Teresa Carreno: Pianist, Composer and Pedagogue. Her Life And Work From The Perspective Of Virtuoso Piano Playing At The End Of The 19th Century

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TERESA CARREÑO: PIANIST, COMPOSER AND PEDAGOGUE. HER LIFE AND WORK FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF VIRTUOSO PIANO PLAYING AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Teresa Carreño (1853 – 1917) was the first Venezuelan artist to achieve international recognition. As a child prodigy, she impressed pianists such as Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and quickly became a phenomenon in the United States. As an acclaimed pianist, the sheer power of her performances earned her the title of Valkyrie of the piano, and she had an extremely active performing career until months before her death.

Throughout her life, she interacted with the most important musical personalities of the time, including Franz Liszt and Anton Rubinstein, among many others. She was also a talented singer, as Gioaccino Rossini personally affirmed. She was also active as a composer, and although currently her creative work is largely unknown, some of her works were extremely popular during her time, selling out several editions. Also a sought after piano teacher, her most prominent student was the American pianist and composer Edward Mcdowell. Her approach to piano technique earned her the dedication of the most important treatise on the subject at that time, written by Rudolf Maria Breithaupt.

It is for all these reasons that this dissertation was written, with the purpose of analyzing Carreño’s life and work from the perspective of virtuoso piano playing at the end of the 19th Century, a perspective that informs these three aspects of her life: as a pianist, composer, and pedagogue.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Often called “the Valkyrie of the Piano”\(^1\), Teresa Carreño was the first Venezuelan artist to reach the status of international celebrity. Not only was she one of the most prominent piano personalities of the late 19th century, ranking among such virtuoso pianists as Clara Schumann and Franz Liszt, but also a notable composer, writing more than 40 works; an extraordinary mezzo-soprano, whose talent was discovered by none other than Gioacchino Rossini; and a sought-after teacher, with many prominent students.

The Venezuelan musicologist Juan Bautista Plaza\(^2\) had the following to say about her:

The place that Teresa Carreño occupies in the gallery of history’s all-time greatest performers is, without a doubt, the biggest that any artist could wish to have.\(^3\)

Born in Venezuela in 1853, Teresa Carreño was a child prodigy. Her father, a musician himself, was her first mentor, but soon realized that her talent required a more sophisticated environment, thus moving the entire family to New York. From this point on, Carreño would have an international career, living in the United States and in Europe, and only returning to her home country for brief periods of time.

\(^1\) Marta Millinowski, *Teresa Carreño By the Grace of God* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 198.

\(^2\) Juan Bautista Plaza (1898 - 1965, Caracas/Venezuela) was a musicologist and composer. He is best known as the editor of a 12-volume collection on Venezuela’s music during colonial times.

\(^3\) Rosario Marciano, *Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga* (Caracas: Monte Ávila Editores, 1971), 17.
Among her most influential teachers were the renowned pianists Louis Moreau Gottschalk and Anton Rubinstein, while her most famous pupil was the American pianist and composer Edward MacDowell. During her lifetime she made acquaintances with the most important figures of the musical world of that time: Franz Liszt, Camille Saint-Saens, Gioacchino Rossini, Charles Gounod and Hector Berlioz, among others, and she was married for a short period of time to the prominent German pianist Eugene D’Albert. The German pedagogue Rudolf Breithaupt, considering Carreño’s technique to be flawless, dedicated his treatise on piano technique to her. This treatise became the most important source on piano methodology of its time. Amongst the many critics and reviews from her concerts, there are accounts by Edward Grieg, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Sergei Prokofieff and Claudio Arrau, who experienced her performances and gave testimony of her outstanding pianistic abilities, thus affirming her importance and influence during her time.

After her untimely death in 1917, her remains were returned to Venezuela, where she is considered one of the most important personalities ever born in the country, and the main concert hall, in the capital city of Caracas, is named after her.

1.1 Purpose of and Need for the study

Although Teresa Carreño was considered one of the leading female pianists in the world during her lifetime, today she has become but a footnote in most of the piano and music history bibliographies everywhere but in her homeland Venezuela. Since she became the first internationally renown Venezuelan artist and one of the world’s most acknowledged female virtuoso pianists, it is the purpose of this study to rediscover, analyze and discuss her life and work, specifically in the context of virtuoso piano playing at the end of the 19th century.
1.2 Methodology

The concept of virtuosity, which became predominant after 1850, has been considered both positively and negatively:

(…) though there has been a tendency to regard dazzling feats of technical skill with suspicion (and even, in such cases as Tartini and Paganini, to ascribe them to some supernatural power), the true virtuoso has always been prized not only for his rarity but also for his ability to widen the technical and expressive boundaries of his art.4

Virtuosity had distinct implications regarding pianistic performance, composition of piano works and piano teaching:

• The aesthetics of the performances were characterized by pianists trying to outperform each other with firework effects at the instrument and exaggerated emotions

• Pianist themselves began writing their own works, often with the main purpose of showcasing their talents. The nature of many of the works that were being composed during that time fell under the category of salon music.5

• Many pianists started teaching, offering and writing their own methods on achieving optimal pianistic technique, and thus the physiology of piano playing gradually developed into an important issue.


