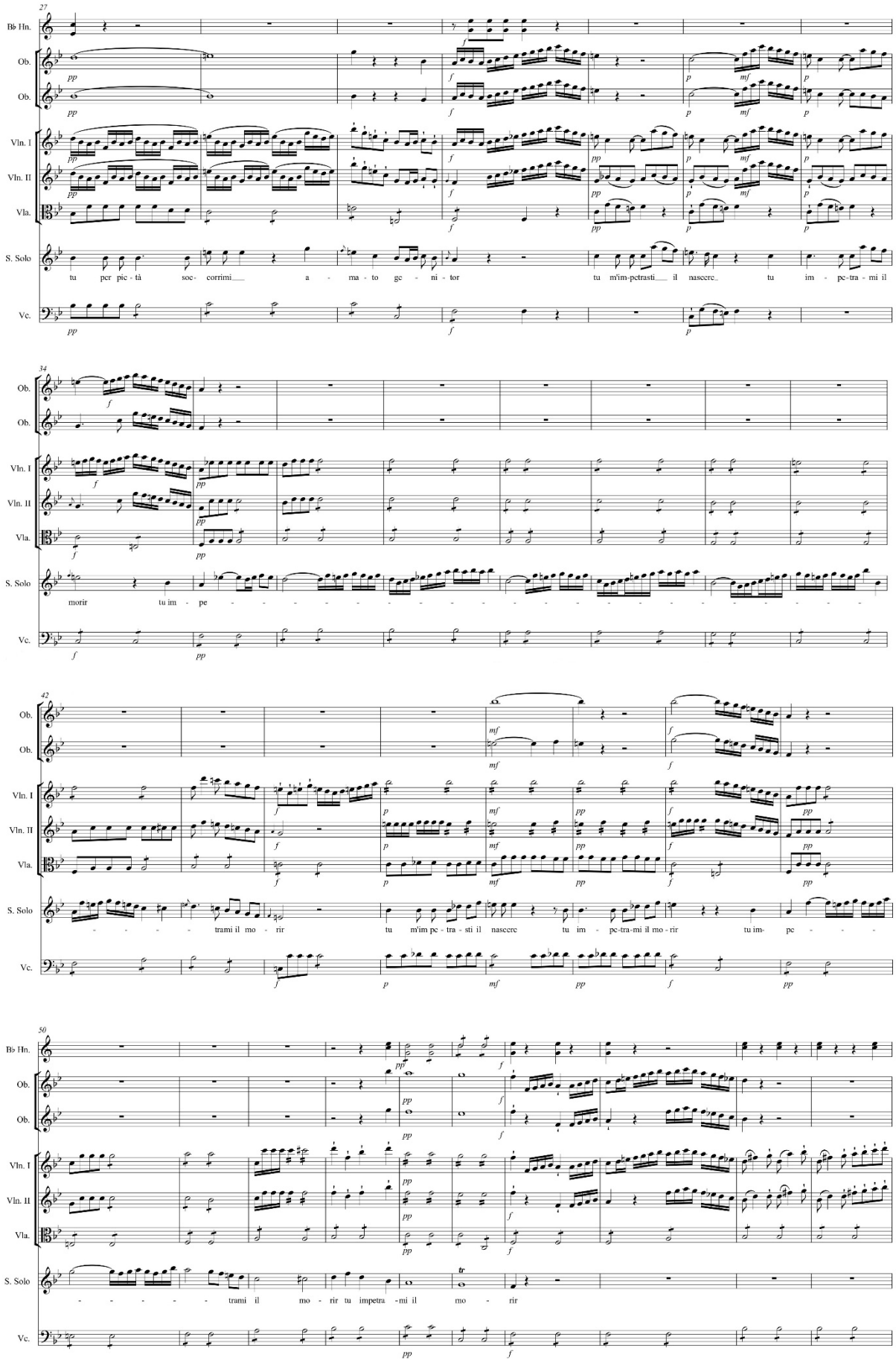

109
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
cresc.
120
Voice
Ogni bel - tà piu ra - ra ben - che mi sia pie - tosa ben - che mi sia pie - tosa per me non è vez - zosa. Vaga
132
va - ga per me n' è per me non è vez - zo - sa va - ga Va - ga per me non e.
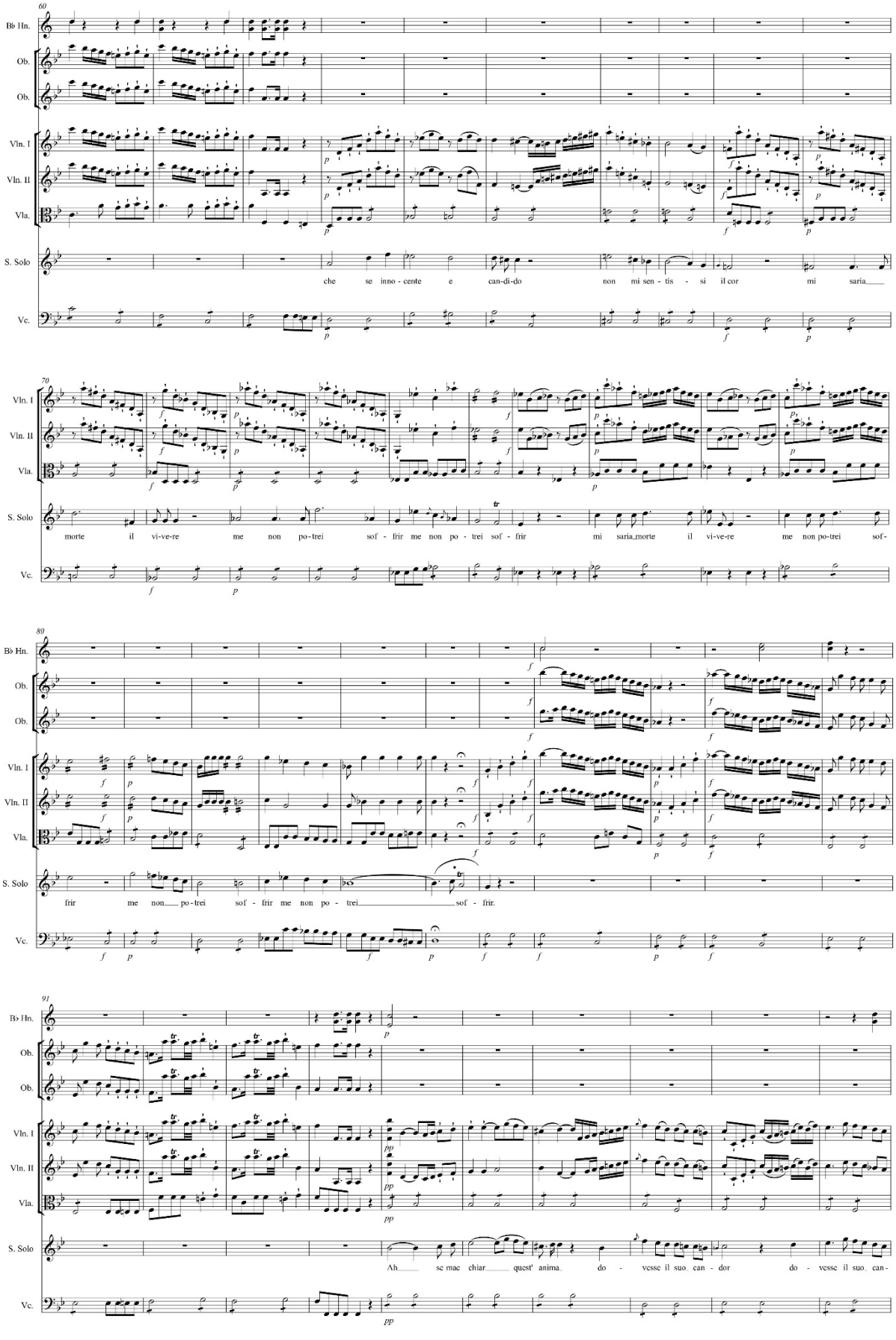

144
D Hn.
