

# Marianna Martines

*A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*



IRVING GODT

EDITED BY JOHN A. RICE

---

---

*Marianna Martines*

---

---



## Eastman Studies in Music

Ralph P. Locke, Senior Editor  
Eastman School of Music

### Additional Titles in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Music

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century: Punctuating the Classical "Period"</i>     | <i>Musicking Shakespeare: A Conflict of Theatres</i>  |
| Stephanie D. Vial  | Daniel Albright   |
| <i>Aspects of Unity in J. S. Bach's Partitas and Suites: An Analytical Study</i>                     | <i>Music Speaks: On the Language of Opera, Dance, and Song</i>  |
| David W. Beach   | Daniel Albright   |
| <i>Bach and the Pedal Clavichord: An Organist's Guide</i>  | <i>Of Poetry and Song: Approaches to the Nineteenth-Century Lied</i>  |
| Joel Speerstra   | Edited by Jürgen Thym   |
| <i>Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community</i>  | <i>Pentatonicism from the Eighteenth Century to Debussy</i>   |
| Edited by Carol K. Baron   | Jeremy Day-O'Connell  |
| <i>Beethoven's Century: Essays on Composers and Themes</i>   | <i>Schubert in the European Imagination, Volumes 1 and 2</i>  |
| Hugh Macdonald   | Scott Messing   |
| <i>Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: Reassessing Carl Czerny</i>                                   | <i>Schumann's Piano Cycles and the Novels of Jean Paul</i>  |
| Edited by David Gramit   | Erika Reiman  |
| <i>Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck</i>   | <i>The Substance of Things Heard: Writings about Music</i>  |
| Kerala J. Snyder   | Paul Griffiths  |
| <i>Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations</i>                                      | <i>Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach</i>   |
| Edited by Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Montemorra Marvin   | Paul Mark Walker  |
| <i>Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Walpurgis Night: The Heathen Muse in European Culture, 1700–1850</i> | <i>Variations on the Canon: Essays on Music from Bach to Boulez in Honor of Charles Rosen on His Eightieth Birthday</i> |
| John Michael Cooper  | Edited by Robert Curry, David Gable, and Robert L. Marshall   |

A complete list of titles in the Eastman Studies in Music Series, in order of publication, may be found on our website, [www.urpress.com](http://www.urpress.com).

---

---

# *Marianna Martines*

---

---

*A Woman Composer in  
the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*

IRVING GODT

EDITED AND WITH CONTRIBUTIONS  
BY JOHN A. RICE



UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER PRESS

Copyright © 2010 by Ella Godt

*All rights reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published 2010

University of Rochester Press  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
www.urpress.com  
and Boydell & Brewer Limited  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-351-5

ISSN: 1071-9989

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Godt, Irving.

Marianna Martines : a woman composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn / Irving Godt ; edited with contributions by John A. Rice.

p. cm. — (Eastman studies in music, ISSN 1071-9989 ; v. 77)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-58046-351-5 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Martinez, Marianne, 1744-1812. 2. Women composers—Austria—Biography. I. Rice, John A. II. Title.

ML410.M374G64 2010

780.92—dc22

[B]

2010004256

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America.

### **Disclaimer:**

Some images in the printed version of this book are not available for inclusion in the eBook.

To view these images please refer to the printed version of this book.

Sebbene dilettante, può a giusto titolo chiamarsi gran maestra,  
e raro genio della Musica.

Giambattista Mancini

*Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, 1777



# Contents

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Musical Examples	ix
Editor's Note	xi
Acknowledgments	xv
List of Abbreviations	xvii
Introduction	1
1 The Scene and the Players	9
2 The Young Musician	22
3 Early Works	35
4 The Musical Dramatist	58
5 Italian Psalms	79
6 Padre Martini and the <i>Dixit Dominus</i>	133
7 Family Honors and Private Music Making	154
8 <i>Isacco Figura del Redentore</i> and the Death of Metastasio	180
9 "Countless Artistic Pleasures": Martines as Musical Hostess and Teacher	193
Appendixes	
1 The Martines Family	213
2 Letters to and from Marianna Martines	214
3 Metastasio's Will and Codicil	244
4 List of Works	256
Notes	265
Bibliography	287
Index	295



# Illustrations

Frontispiece Anton von Maron, Marianna Martines

## Figures

1.1	Bird's-eye view of the walled city of Vienna, 1785	10
1.2	Meeting of the staff of the court library, ca. 1781	15
1.3	View of the Kohlmarkt, with the Altes Michaelerhaus on the right	18
1.4	The Michaelerplatz	19
5.1	Saverio Mattei	80
5.2	<i>Salterio tedesco</i>	96
5.3	<i>Salterio turchesco</i>	97
6.1	Marianna's letter to Padre Martini of June 7, 1773	139
7.1	A Viennese academy in which male musicians accompany a woman at the harpsichord or grand piano	162
9.1	Autograph score of the cantata <i>La tempesta</i>	203

## Tables

2.1.	Prototype of the Galant Romanesca	25
3.1.	Contents of a set of parts for Martines's Mass No. 3 preserved in the archive of the Michaelerkirche, Vienna	42
4.1	Marianna's aria texts, their sources in Metastasio's works, and their location in the <i>Scelta d'arie</i>	60
4.2.	<i>Regina caeli</i> : Text and musical structure	70
4.3.	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i> (1768): Musical structure	71
5.1.	<i>Quemadmodum desiderat cervus</i> : Repetition of text and music	103
6.1.	<i>Dixit Dominus</i> : Musical structure	143
6.2.	"Dixit Dominus" (opening chorus): Musical structure	144
7.1.	Mozart, <i>Litaniae Lauretanae</i> , K. 195: Musical structure	168
7.2.	Martines, Litany in G: Musical structure	168
9.1.	<i>Orgoglioso fiumicello</i> , "Ma tornerai fra poco": Musical structure	210

### Disclaimer:

Some images in the printed version of this book are not available for inclusion in the eBook.  
To view these images please refer to the printed version of this book.