5 The term “salon music” is used to describe repertoire that was composed between 1830 and the first World War, and which consists mainly of transcriptions and fantasias from famous operas, as well as societal dances. The term is derived from the Parisian Salon of Louis Phillip I, a place where every aspiring virtuoso sought to perform at for the higher French societal class. See: Ludwig Fincher, ed. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), s.v. “Salonmusik”, by Andreas Ballstaedt.
Therefore, this study will discuss Teresa Carreño’s life and work as a pianist, composer and pedagogue from the perspective of virtuoso piano playing at the end of the 19th century.

Multiple reviews and critics from newspapers and magazines of the time attest to her achievements as a pianist, and provide an understanding of the effect that she had on audiences, as well as the aesthetics, expectations and ideals that were customary at the end of the 19th Century, a time when every pianist attempted to become the future great virtuoso. Furthermore, the piano rolls that Carreño recorded for the Welte Mignon were re-recorded in 2003 by the Pierian company. Although there may have been some limitations to the precision of this technology (incipient at that time), it still makes it possible to listen to and analyze her playing firsthand.

As a pedagogue, Carreño didn’t publish any methods herself, but there are several interviews that reflect many of her thoughts on the pedagogy of piano, as well as accounts from her students (Ruth Payne Burgess, Yetta Geffen, Marta Milinowsky and Edward MacDowell, among others) which give an idea of her methods and teachings. It is particularly interesting to analyze these in the context of the turn of the century, when piano methodology was a nascent subject and discussions about piano technique were beginning to take place. Perhaps the most important book about technique was Rudolf Maria Breithaupt’s Die Natürliche Klaviertechnique. This author used Carreño as an example in his book to demonstrate the importance of arm weight, which was at the center of his teaching philosophy, and for this reason he dedicated his book to her.

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6 Teresa Carreño, Pianist, performed by Teresa Carreño, Pierian 0022. CD. 2004.
As a composer, Carreño’s works fall mostly under the category of Salon Music, which was the most common style at the end of the 19th century. Although she didn’t bring any new contributions to the existing musical language, her works contain beautiful melodies, effective pianistic devices and technical difficulties that are well worth a piano student’s time, and therefore it is purposeful to be acquainted with Carreño’s creative work as a composer, specifically from the perspective of the virtuoso style that characterized Carreño’s approach to piano playing.

1.3 Related Literature

Most of the research on Teresa Carreño has been conducted by Venezuelan researchers, most notably Juan Bautista Plaza, Rosario Marciano, and Violeta Rojo. Therefore, a large portion of the literature is in Spanish. It must be noted that this body of research is mostly focused in presenting her biography. The most quoted resource when researching Teresa Carreño’s life and work is her biography *By the Grace of God*, written by her student Marta Millinowski.\(^8\)

Most of the reviews and critiques from her concerts and appearances have been collected and translated to English by Anne Albuquerque in her thesis “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer.” This document is one of the most comprehensive resources to date. Rather than focusing on any one specific aspect of this artist’s life, it takes a more general approach. Marco Gurman also wrote a thesis entitled “Teresa Carreño and her piano music.” His focus is almost exclusively centered on her work as a composer,\(^8\)

\(^8\) Mario Milanca Guzmán has recently disproved some of the facts presented in Millinowski’s biography. These are mostly related to the chronology of some events. See: Mario Milanca Guzman, “Dislates en la obra ‘Teresa Carreño’ de Marta Millinowski”, *Latin American Music Review* 8, no. 2 (Autumn-Winter 1987): 185-215.
discussing and analyzing most of her published works for piano, and including some corrections to Albuquerque’s research regarding the chronology in which some of her works were published.