Fl.
Fl.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
cresc.
153
Da Capo
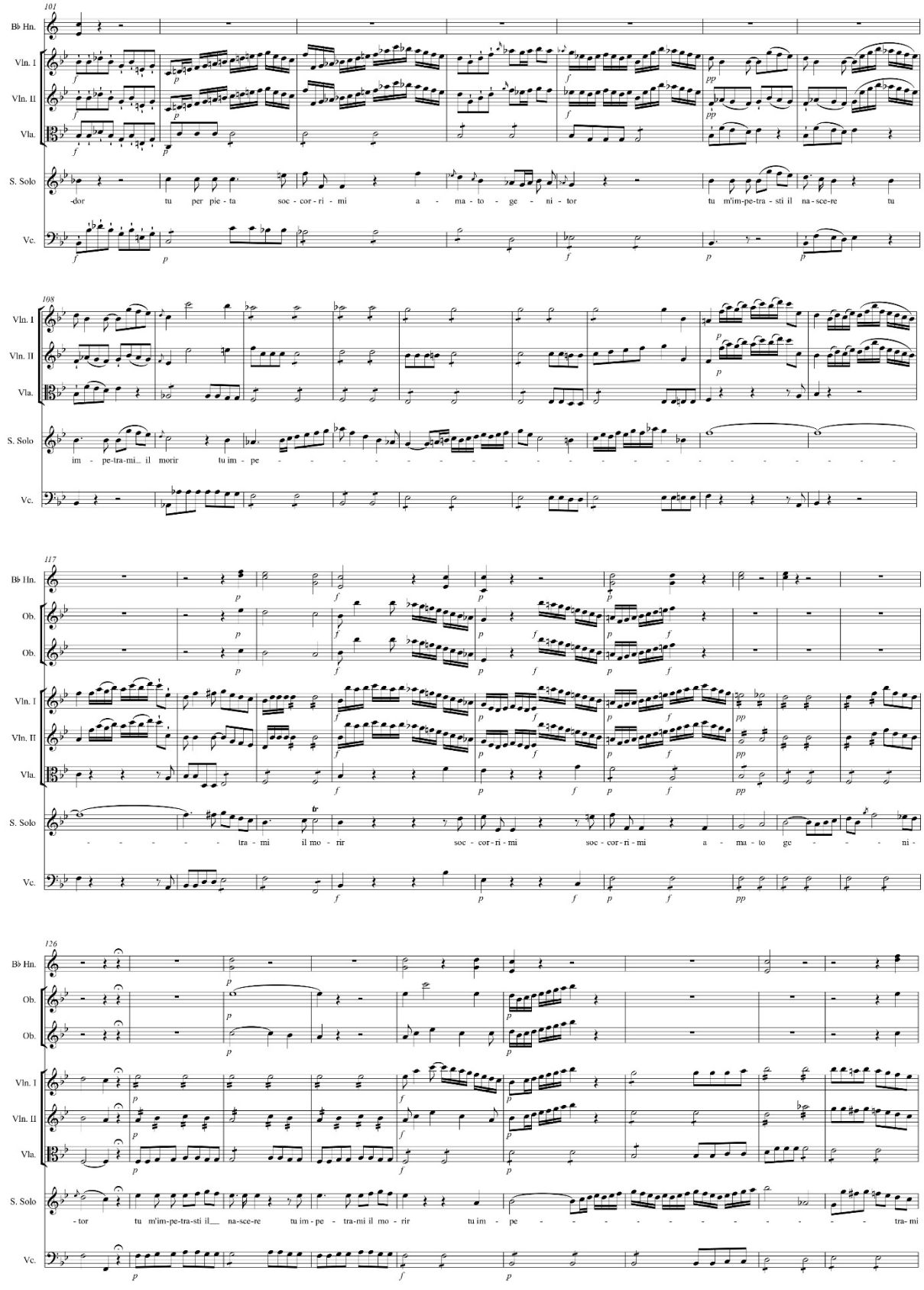
Marianna Martines: *Isacco Figura del Redentore* Aria No. 1
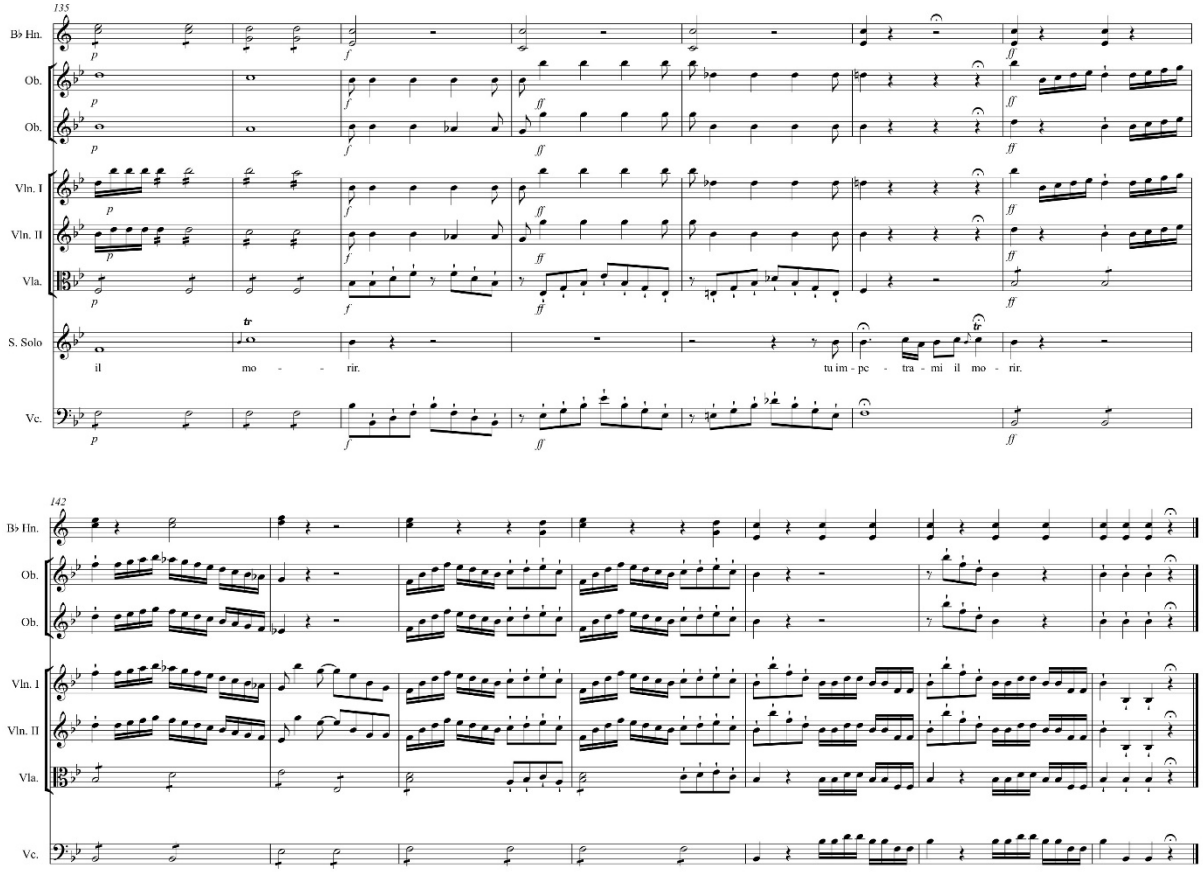
Transcribed from SBB, Mus.ms. 13680.