# Musical Examples

2.1	Martines, "L'onda dal mar divisa," mm. 36–47	23
2.2	Hasse, "L'onda dal mar divisa," mm. 32–45	24
2.3	Martines, <i>Regina caeli</i> , III, mm. 16–21	26
2.4	<i>Dixit Dominus</i> , I, mm. 1–6	26
2.5	Mass No. 3, Gloria, mm. 16–18	26
2.6	"Mi lagnerò tacendo," mm. 31–36	27
2.7	"Sol può dir che sia contento," mm. 1–4	27
2.8	"Io lo so che il bel sembiante," mm. 62–69	27
2.9	Metastasio, "Ecco quel fiero istante," mm. 1–4	28
2.10	Martines, "In te felix et tranquilla," mm. 28–31	28
2.11	<i>Isacco figura del Redentore</i> , "Dal gran peso ogni momento," mm. 20–30	29
2.12	<i>In exitu Israel de Aegypto</i> , "Orecchie e nari inutili," mm. 71–76	29
2.13	Litany in G, Kyrie, mm. 81–86	30
2.14	Keyboard Sonata in A, I, mm. 1–3	30
2.15	Keyboard Sonata in G, II, mm. 1–5	31
3.1	Mass No. 2, Benedictus, mm. 1–12	36
3.2	Mass No. 1, Kyrie, mm. 10–27	38
3.3	Mass No. 1, Kyrie, mm. 56–66	40
3.4	Mozart, "Waisenhausmesse," K. 139, Christe eleison, mm. 1–11	41
3.5	Martines, Mass No. 3, fugal subjects in the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo	43
3.6	Mass No. 3, Kyrie, mm. 1–8	44
3.7	Mass No. 3, Kyrie, mm. 57–64	45
3.8	Mass No. 3, Gloria, mm. 1–16	46
3.9	Mass No. 3, Credo, mm. 139–44	47
3.10	<i>O virgo cui salutem</i> , mm. 24–46	48
3.11	<i>Salve Regina</i> , mm. 6–12	51
3.12	Keyboard Sonata in G, III, mm. 1–11	53
3.13	Keyboard Sonata in E, I, mm. 1–17	54
3.14	Keyboard Sonata in E, III, mm. 1–9	54
3.15	Keyboard Sonata in E, II, mm. 1–6	55
3.16	Keyboard Sonata in A, II, mm. 1–15	55

3.17	Keyboard Sonata in G, I, mm. 1-9	56
4.1	"Pensa a serbarmi, o cara," mm. 19-25	62
4.2	"Berenice, ah che fai?" mm. 1-22	64
4.3	"Berenice, ah che fai?" mm. 57-83	67
4.4	"Berenice, ah che fai?" mm. 101-106	68
4.5	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i> (1768), mm. 1-28	72
4.6	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i> , mm. 138-45	73
4.7	<i>Ouverture</i> in C, I, mm. 1-27	74
4.8	<i>Ouverture</i> in C, I, mm. 19-24	76
4.9	<i>Ouverture</i> in C, II, mm. 1-8	77
4.10	<i>Ouverture</i> in C, III, mm. 1-22	77
5.1	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i> (1769), "Pietà, pietà, Signore," mm. 1-13	88
5.2	<i>Miserere</i> , "Deh se sanar mi vuoi," mm. 36-49	89
5.3	<i>Miserere</i> , "Ma pria che torni, o Dio," mm. 55-91	91
5.4	<i>Quemadmodum desiderat cervus</i> , "Come le limpide onde," mm. 1-7	104
5.5	<i>Quemadmodum</i> , "Io qui mi pasco intanto," mm. 26-51	105
5.6	<i>Quemadmodum</i> , "Qui son in mar turbato," mm. 17-26	109
5.7	<i>Quemadmodum</i> , A così indegni accenti," mm. 12-18	110
5.8	<i>In exitu Israel de Aegypto</i> , "Allor che il giogo barbaro," mm. 18-43	118
5.9	<i>In exitu Israel</i> , "Orecchie e nari inutili," mm. 45-76	122
5.10	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum</i> , "Lodate, o giovani," mm. 1-13	128
5.11	<i>Laudate pueri</i> , "Ei della sterile sposa," mm. 1-35	129
6.1	<i>Dixit Dominus</i> , "Dixit Dominus," mm. 26-31	145
6.2	<i>Dixit Dominus</i> , "Virgam virtutis tuae," mm. 17-51	147
6.3	<i>Dixit Dominus</i> , "Iuravit Dominus," mm. 15-35	149
7.1	Keyboard Concerto in G, III, mm. 1-13	163
7.2	Keyboard Concerto in G, I, mm. 18-23	164
7.3	Keyboard Concerto in G, II, mm. 1-14	164
7.4	Keyboard Concerto in A, III, mm. 28-56	165
7.5	Litany in G, Kyrie, mm. 1-108	169
8.1	<i>Isacco figura del Redentore</i> , "Dal gran peso ogni momento," mm. 20-39	184
8.2	<i>Isacco</i> , overture, III, mm. 1-12	186
8.3	<i>Isacco</i> , "Tanti secoli innanzi," mm. 35-38	186
8.4	<i>Isacco</i> , "Deh parlate, che forse tacendo," mm. 1-6	187
8.5	<i>Isacco</i> , overture, I, mm. 1-12	188
8.6	<i>Isacco</i> , "Datti pace, e più serena," mm. 73-81	189
9.1	<i>La tempesta</i> , mm. 47-58	202
9.2	<i>La tempesta</i> , mm. 186-209	204
9.3	<i>Orgoglioso fiumicello</i> , mm. 29-41	208

## *Editor's Note*

I met Irving Godt in the late 1990s in Vienna, where he was already working on this book and I was working on a project about another female musician, Empress Marie Therese (granddaughter of the Maria Theresa who ruled during the first thirty-six years of Marianna's life). Later he invited me to give some lectures on Antonio Salieri at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, where he had taught since 1970. He put me up at his house near the university, and over the course of a couple of days in January 2001 we had long conversations about our lives and work. I admired his wonderful library and heard recordings of music by the composer with whom he was preoccupied. At the age of seventy-seven he was amazingly energetic and his mind was sharp.