Carreño’s most important work as a pedagogue occurred during her years in Germany, where she was known as the *berliner Mutti* ("Berlin mommy"). It was in Germany that the subject of piano methodology and its relation to physiology was born. Specifically, there were two leading schools of thought represented in two books: *Die Natürliche Klaviertechnik*\(^9\), by Rudolf Maria Breithaupt, and *Das Künstlerische Klavierspiel in seinen physiologischen – physikalischen Vorgängen nebst Versuch einer praktischen Anleitung zur Ausnützung seiner Kraftquellen*\(^10\), by Elisabeth Caland. These are the two most important resources in analyzing Carreño’s own perceptions on piano methodology, since they represent the main opposing arguments concerning the “correct” approach to the piano technique that took place at the end of the 19th century.

Finally, some first-hand accounts on her opinions about music education and the role of music, arts, and piano pedagogy can be found in a collection of interviews carried out by Harriette Brower, entitled “Piano Mastery. Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers.”

### 1.4 Limitations of the study

The main limitation to this study is the scope of the analysis concerning Teresa Carreño’s work as a pianist and composer, since these two aspects have been substantially

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\(^9\) Title translates as: The Natural Piano Technique.

covered by Albuquerque’s and Gurman’s research. Therefore, this study will focus its analysis of those aspects from the viewpoint of virtuoso piano playing at the end of the 19th Century, studying its implications for Carreño as a pianist and composer. As her work as a pedagogue has been least explored, the analysis and discussion in this dissertation will be able to contribute the most to the already existing literature about Teresa Carreño.

1.5 Design and Procedures

The study will be comprised of five chapters (the first one being this introduction), a bibliography and appendices.

The second chapter will present a short but detailed biography of Teresa Carreño, describing who she was and what her legacy offers. It will also define the historical milieu in which she lived and worked.

The third chapter will place her work as a pianist in the context of virtuoso piano playing at the end of the 19th century, discussing various existing critiques and reviews of her playing, and analyzing her piano roll recordings.

The fourth chapter will address her work as a composer, analyzing the style of her compositions in the context of Salon Music.

Finally, the fifth chapter will discuss her work as a pedagogue, specifically in comparison with the two most significant and contrasting schools of piano methodology at the end of the 19th century: Elizabeth Caland and Rudolf Breithaupt. This chapter will also include a detailed analysis of Carreño’s book on pedaling, placing it in context with the existing literature on the subject at the time.
CHAPTER 2. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

2.1 The child prodigy

María Teresa Gertrudis de Jesús Carreño García de Sena was born in Caracas, Venezuela on December 22, 1853, into a Catholic family with a long musical tradition. Of Spanish origins, part of the family emigrated to Venezuela at the end of the 17th century, in order to take the chapel master position in Caracas’s Cathedral, and the position remained occupied by family members throughout several generations.\(^\text{11}\)

Carreño’s father, Manuel Antonio Carreño, was himself an accomplished pianist, organist and composer. But he is mostly known for a book about good manners and societal behavior, commonly referred to as “Carreño’s Manual”\(^\text{12}\). He also had an important position in the Venezuelan government, as he was the Finance Minister and also President of the National Bank. Thus, he was a wealthy man who provided a very comfortable life to his family; Teresa Carreño had two pianos at her house: an upright and a concert grand.

She was a child prodigy, exhibiting exceptional affinity to music from a very young age, as her father noted:

\(^{11}\) Violeta Rojo, Teresa Carreño (Caracas: Editorial Arte, 2005), 2-4.

\(^{12}\) The original title in Spanish is: “Manual de Urbanidad y Buenas Maneras para el uso de la juventud de ambos sexos en el cual se encuentran las principales reglas de civilidad y etiqueta que deben observarse en las diversas situaciones sociales, precedido de un breve tratado sobre los deberes morales del hombre”. It is often referred to simply as “Manual de Carreño”.
From the very beginning, my child would already move her head rhythmically to music, even as she was breast-fed, while music was playing in the living room. As soon as she could barely move her fingers with some freedom, she would already imitate compositions that she had heard before, or improvise melodies that impressed those who heard them, and that were prophetic for those who sensed her talent.  