27
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
tu per pic - tà soc- corrimi a - ma - to ge - ni - tor tu m'im-petrasti il nascere tu im - pe-tra - mi il
Vc.
34
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
morir tu im - pe
Vc.
42
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
tramì il mo - rir tu m'im pe - tra - sti il nascere tu im - pe-tra-mi il mo - rir tu im- pe
Vc.
50
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
tramì il mo - rir tu impetra - mi il mo - rir
Vc.
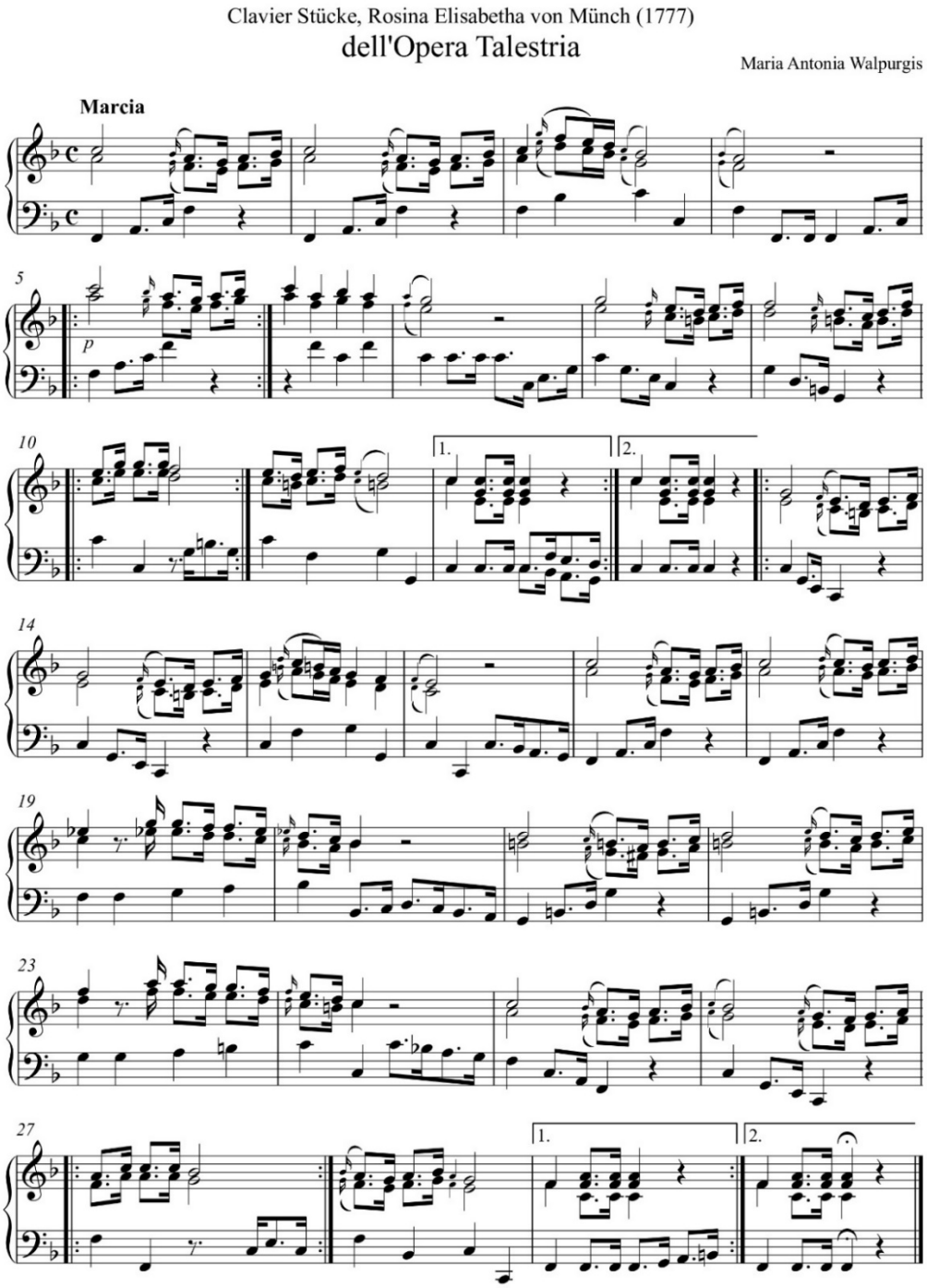

60
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
che se inno - cente e can-di-do non mi sen - tis - si il cor mi saria
Vc.
70
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
morte il vi-ve-re me non po-trei sof - frir me non po - trei sof - frir mi saria morte il vi-ve-re me non po-trei sof-
Vc.
80
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
frir me non po-trei sof - frir me non po - trei sof - frir.
Vc.
91
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
Ah sc mac chiar quest' anima do - vesse il suo can - dor do - vesse il suo can-
Vc.


101
B♭ Hn.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
-dor tu per pie - ta soc - cor - ri - mi a - ma - to - ge - ni - tor tu m'im-pe-tra - sti il na - sce-re tu
Vc.
108
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
im - pe-tra-mi_ il morir tu im - pe
Vc.
117
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
tra - mi il mo - rir soc - cor - ri - mi soc - cor - ri - mi a - ma - to ge - ni -
Vc.
126
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
- tor tu m'im-pe-tra-sti il__ na-sce-re tu im - pe - tra-mi il mo - rir tu im - pe tra- mi
Vc.