Writing to me on March 26, 2001, Irving looked forward, despite an illness, to his next trip to Europe:

My plans? Sick, lame, or lazy, I am determined to pursue Marianna in Europe next summer. I'll be in Vienna for about a month, breaking that stay with a week to ten days in Slovakia—where I expect to find little, but who knows. I don't expect any documents to leap into my hands! But even if there's nothing there, I gotta see for myself.

Irving died on December 5, 2006, leaving a typescript of his book that had already been provisionally accepted by the University of Rochester Press. When his daughter Ella asked me to revise the typescript, I welcomed this opportunity to contribute to an important project and to the memories of a talented and accomplished composer and a knowledgeable and tenacious scholar.

In preparing Irving's typescript for publication I have greatly increased the number of musical examples beyond what he envisioned, giving Martines more frequent opportunity to speak in her own voice. The examples include many from works not yet available in modern editions. I have been able to study these works because Irving, during his many years of work on this project, assembled a collection, almost complete, of photocopies of Marianna's autograph manuscripts and other eighteenth-century sources of her music. That collection will become part of the music library of his alma mater, New York University, where it will be available to those who want to study and perform the music of this remarkable woman. In revising and expanding Irving's musical analyses

and in assessing Marianna's musical background I have made frequent use of a book that appeared after Irving's death. Robert O. Gjerdingen's *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) promises to revolutionize the way we think and write about eighteenth-century music, and the music of Martines lends itself remarkably well to Gjerdingen's analytical insights and vocabulary.

Irving made no attempt to discuss all of Marianna's works in equal detail, and I have generally followed his decisions about what works to focus on. I have devoted sustained attention to only one major work about which he wrote little: *Isacco figura del Redentore*. Not only does this oratorio contain musical riches, it is one of the few works by Martines to have been publicly performed in her native city of Vienna.

I have followed Irving's frequent use of the composer's first name, partly to avoid the clumsy possessive "Martines's." As for the spelling of the name, we have followed Martines herself. Although she was christened "Anna Catharina," she chose to call herself "Marianna." She signed her name Marianna Martines, following her brother Joseph in replacing the *z* of the Spanish surname with an *s*. Although some recent reference books and library catalogues have restored the Spanish spelling, we should use her own spelling, not least because it reminds us that, though of Spanish ancestry, she was born and raised in Vienna.

Several of those whom Irving thanked for their help also helped me in the pleasant task of bringing his book into print. Michael Lorenz made available his photographs and transcriptions of eighteenth-century Viennese documents, including several unknown to Irving, and answered many queries. His help in clarifying our understanding of Marianna's family history was particularly crucial. Otto Biba checked and corrected entries in the work list concerning autograph manuscripts owned by the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. I must also acknowledge the contributions of several other colleagues. Lucio Tufano told me of Marianna's letters to Aurelio Bertola, sent me copies of them and allowed me to publish them here. Walther Brauneis shared documents that contribute to our understanding of the arrangement under which Metastasio and the Martines family lived together in the Altes Michaelerhaus. David Black directed me to important sources of information about Marianna's church music. James Armstrong made available parts of his valuable dissertation on the *Litaniae lauretanae* in eighteenth-century Vienna. Robert O. Gjerdingen gave me much advice on Marianna's use of galant voice-leading schemata. Irene Brandenburg let me read, before its publication, an article that posits a hitherto unsuspected connection between Martines and Mozart. Alfredo Vitolo, librarian of the Conservatorio Martini in Bologna, supplied a photograph of the letter of Martines reproduced here. Helen H. Metzelaar and Oscar Tajetti gave me advice on the Dutch composer Josina van Boetzelaer and her teacher Francesco Pasquale Ricci. Anne Desler helped me identify the arias that Farinelli sent to Metastasio just before the poet's death. David J. Buch patiently and expertly

guided me through the intricacies of Finale. Melanie Unseld, who in 2009 announced the discovery of a previously unknown Keyboard Concert in E major by Martines, kindly shared information about it for our list of works. Special and final thanks go to Marita McClymonds, who read the typescript twice and offered many suggestions for its improvement.

John A. Rice  
Rochester, Minnesota  
September 2009



# Acknowledgments

I owe thanks to many colleagues, librarians, and their assistants in national, civic, conservatory, university, and ecclesiastical libraries and archives from Münster in the north to Naples in the south: at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale of Bologna, Dottoressa Jenny Servini and the ever congenial staff, the former curators Dott. Giorgio Piombini and Dott. Mario Armellini, for their innumerable courtesies, and the director and staff of the library of the Conservatorio di Musica G. B. Martini; at the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna, the energetic Accademico, Dott. Giuseppe Vecchi, for many kindnesses; at the Library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, Dr. Otto Biba for his many courtesies; and Dott. Francesco Melisi, librarian of the Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella (Naples), who granted me privileges under difficult conditions.

Other libraries and archives whose personnel extended courtesies to me include the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo; the Archiginnasio, the Archivio di Stato, and the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna; the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden; the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini and the Archivio di Stato in Florence; the Stadtsbibliothek in Leipzig; the British Library in London; the Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi in Milan; the Universitätsbibliothek in Münster; the Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale in Pistoia; the Fondazione Levi in Venice; and, in Vienna, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (Herr Rossi in particular), the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, the Hofkammerarchiv, and the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (Wien Museum). Others in Vienna whose kindness left me their debtor include Herr Hörhan in the Pfarramt St. Michael and Fräulein Gerlinde Bogdanowicz in the Pfarramt St. Ulrich, Herr Heimo Fink and his colleagues at the Wiener Stadtbibliothek, and the helpful staff at the Stadt- und Landesarchiv. In addition, patient archivists at the universities of Padua, Pavia, and Bologna helped me close gaps in some dubious sources. The University Senate of Indiana University of Pennsylvania assisted two of my dozen trips in search of Marianna.

This book owes any virtues it may possess to three scholars. Dr. Rita Steblin and Dr. Michael Lorenz, while busy with their own projects, gave generously of their time and understanding of the wonderful but complex Vienna archives and spared me much frustration and failure. Prof. Theodore Albrecht of Kent



State University assisted in the transcription of several documents, and supported every stage of the work with strong encouragement and friendly criticism. I am deeply indebted to all three.