When she was 4 years old she could already play melodies which she learned by ear, providing her own (mostly harmonically correct) accompaniments with the left hand. However, her father waited until shortly before her 6th birthday to start giving her piano lessons. Soon thereafter, he hired the German pianist Julius Hohenus, who taught her works by Mendelssohn, Chopin, Czerny, Bertini and Bach. Thus, when she was 7 years old she was already an advanced student, composing her own music. Often she would improvise for family and friends, as was related by a writer present at one of Carreño’s musical evenings:

Each of us gave her a motive or fantastic theme. Some of these arguments would last in their execution up to three quarters of an hour. It was a singular thing to watch her, after she took charge, conceive an overture and play it; and then to develop the entire argument without stopping, with such a propriety of expression

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13 Rojo, *Teresa Carreño*, 16. Original quote: “Mi niña, en efecto, cuando aún se alimentaba a los pechos seguía siempre con la cabeza al compás de la música; jamás se dormía en la casa mientras se tocase en la sala; y cuando apenas podia mover con alguna libertad los dedos, ponía en el piano composiciones que oía, y preludiaba pensamientos sencillos pero originales que eran un asombro para los que la oían sin conocerla, y un augurio para los que sospechaban sus talentos” (author’s translation).


15 According to Mario Milanca Guzman, it is unclear whether Teresa Carreño received her first piano lessons from her father or her mother, although the latter would have been common practice at the time. See: Mario Milanca Guzman, “Teresa Carreño, cronología y manuscritos”, *Revista Musical Chilena* 42 Año XLII (Universidad de Chile, Julio – Diciembre, 1988), 94.
She won’t stop, won’t hesitate (…) she explains with words ‘this is such’, ‘there is this other thing’ (…) How can you guess, at only 9 years old, so many passions to paint them, so many natural phenomena to remake them through music? Where did she learn to understand the human heart?16

2.2 Debut in New York – Gottschalk

Even though they had a very comfortable life in Venezuela, her father soon realized that in order to fully develop her talent and potential, she would require better teachers and a more artistically encouraging environment. This, combined with emerging political unrest in the country, led in 1862 to the whole family moving to New York City.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk was the most renowned personality in that city’s musical scene. Therefore, it was Mr. Carreño goal to have Gottschalk listen to his daughter perform, and he organized various musical evenings, inviting critics, musicians and journalists to witness the child genius at work. A meeting between Gottschalk and Carreño was finally arranged, and he agreed to teach her and help promote her career.17

It is unknown how many lessons she actually received from Gottschalk, but according to Carreño herself, he represented her pianistic ideal, and remained so throughout her life. She also recounted how he introduced her for the first time to the wide spectrum of classical music literature, developed and strengthened her interpretive abilities

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16 Rojo, Teresa Carreño, 16. Original quote: “Cada uno le daba motivo o un argumento fantástico. Alguno de esos argumentos duró en la ejecución hasta tres cuartos de hora. Era cosa singular verla, después de que se hacía cargo, concebir la obertura y tocarla; y ponerse después a desenvolver sin parar, todo el argumento, con tanta propiedad de expresión (...) No se para, no vacila (...) ella va explicando con las palabras ’aquí es tal cosa’, ’aquí la otra’ (...) ¿Cómo se pueden adivinar a los nueve años tantas pasiones para pintarlas, tantos fenómenos naturales para contrahacerlos con la música? ¿Dónde aprendió a conocer el corazón humano?”(author’s translation).

17 Millinowski, By the Grace of God, 31-33.
beyond merely preoccupying herself with technique, and guided her in choosing repertoire.\textsuperscript{18}

Carreño’s father was initially opposed to having her daughter perform public concerts, in spite of his friends’ advice. However, the situation changed when the family’s wealth manager suddenly died, and most of their assets were stolen, leaving the family in a sudden financial crisis, and leaving the young Carreño as the only possible source of income. Therefore, after a well thought-out advertising strategy designed by her father, Carreño gave her American debut on November 25\textsuperscript{th} 1862 at the Irving Hall in New York. The program included her own \textit{Gottschalk Waltz Op. 1}, Thalberg’s \textit{La Grande Fantasie} on Rossini’s Opera \textit{Moses}, Hummel’s \textit{Rondo Brillant} for Piano and Orchestra, and Gottschalk’s \textit{Grand Fantasie Triumpale}.\textsuperscript{19} The concert was highly successful, immediately resulting in five more concerts during the following three weeks\textsuperscript{20}. Shortly thereafter, \textit{Gottschalk Waltz} was published, and the first three editions were sold out.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, at the age of 10, she was already known as a famous wunderkind and an accomplished composer.

More concerts followed in Boston, Providence, Cambridge, New Haven and Salem, with numerous positive reviews in various newspapers. After one of these concerts Carreño received a medal as Honorary Member of Boston’s Philharmonic Society.\textsuperscript{22} Her schedule was quickly filled with concerts and societal engagements, and Carreño’s decided to keep

\begin{footnotes}
\item[19] See Appendix 1 for this concert’s program.
\item[21] Marciano, Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga, 42.
\item[22] Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 5
\end{footnotes}
her from having any public appearances between 1864 and 1865, in order to protect their child’s physical and mental health. Nevertheless, her fame led to an invitation to the White House by the current president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Carreño herself related later an anecdote about her encounter with the President. Later, in 1866, she went on a concert tour to Cuba, after Gottschalk sent an open recommendation letter in her behalf, addressed to the Cuban audience.