135
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S. Solo
Vc.
il mo - - rir.
tu im - pe - tra - mi il mo - rir.
142
B♭ Hn.
Ob.
Ob.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
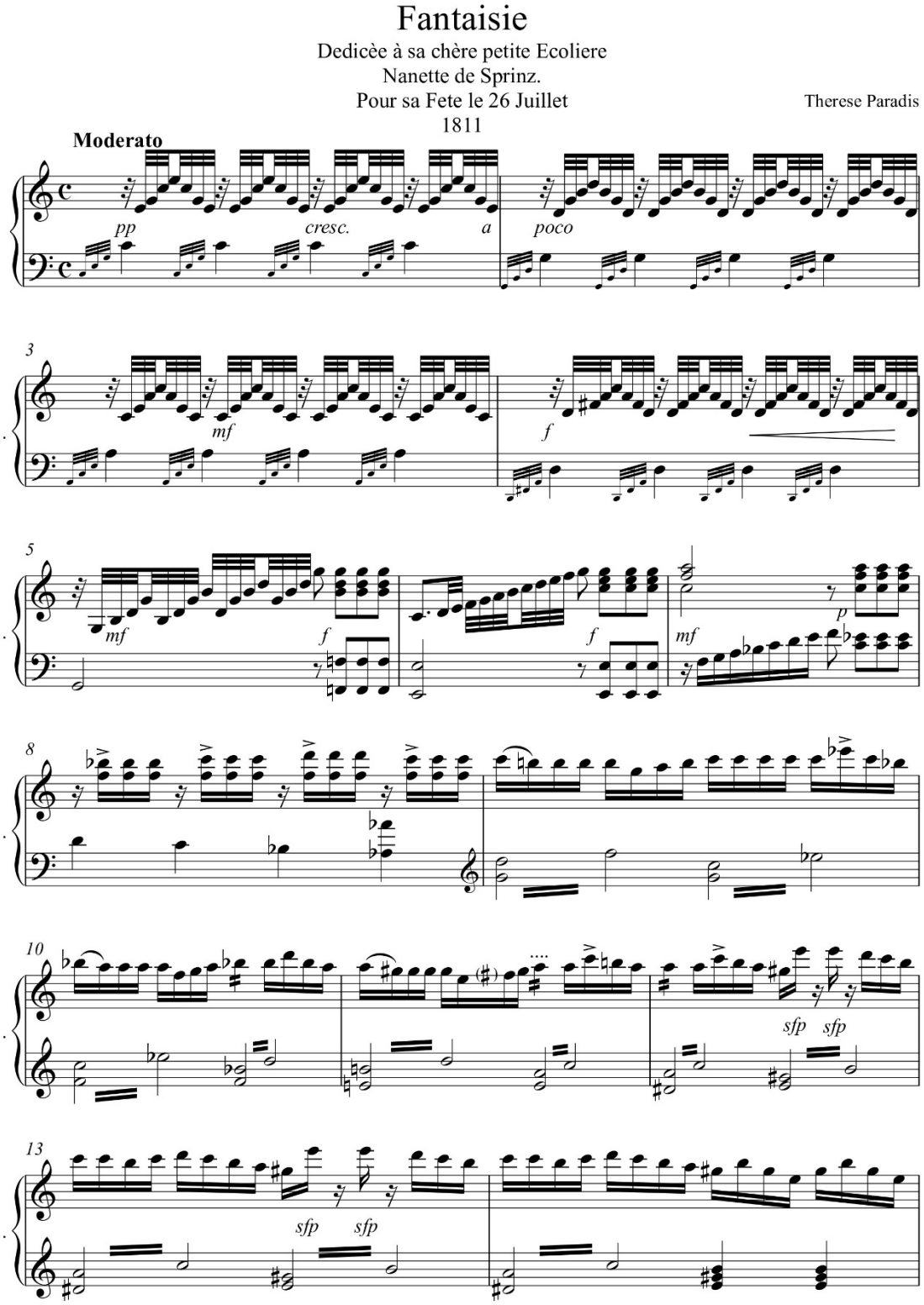
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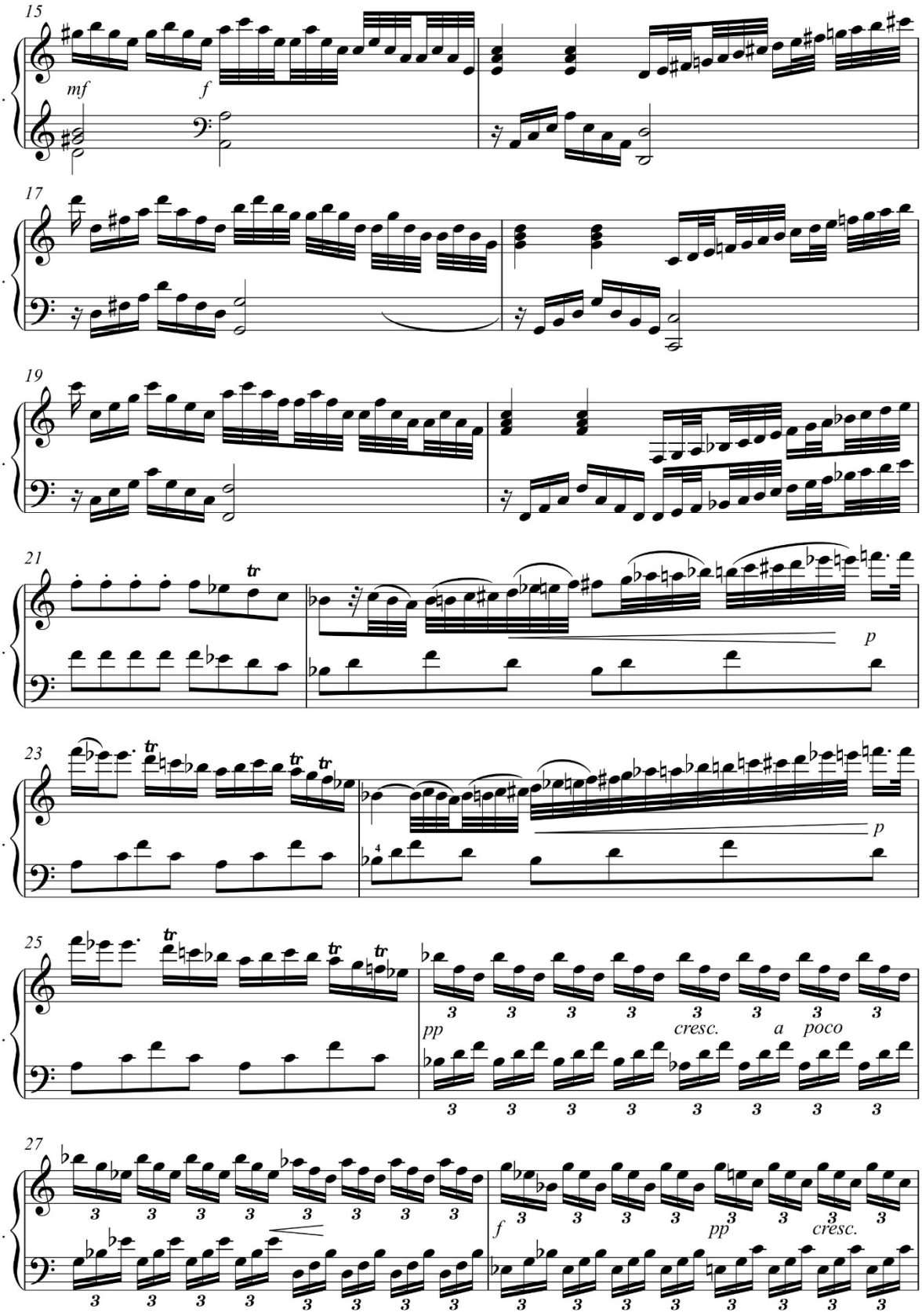
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