Dr. Rosemary Moravec-Hilmar, in the Manuscript Collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, was always ready with valuable suggestions and initiated one discovery. Dr. Annegret Huber gave assistance on several linguistic problems. Dr. Dorothea Link kindly supplied material from her book prior to publication. Prof. Don Neville identified the composer's Metastasian sources for me and extended other courtesies. Ms. Caroline Smith traced some important items and Prof. Robin Smith translated some classical quotations and identified their sources. Dott. Roberto Timpanelli of Messina interpreted dialect passages in the Bologna *carteggio*. Prof. Karen Ready filled some gaps in my translation of Pichler.

To all of the above—as well as to those unnamed who facilitated this work in various ways—I am most grateful. If my list seems endless, so are my thanks. Any imperfections that may have eluded the good offices of so many, whether of omission or commission, are my own.

Irving Godt  
Perchtoldsdorf (near Vienna), June 2003

# *Abbreviations*

A-Wgm	Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archiv
A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
A-Wst	Vienna, Stadt- und Landesbibliothek (Wienbibliothek), Musiksammlung
CZ-LIT	Litoměřice, Státní Oblastní Archiv
D-B	Berlin. Staatsbibliothek
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
D-Mü	Münster, Universitätsbibliothek
I-Baf	Bologna, Accademia Filarmonica
I-Bc	Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio G. B. Martini (including holdings of the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, formerly the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale)
I-Bu	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
I-BG	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
I-Fc	Florence, Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini
I-Nc	Naples, Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella
I-PS	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale
I-Vfl	Venice, Fondazione Levi
ÖStA	Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv AVA Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv
SK-BRm	Bratislava, Archív Mesta Bratislavy
US-Wc	Washington, Library of Congress
WStLA	Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv TBP Totenbeschauprotokoll



# Introduction

The music historian Charles Burney spent several weeks in Vienna in 1772. One of his most cherished ambitions was to meet the court poet Pietro Metastasio, whose librettos, set to music hundreds of times, had helped to shape the music of his age. But once in the presence of the great dramatist, Burney found his attention distracted by the entrance of a young woman, “who was received by the whole company with great respect. She was well dressed, and had a very elegant appearance.” This was Marianna Martines, whose family had lived with Metastasio for about forty years and whose education he had supervised. She had developed quickly into a fine singer, keyboard player, and composer, and was now, at the age of twenty-eight, at the height of her creative powers.

Burney had heard about Martines already. Giuseppe Antonio Taruffi, an official at the Nunciature, the papal embassy in Vienna, had aroused his curiosity by praising her exceptional musical abilities and accomplishments:

After the high encomiums bestowed by the Abate Taruffi on the talents of this young lady, I was very desirous of hearing and conversing with her; and Metastasio was soon so obliging as to propose her sitting down to the harpsichord, which she immediately did, in a graceful manner, without the parade of diffidence, or the trouble of importunity. Her performance indeed surpassed all that I had been made to expect. She sung two airs of her own composition, to words of Metastasio, which she accompanied on the harpsichord, in a very judicious and masterly manner; and, in playing the ritornels, I could discover a very brilliant finger.

Martines’s singing left Burney at a loss for words:

To say that her voice was naturally well-toned and sweet, that she had an excellent shake, a perfect intonation, a facility of executing the most rapid and difficult passages, and a touching expression, would be to say no more than I have already said, and with truth, of others; but here I want words that would still encrease the significance and energy of these expressions. The Italian augmentatives would, perhaps, gratify my wish, if I were writing in that language; but as that is not the case, let me only add, that in the *portamento*, and divisions of tones and semi-tones into infinitely minute parts, and yet always stopping upon the exact fundamental, Signora Martinetz was more perfect than any singer I had ever heard: her cadences too, of this kind, were very learned, and truly pathetic and pleasing.

After these two songs, she played a very difficult lesson [i.e., sonata], of her own composition, on the harpsichord, with great rapidity and precision. She has composed a *Miserere*, in four parts, with several psalms, in eight parts, and is a most excellent contrapuntist.

The company broke up sooner than I wished, as it was Metastasio's time for going to mass. During this visit, I discovered that Signora Martinetz, among her other accomplishments, both reads and speaks English. She invited me to come again, as did the divine poet; so that I now regarded myself as *amico della casa*.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later Burney returned to the Martines-Metastasio residence:

Mademoiselle Martinetz was at her musical studies, and writing; she directly complied with my request, of sitting down to the harpsichord. Metastasio desired her to shew me some of her best studies; and she produced a psalm for four voices, with instruments. It was a most agreeable *Mescolanza*, as Metastasio called it, of *antico e moderno*, a mixture of the harmony, and contrivance of old times, with the melody and taste of the present. It was an admirable composition, and she played and sung it in a very masterly manner, contriving so well to fill up all the parts, that though it was a full piece, nothing seemed wanting . . .

After this she obliged me with a Latin *motet*, for a single voice, which was grave and solemn, without languor or heaviness; and then played me a very pretty harpsichord *sonata* of her own, which was spirited, and full of brilliant passages.

I could not finish this visit till I had petitioned Mademoiselle Martinetz to oblige me with copies of some of her compositions, which she readily granted; and I had my choice of whatever had pleased me most among the pieces which I had heard.<sup>2</sup>

The woman who charmed Burney so completely, impressing him as both a performer and a composer, was one of the most accomplished and highly honored female musicians of her century. Her first music teacher was the young Joseph Haydn. Vienna knew her as a gifted aristocratic singer and keyboard player who performed for the pleasure of the Empress Maria Theresa. The great composer Johann Adolf Hasse praised her singing, keyboard playing, and composition. The regular private concerts she held in her home attracted the presence and the participation of some of Vienna's leading musicians; Mozart enjoyed playing keyboard duets with her. She composed prolifically and in a wide variety of genres, vocal and instrumental, writing church music, oratorios, Italian arias, sonatas, and concertos. Those who study, perform, and listen to her music today will understand easily why it captivated Burney.

Yet a few decades after her death a critical tradition hostile to the music of Martines and to women composers in general began to influence opinion. The prolific Viennese novelist Caroline Pichler was herself an accomplished musician in her youth, having studied with Mozart. She took part in private musical events given by her father in the 1790s, when Martines presided over one of Vienna's most celebrated musical salons. (Thus she had reason to think of Martines as a rival.) In memoirs published in 1844, a year after her death, Pichler gave notice to two female composers: the blind pianist Maria Theresia von Paradis and Martines. Pichler was ten years younger than Paradis, twenty-five years younger than Martines. Her musical tastes were clearly those of a generation different

from Marianna's; but she expressed no great fondness for the music of Paradis either: "I found neither her compositions nor those of Fräulein Martinez (the only works by female composers that were known to me) to be of much interest." This statement led Pichler to a short disquisition on female composers:

It is an altogether strange observation . . . that not a single woman has yet succeeded in distinguishing herself as a creative musician. There are successful women painters and poets, and if not a single woman in any art or science has ever achieved as much as men have, they have nevertheless made significant strides forward. But not in music. And yet one would think that this art, which demands the least preliminary study and more feeling and imagination than the other arts, would be the proper medium in which the female spirit might express itself.<sup>3</sup>

Later in her autobiography she took up this highly dubious line of thought again:

Still, I must take the opportunity to add an observation on music and composition . . . that among so many women who occupy themselves so auspiciously in musical performance at the keyboard, at other instruments, or in song, among so many clever creative women who distinguish themselves in painting or poetry, there is not even one who has accomplished anything with significant success in musical composition. In my long life, and especially in my youth, through frequent contacts with the musical world, I have known only two [women] who worked in it: Fräulein von Martinez, pupil of the celebrated Metastasio who lived with her parents and undertook the education of this in many respects distinguished woman, which was for him a pleasant task; and my friend the blind Fräulein von Paradis.<sup>4</sup>

Pichler's remark that Metastasio found his tutelage "a pleasant task" was really a sly insinuation that Marianna was Metastasio's mistress—a slander totally without foundation, but couched in terms that the slanderer could easily disclaim. She went on to disparage not only Marianna but the whole sisterhood of women composers, beginning with a rhetorically useful concession that Paradis and Martines wrote some good music:

Both produced fine things, but not at the highest—indeed not even at the middle level, while women in painting and poetry, even if they have produced nothing comparable to the works of the leading masters in these crafts, have brought forth valuable things without any allowance for their sex. But should not one expect that music, resting as it does on instinct, on inner impulses, on feeling, and on imagination, would be better adapted to the female character than the fields of painting and poetry, in which experience, clear concepts, technical skill, etc., are required? Yet it is not necessarily so, because up to now we have seen a Sirani, a Rosalbe, an Angelica Kaufmann, a Lebrun, etc.—but not even a somewhat significant woman composer.<sup>5</sup>

Even taking account of the differences between Pichler and Martines in age and taste, the novelist's views do not have much merit. Yet they have had a wider circulation than they deserve. The nineteenth-century musical scholar Robert Eitner

repeated the assessments of Burney and Pichler as if they carried equal weight.<sup>6</sup> The influential critic Eduard Hanslick accepted Pichler's opinion as "completely trustworthy" while reporting in 1869 that, in any case, all of Marianna's compositions were lost.<sup>7</sup> He cannot have looked very far; by then the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna could probably have shown him as much as he desired.

Eitner and Hanslick gave Pichler's perhaps personally biased views a stamp of authority. Music historians allowed Martines to remain a dim figure, despite the vividness with which she stands out in Burney's portrait, and her music was little known. Until 1990 only two of her works—the two keyboard sonatas that had already been published during Marianna's lifetime—were available in modern editions. The paucity of easily accessible music made it difficult to reassess old judgments. In an appraisal of Martines published as recently as 1980, in the first edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Pichler's influence on her reputation can still be felt: "The importance of Marianne von Martínez . . . undoubtedly lay in the stimulus that she gave to the musical life of her day rather than her own creative work, which even during her lifetime met with harsh criticism from Caroline Pichler."<sup>8</sup>

The year 1990 marked the beginning of a revival of interest in Martines—at least among editors of music. In less than two decades a large number of her works have been published, including all her surviving instrumental works. Shirley Bean and Konrad Misch have been particularly prolific editors of Marianna's music: the former ranging widely over concertos, sonatas, and church music, the latter specializing in big works for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra. (Their editions, and others, are cited in the list of works in appendix 4). But this flurry of publications has given rise to few first-rate performances and fewer recordings and has inspired little research and musical analysis. Marianna's life and works have not yet been the object of comprehensive, systematic study.<sup>9</sup>

This book, the first to be devoted to Martines, brings together what is known of her life and surveys her compositional oeuvre. We have examined her family and the world in which she moved in order to gain some idea of her personality and the setting for her music. Focusing on a limited number of representative works, and using many musical examples, we have tried to pin down some of the characteristic features of Marianna's musical language, in the hope of conveying the nature and extent of her compositional achievement and encouraging the performance of her works.

### Sources: Documents from the Composer's Lifetime and Schmid's Biographical Sketch

As a private person who traveled little or not at all and took part in few musical events outside her own residences in Vienna, Martines left few traces in the historical record. Documents that might have supported this biography went

up in flames in 1927, a century and a half after the Martines family was ennobled, when a fire in Vienna's Justizpalast (the law courts building) devastated the archives of the aristocracy. Happily we can piece together most of the story from other documents—letters, musical manuscripts, parish records, government papers, and public comment—that now lie spread over five countries and in dozens of archives and libraries.

Several of Marianna's letters survive. They include formal missives to the famous scholar and teacher Giovanni Battista Martini (one of these being an account of her family background and her musical education), a report of Metastasio's last illness that she sent to his close friend Farinelli, and five somewhat more intimate letters to a younger man whom (unlike Martini and Farinelli) she had actually met, the poet and historian Aurelio de' Giorgi Bertola. All of her letters, together with the letters written to her, are printed here in appendix 2. Much information comes from the correspondence of Metastasio, Marianna's attentive mentor. In some of his letters he merely conveyed her regards to some other correspondent, but even these have value, since they help us form an idea of the circles in which she moved. In other letters the poet left detailed reports of Marianna's musical opinions and activities. These letters constitute the single most important source of information about her life and work.