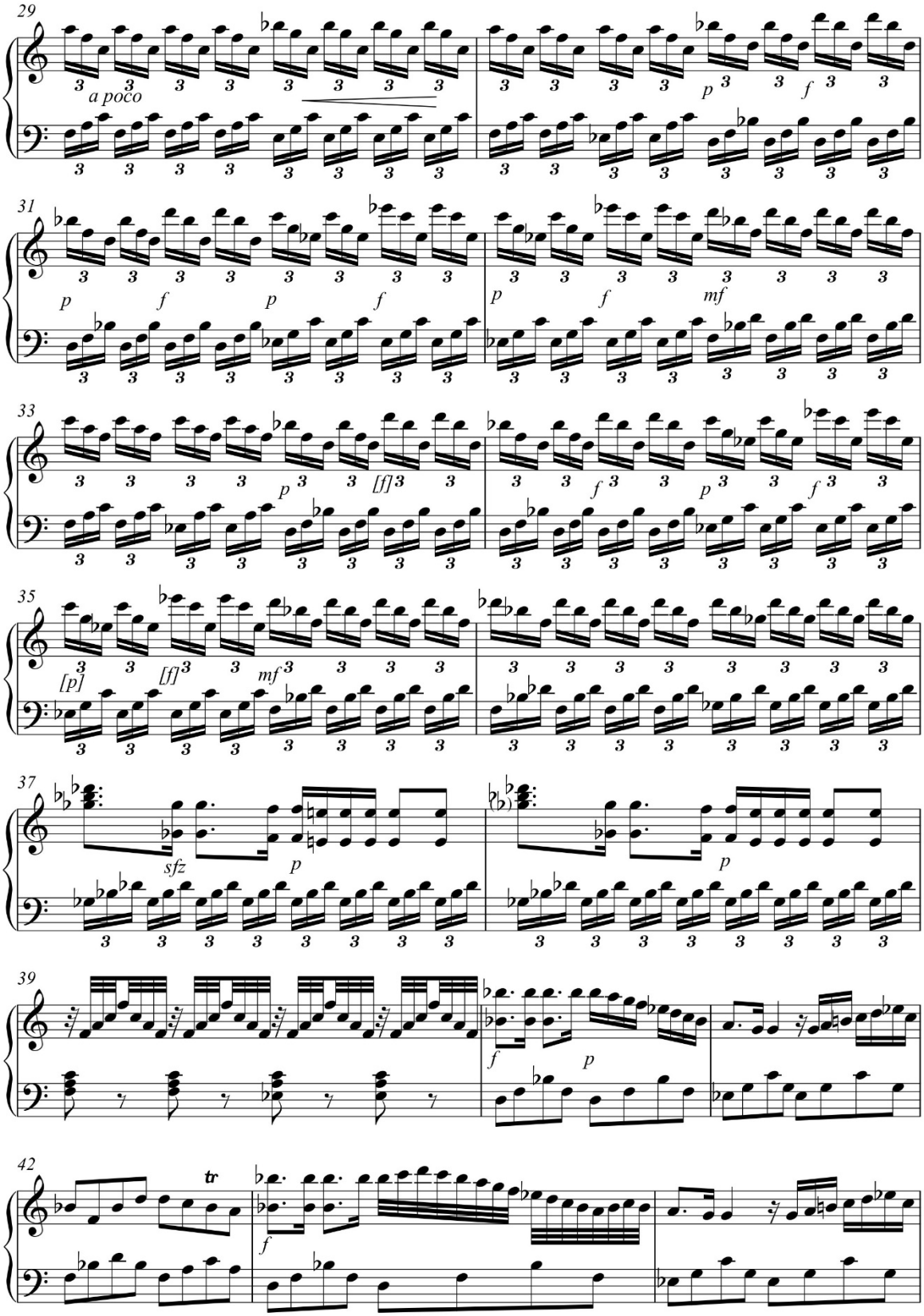


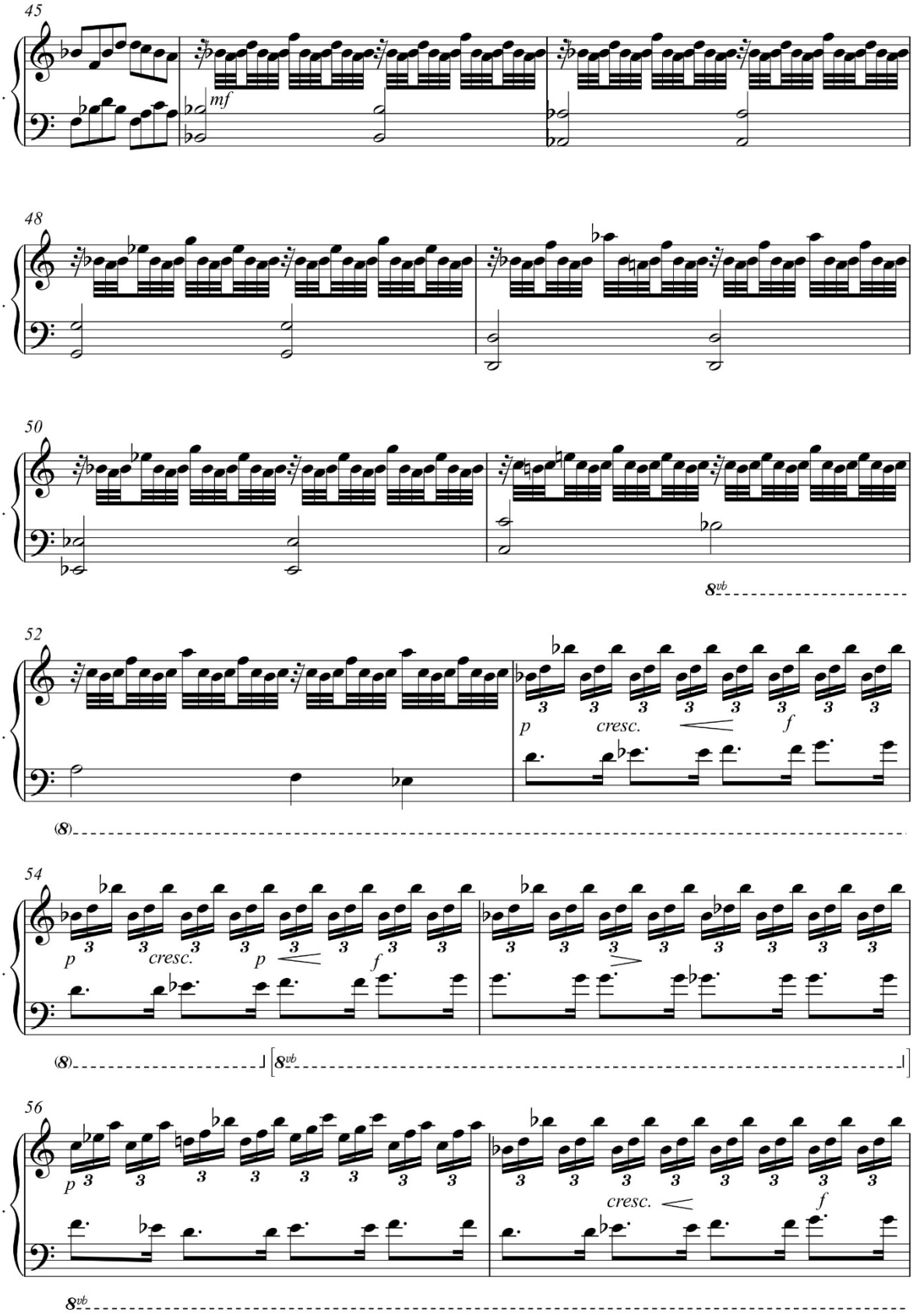
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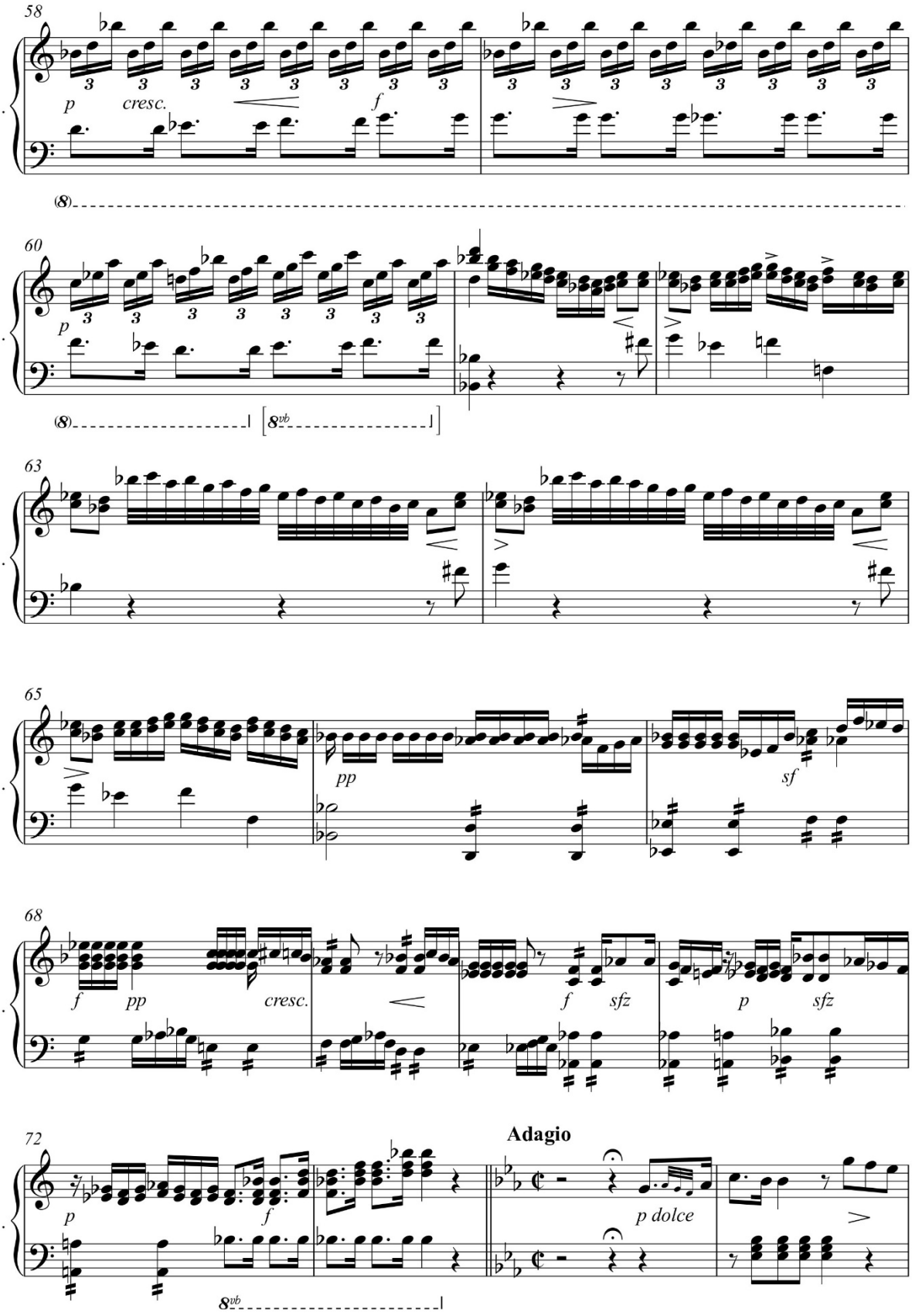