Thirty-four years after Marianna died, the last of her immediate family, Anton Schmid, a curator of the court library in Vienna, published a brief account of her life.<sup>10</sup> Schmid's biographical sketch is the most useful and dependable of the early notices of Marianna for several reasons. He evidently consulted the Martines records in the Justizpalast that were later destroyed by fire, as well as the house-occupancy records that we still have today. At the court library he may have had access to some no longer extant personal papers of Marianna's brother Joseph, a former director of the library. He certainly saw, and made good use of, a biographical sketch of Martines written in the 1820s by Joseph von Sonnleithner.<sup>11</sup> This book, in turn, makes frequent use of Schmid's carefully researched essay.

## Sources: Music

As a composer, a performer, and a diligent student of music old and new, Martines amassed a large collection of music—her own and that of her contemporaries and predecessors. This collection, had it survived intact, would constitute crucial evidence for the biographer. But unfortunately it was dispersed, in a process that began even before the composer's death.

Our appendix 4 is a list of Marianna's works currently known: four masses, two litanies, a *Regina caeli* for double chorus, two Latin psalms (one accompanied by basso continuo only, one accompanied by full orchestra), four Italian psalms for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, two Italian oratorios, seven solo motets, twenty-



seven Italian arias, seven Italian cantatas, four keyboard concertos, one independent overture, and three keyboard sonatas. That is obviously a substantial body of work. The list of compositions that Schmid compiled in the 1840s is consistent with what survives of Marianna's liturgical music and oratorios. But Schmid claimed that Martines wrote 156 arias and cantatas, thirty-one piano sonatas, and twelve keyboard concertos; and his enumeration seems too precise to be a gross fabrication or a wild guess.<sup>12</sup> Schmid's work list, if at all accurate, suggests that much of her instrumental music and her works for solo voice are lost, or at least unaccounted for. The survival of most of her existing works (including almost all of her arias, cantatas, and concertos) in single manuscript sources makes it easy to understand how other works might have been lost. But the recent discovery of a previously unknown keyboard concerto (the Concerto in E, discovered in 2009) suggests the possibility that other currently unknown works may reappear.

Metastasio's letters give us some idea of the music by other composers that Martines owned.<sup>13</sup> He occasionally referred to her acquisitions, writing to Hasse, for example, in 1773 that she had "a rich store" of his music "that she never tires of augmenting." She always had Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* on her harpsichord, wrote Metastasio in 1770. According to the terms of Metastasio's will (reproduced in appendix 3), his own music library went to Martines on his death in 1782; the inheritance probably increased the size of her collection considerably, adding (if he had not given it to her already) all the music that he received as gifts over the years, and which he acknowledged in his letters, including arias by Hasse, Andrea Bernasconi, Niccolò Jommelli, Salvatore Rispoli, and Josina van Boetzelaeler, vocal duets by Padre Martini, settings of Saverio Mattei's psalm translations by Pasquale Cafaro and Jommelli, sonatas by Giovanni Marco Rutini, and unidentified works by Rosa Maria Coccia. Martines continued to accumulate music after Metastasio's death, starting with arias and sonatas by Farinelli that this famous singer sent in 1782. She must also have owned music by Baldassare Galuppi, one of the three living musicians she named in her autobiographical sketch (the others were Hasse and Jommelli) as composers of music she studied with special care. Music by George Frideric Handel, Antonio Lotti, and Antonio Caldara—the older masters she mentioned—must have also been part of her collection; and indeed we have copies, in Marianna's hand, of works by both Lotti and Caldara, which she evidently made for study or performance.

The dissemination of Marianna's music in manuscript copies began quite early. Already in the late 1760s Queen Maria Carolina of Naples (a daughter of Empress Maria Theresa) was singing her arias, presumably from a manuscript that she had brought with her from Vienna when she married King Ferdinand in 1768. In chapter 4 we will suggest that the copy of Marianna's collection of Italian arias now preserved in Naples—the only surviving copy of those works—was a gift from the composer to the queen, who had grown up in Vienna and undoubtedly knew Martines personally.

According to Schmid, Martines left some of her compositions to her friend Fräulein von Engelhardt, who gave them to the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.<sup>14</sup> Marianna's friend was probably Julie Engelhart, named in a list of members of the society published in 1813.<sup>15</sup> Her gift accounts for most of the collection—by far the largest now known—of Marianna's autograph scores, still preserved in the archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.

Another early owner of music composed by or copied by Martines was the Viennese Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, who during the first half of the nineteenth century assembled a spectacular collection of musical manuscripts, now preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. He owned the autograph scores of two of Marianna's settings of Saverio Mattei's psalm translations, *Quemadmodum* and *In exitu Israel*, as well as her *Miserere* of 1768. Her manuscript copies of madrigals by Caldara and church music by Lotti, now preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, were also part of the Kiesewetter collection.<sup>16</sup> His ownership of them suggests the possibility that some of his other manuscripts of eighteenth-century music—also in the Nationalbibliothek—had earlier belonged to Martines. How and when he obtained her music is unknown.