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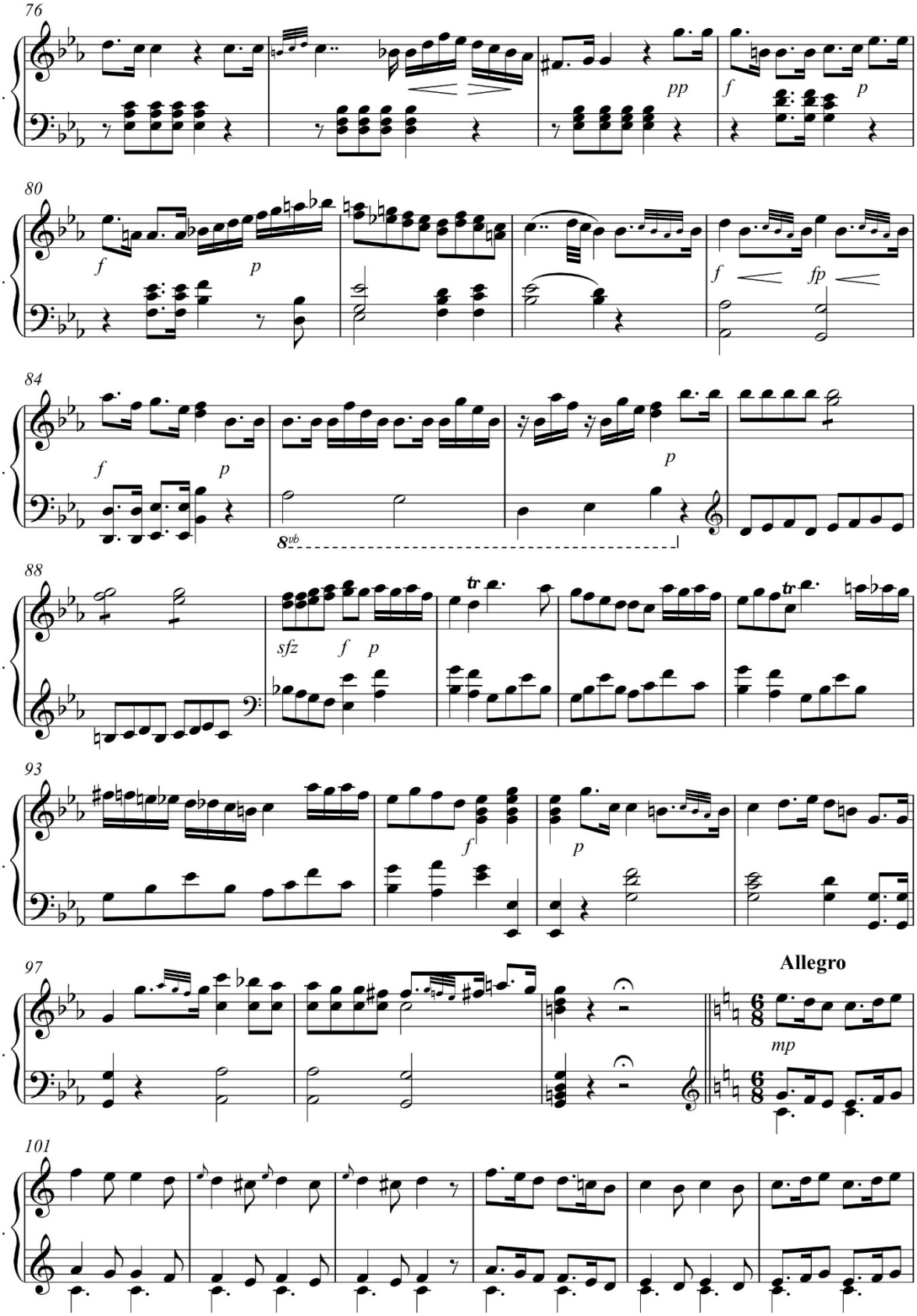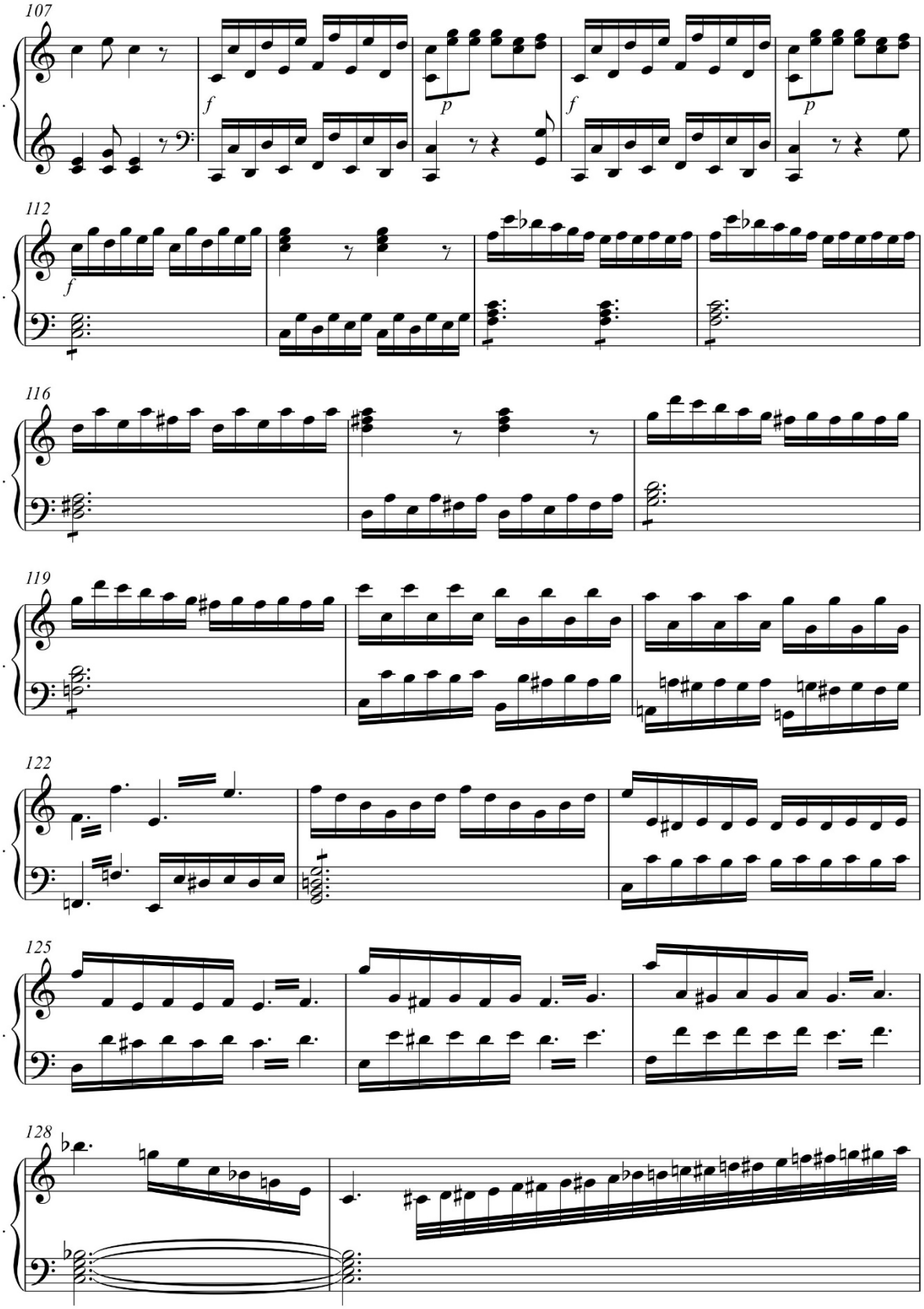



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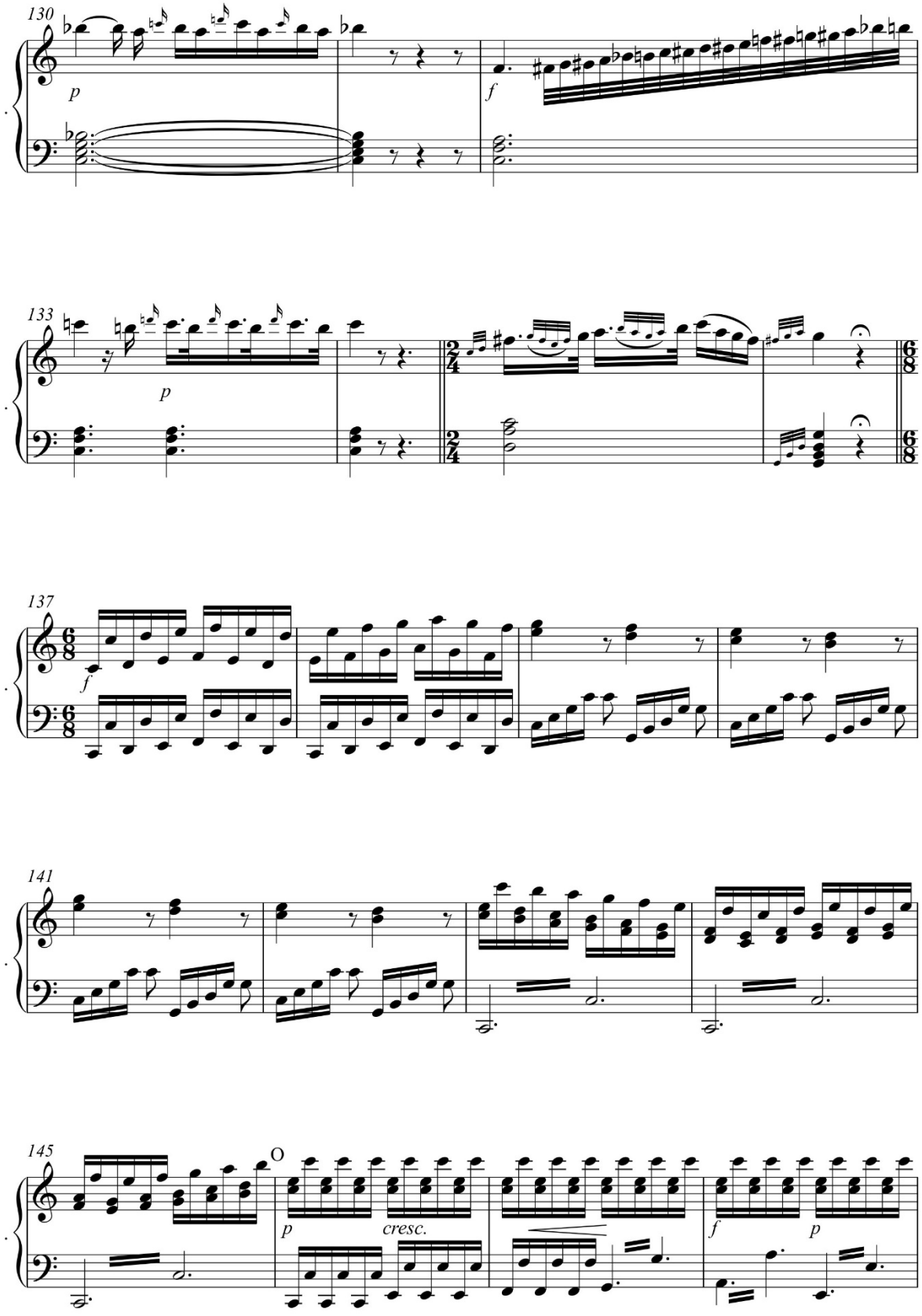

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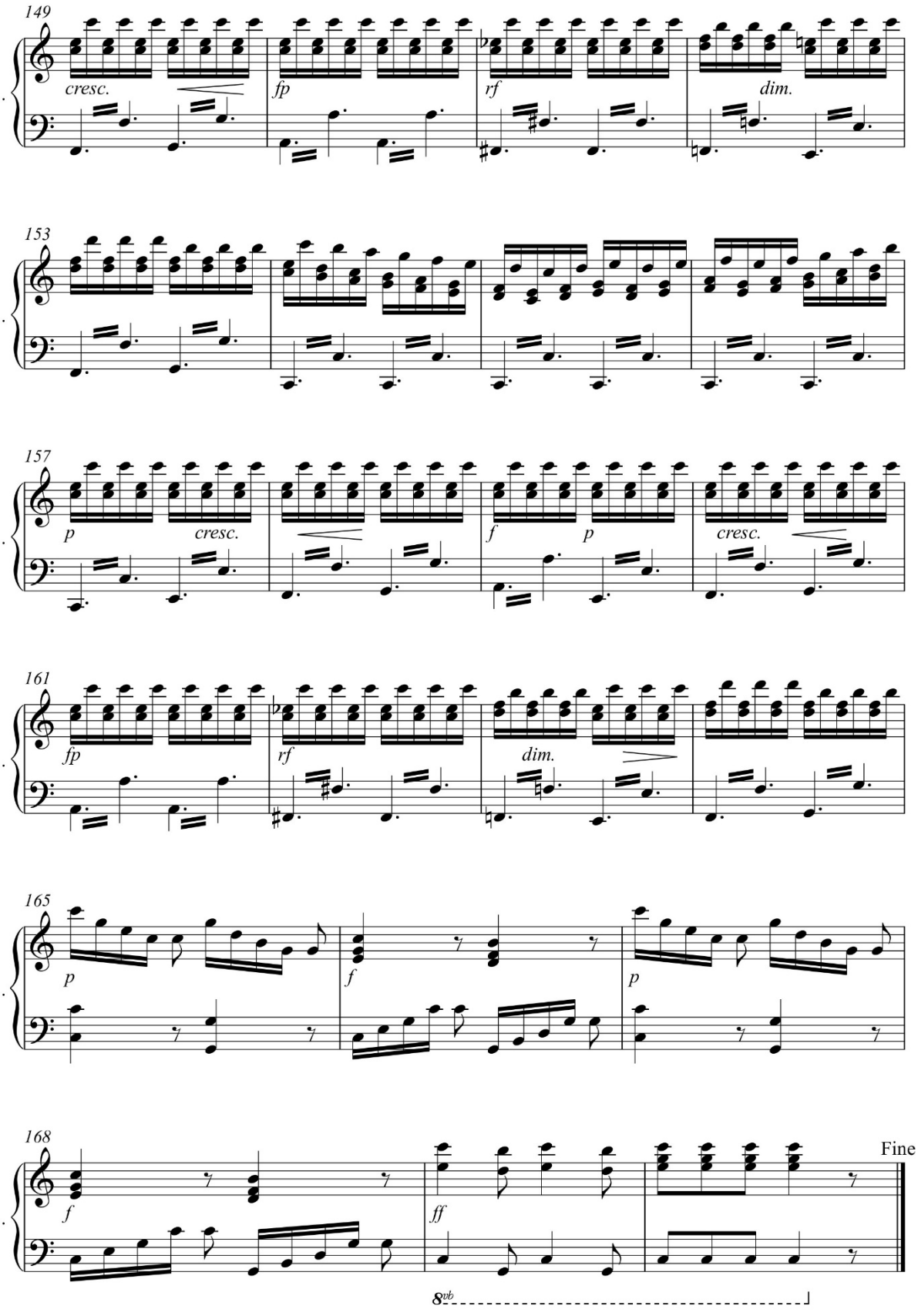

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