Burney also owned some of Marianna's music. When he visited the Martines-Metastasio household in 1772, she delighted him with her singing, keyboard playing, composition, and—last but not least—with the prospect of owning copies of “whatever had pleased me most among the pieces which I had heard.” To judge by his account he was equally pleased with all the music she performed for him: keyboard sonatas, Italian arias, a Latin motet, and one of her settings of the Mattei psalms. But Burney did leave us a hint of what music by Martines he brought back to England. Just before leaving Vienna he made a final visit to Metastasio and his young protégée:

From hence I went to Metastasio, for the last time! I found with him much company, and the St. Cecilia, Martinetz, at the harpsichord, to which she had been singing. At her desire there was a commutation of compositions between us. She had been so kind as to have transcribed for me, among other things, a song of Metastasio set by herself, with which I had been greatly struck in a former visit.<sup>17</sup>

When Burney died in 1814 his library was sold at auction.<sup>18</sup> The catalogue of his music lists 822 printed and manuscript items, many evidently in binders' collections (i.e., items bound together for Burney's convenience). He had assembled a superb collection of madrigal books, operas, twelve volumes of Haydn symphonies, the works of Handel, and much more; but the catalogue reports Marianna's compositions with a disappointing imprecision. On the fourth day of the sale, the auctioneer disposed of item 622: a binder's collection of “*Arie: Franchi 3; Holtzbauer 2; Latilla 2 and Martinetz, do. do.*” No sale price or purchaser is noted in the copy of the catalogue preserved in the British Library, nor any identification of the titles of the works in item 622, which may have contained no more than a single aria by Marianna. It is strange to find Burney

preserving, uncorrected, the German phonetic spelling “Martinetz” that he had adopted in the account of his visit, although he received and preserved at least one letter in her own hand, in which she signed her name, as usual, “Martines.”

Schmid, who evidently saw Marianna’s will (later lost in the fire of 1927), tells us that her heir was her nephew, Sigmund von Martines, an Imperial-Royal *Bergwerks-Markscheider* (mine surveyor) in Schemnitz (now Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia).<sup>19</sup> Sigmund must have been a descendent of Marianna’s brother Dionysius, the only one of her siblings who married. Dionysius, after enjoying success in mine engineering in the regions around Banská Štiavnica, became the chief administrator of the gold and silver mines in Joachimsthal (now Jáchymov in the Czech Republic). But who was Sigmund von Martines? Did Marianna leave him any of her music? And what happened to him and his possessions? Further research in Slovakia and the Czech Republic may answer those questions, and may lead to the recovery of music by Martines that has up until now remained unknown.

## Chapter One

# *The Scene and the Players*

Vienna has changed much since Marianna's day. The walls that once encircled the capital (fig. 1.1) are down, their ring now traced by wide boulevards booming with traffic and trams. Smooth, swift subways link the inner city with bustling suburbs where cattle once grazed. The old palaces are now museums, libraries, government offices, convention centers, or even rental properties. Here and there a touch of glassy modernism sprouts among the bewigged eighteenth-century and plump nineteenth-century facades. Glittery boutiques lure tourists where modest shops once fed the daily needs of a living city.

The new city is overlaid almost transparently upon the old. Stephansdom, the great cathedral, and the other churches Marianna knew, still chime the hours and call to worship. The splendid palaces, no longer royal and noble residences, drape an ancient pride over their new democratic or commercial functions as museums and offices. Still, for the informed music historian, every street in inner Vienna is a historical stage, with many of the same houses as backdrop. Most of the streets still follow their old courses, paths that knew the tread of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler—all of them foreigners—and of Franz Schubert, the only born *Wiener* in that Pantheon. It is the scene, too, of Marianna's story. But unlike the suburban Schubert, she was born within the city walls.

To a reader who wants to get on with our composer's life, a review of all the members of Marianna's family and their backgrounds may seem an unnecessary detour, but it is not. Several of the Martines siblings play significant parts in the story. Some of them turn out to be surprisingly interesting people. Mustering them here is like listing the dramatis personae of a play. It is only with that cast and against that Viennese backdrop that we can form any impression of the life and personality of our shadowy composer.

## Parents

In 1773, when she was twenty-nine years old, Marianna prepared an autobiographical sketch at the request of the Bolognese composer and musical scholar

**Disclaimer:**

Some images in the printed version of this book  
are not available for inclusion in the eBook.

To view the image on this page please refer to  
the printed version of this book.

Figure 1.1 Bird's-eye view of the walled city of Vienna, 1785, by Joseph Daniel Huber. As if looking at the city from the northeast (with its southwestern edge at the top) we see the Stephansdom a little to the left of the center of the image and, at the top, the Hofburg and the Michaelerplatz, where Martines spent most of her life. Wien Museum, Vienna.

Padre Giovanni Battista Martini, who occupies an important place in this tale. A crucial source of information about her early life, this statement offers us a tantalizing glimpse at her personality and her aesthetic values. It also tells us a little about her parents:

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 Germany in one of those regiments that supported the cause of Charles VI after the War of [the

Spanish] 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.<sup>1</sup>

When Nicolo Martines died in 1764 he was said to be seventy-five years old, meaning that he was born around 1689.<sup>2</sup> (German-language documents often spell his first name Niclas; his last name was also spelled Martinez.) His wife Maria Theresia (maiden name unknown) was said to have been sixty-three years old when she died in 1775.<sup>3</sup> Thus she was probably born around 1712, about twenty-four years after her husband. No record of their marriage has been found in Viennese archives; they were presumably married before they settled in Vienna. In the course of their marriage Maria Theresia presented her husband with at least thirteen children, of whom only six—four boys and two girls—are known to have reached maturity (see appendix 1).

We do not know when Nicolo and Maria Theresia Martines arrived in Vienna, but it was probably after 1729 or thereabouts and before 1732. The first child of theirs that we know of, Joseph, was born around 1729.<sup>4</sup> Since his baptism is not recorded in Vienna, he was probably born before his parents came to the imperial capital. Their next child of whom we have knowledge, Franz Paul, was baptized in the Schottenkirche in Vienna on January 25, 1732.<sup>5</sup> The Martines family lived in Vienna's Schotten parish until sometime between June 11, 1734 (when their son Dionysius Carl was baptized in the Schottenkirche<sup>6</sup>) and September 28, 1735 (when their son Johann Michael was baptized in the Michaelerkirche<sup>7</sup>).

The baptismal record for Johann Michael identifies his father as "Gentilhuomo bey dem Pbstl. Nuntio"—gentleman (presumably a lower ranking official of some sort) in the service of the papal nuncio. The first of five nuncios under whom (according to Marianna) Nicolo served was Cardinal Domenico Passionei, who occupied his office from May 10, 1731, to April 14, 1738.<sup>8</sup> Thus Nicolo apparently joined the staff of the papal nuncio between May 1731 and September 1735. He would eventually hold two titles at the nunciature, apparently simultaneously: that of *maestro di camera* (in German *Cammermeister*) and *maestro di cerimonie*<sup>9</sup>—titles that may be more or less equivalent to our modern chief of staff.

Don Nicolo's career was by its nature public. On ceremonial occasions he played a role sufficiently prominent for press reports to imply that he occupied a post of influence and prestige. In 1756, for example, the *Wienerisches Diarium* described the public entry of his master, the papal nuncio Ignazio Crivelli, in a procession through the city:

His Right Honorable Excellency His Princely Grace of the Holy Roman Empire Prince Schwarzenberg, imperial royal chief court marshal, was fetched from the Schwarzenberg princely garden palace in front of the Kärntnertor with two imperial six-horse court coaches turned out in the imperial livery and, after some thirty-odd six-horse ceremonial

carriages of the currently serving imperial royal ministers, privy councilors and chamberlains had set out in advance, was driven through the Kärntnerthor and along the Kärntnerstraße, the Graben, the Kohlmarkt, the Herrengasse, to the papal nunciature am Hof. His Excellency the papal nuncio, at the arrival of His High Princely Grace, went back to the aforesaid garden. After the whole suite was seated in the carriages and had set forth in advance, the nuncio, in front, and the Honorable Chief Court Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg, in back, sat together in the first imperial court carriage. In the others that had set out in advance, together with an imperial royal lord high steward, were the nunciature's auditor Girolamo Salari, and His Excellency's *Cammermeister* Niclas Martinez. Behind the imperial court coach that held the nuncio rode his master of horse Johann von Damiani together with His Excellency's six pages, all clothed in splendid sky-blue velvet ceremonial livery richly embroidered with silver.<sup>10</sup>

Nicolo's carefully regulated and prominent position in that formal cortege marked him as a person of consequence.

The baptismal record for Johann Michael Martines, the first of many baptismal records that document the family's residence in the parish of the Michaelerkirche, already gives his parent's address as the Michaelerhaus: the apartment building right next to the church that was later known as the Altes Michaelerhaus. On the third floor of that building the Martines family lived for more than forty years.

### *Poeta cesareo*

Nicolo Martines and his family shared the third floor of the Altes Michaelerhaus with Pietro Metastasio, who came to be regarded—at least where Italian opera was cultivated—as the greatest Italian poet of the eighteenth century. He was unquestionably the most successful librettist in the whole history of opera. One may judge his amazing influence from the vast number of composers who set to music his opera and oratorio librettos throughout the eighteenth century. He maintained a massive correspondence with musicians, scholars, and public figures all over Europe.

Metastasio arrived in Vienna in 1730 to assume the post of court poet. Whether he came before or after Nicolo Martines we do not know. As we have seen, it is unlikely that Nicolo came to Vienna before 1730, and there is no proof of his presence in the city before the baptism of his son Franz in 1732. Nor do we know where Metastasio lived during his first five years in the Habsburg capital, and whether he lived with the Martines family during that time. His residence on the third floor of the Michaelerhaus is documented, in rental records preserved in the St. Michael parish archive, only from 1735. These records strongly suggest that the apartment he occupied from then until his death in 1782 was rented under his name.<sup>11</sup> When Nicolo Martines and his family moved to the Michaelerhaus in 1734 or 1735, they apparently did so at the invitation

of Metastasio, who must have rented an apartment much larger than he needed precisely so that the Martines family could live with him.

Yet Marianna seems to have believed that Metastasio was her family's guest. Fifty-two years after the librettist's arrival in Vienna, and shortly after his death, she wrote to Metastasio's close friend Farinelli (the great soprano Carlo Broschi) of her family's relations with him: "Our family, which, . . . from the time of his [or "its"?] arrival in Vienna on 17 April 1730, when the immortal Metastasio took lodgings in our house, has received from him innumerable benefits of every kind."<sup>12</sup> In Marianna's original Italian this statement is grammatically ambiguous; it leaves unclear whether the arrival on April 17, 1730, was the Martines family's or Metastasio's (who, according to Burney, arrived in Vienna in July 1730).<sup>13</sup> The ambiguity perhaps betrays Marianna's uncertainty about relations between her family and Metastasio during their earliest years in Vienna. The rental records suggest that the story she told Farinelli was, to some extent, a family legend.

Burney, probably repeating what he had heard from Martines, stated firmly that Metastasio's first residence in Vienna was that of Nicolo Martines.<sup>14</sup> Anton Schmid likewise held that the Martines family took in Metastasio, not the other way around: "When the Abate Pietro Metastasio, appointed court poet by Emperor Charles VI, arrived in Vienna in 1730, he had to lodge with his old friend Herr Martines, and he stayed so long with him that eventually he had established his own apartment in the same house."<sup>15</sup>

Marianna, in her autobiographical sketch, described Metastasio as the beneficiary of her father's "incorruptible friendship and tireless support." Since Nicolo was born in Naples, that friendship might have begun in Naples, where Metastasio rose to fame as a librettist in the early 1720s. But it could also have begun in Vienna during the period of at least three years (1732–34) when Nicolo lived there but before he moved with his family into the Michaelerhaus. The exact nature of the friendship—between a former soldier from Naples and a Roman poet ten years younger than he—will probably never be known. In his will, signed a year after Nicolo's death, Metastasio referred vaguely to Nicolo's "long, faithful, and useful assistance." He thus lowered a veil of privacy and discretion over relations that were evidently intense and lifelong.

The enigmatic ties between Metastasio and Nicolo Martines led to an unconventional ménage consisting of a husband, a wife who was about twenty-four years younger and almost constantly pregnant, a second man who had taken vows of celibacy and who in age was about halfway between the husband and wife, and a growing brood of children. The arrangement was mutually beneficial, quite apart from any sexual activity that it might have facilitated. Metastasio's high salary and his connections with the court probably gave Nicolo and Maria Theresia an apartment bigger and more advantageously located than they might otherwise have been able to obtain during their early years in Vienna. Metastasio, who played an important role in Marianna's education, probably contributed to the education of