2.3 Moving to Paris – Liszt, Rossini and Rubinstein

Later that same year, when Carreño was 13 years old, her father took her to Europe for a concert tour, which began at the Salle Erard in Paris, where they were received by Sébastien Erard himself. There she became acquainted with such figures as Franz Liszt, Camille Saint-Saëns, Gioacchino Rossini, Charles Gounod and Héctor Berlioz. She also met Liszt’s daughter, Blandine Ollivier (Cosima Wagner’s sister) who took lessons from Carreño, in spite of being six years her senior. Blandine gave Carreño the opportunity of playing in her salon, through which she met even more people from the Parisian political, artistic and cultural scene, including the publisher Jacques Heugel.

Liszt suggested to her father that he take Teresa to Rome and supervise her education, but Mr. Carreño refused. He might not have trusted Liszt’s intentions, didn’t have enough money to afford the journey, or perhaps simply wasn’t convinced that Liszt

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23 Millinowski, By the Grace of God, 64.
24 See Appendix N. 2
25 See Appendix N. 3
would provide her with regular and methodic instruction. Years later, Carreño gave an account of her meeting with Liszt.

Rossini also discovered that Carreño had a pleasing mezzo soprano voice. He gave her voice lessons and even encouraged her to think seriously of a career as a singer, with further encouragement by the famous soprano (and one of Carreño’s musical idols) Adelina Patti.

The Carreños stayed in Paris for eight years. Teresa auditioned at the Conservatoire de Paris, but was at a disadvantage as a foreigner. The purported reason for her rejection was that her level was already more advanced than the standard level expected for graduation. Nevertheless, she received piano lessons from Georges Mathis (a former Chopin’s pupil), who taught her the Polish composer’s work in such a way that Chopin became her favorite composer; she also received harmony and counterpoint lessons from François Bazin. Both of these teachers taught at the Conservatoire.

In September of 1866 Carreño’s mother unexpectedly died, which greatly impacted Teresa’s life as well as her father’s. Mr. Carreño redoubled his efforts in promoting his daughter’s career, while sympathy as a result of the tragedy also made her more welcome in the Parisian concert halls.

Further concert tours took the Carreños to London, where she performed in the Hanover Square Rooms in July 1868. Anton Rubinstein was in the audience and came to

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27 Millinowski, *By the Grace of God*, 70.
28 See Appendix N. 4
29 Ibid., 82.
31 Millinowski, *By the Grace of God*, 76-77.
meet her immediately after the concert. This resulted in a lasting friendship between the two pianists; according to Carreño, he was her second biggest influence, next to Gottschalk. Rubinstein didn’t officially give her piano lessons, but he was always willing to listen to her and offer advice.\textsuperscript{32} At this point in her life, although she displayed nearly flawless technical prowess, impressive memory and natural musicality, these qualities were adapted to the rather shallow and sterile musical taste of the time. Considering that Rubinstein came from a much more strict schooling tradition, his influence was fundamental in her further development into a more serious artist.\textsuperscript{33}

Carreño was also in demand as a collaborator in chamber ensembles and group concerts consisting of various instrumentalists as well as vocalists. These concerts were preferred by musical impresarios, since they were more popular and profitable than solo recitals. One of these impresarios was Maurice Strakosch, and his management took Carreño on tours to the Netherlands, France and Switzerland during 1868. She also worked with the Mapleson Operatic Concert Tours, with whom she made her operatic debut in 1872 as Marguerite in Meyerbeer’s opera \textit{Les Hughenots}.\textsuperscript{34} During this time she continued to compose, and her works were published by Heugel.\textsuperscript{35}

That same year, Strakosch took her and a group of musicians – including the French violinist Emile Sauret – on a concert tour to the United States. During this tour she fell in love with Sauret, marrying him upon their return to London on July 13, 1873. Shortly thereafter, in March 1874, their first daughter was born. Carreño’s father had been against

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 86-87.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 26-27
\textsuperscript{34} Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 8.
\textsuperscript{35} Millinowski, \textit{By the Grace of God}, 100.
this marriage, and the situation may have precipitated his death five months later, for which she was greatly affected with guilt.\textsuperscript{36}

In 1875, Carreño traveled again to the United States on a concert tour, and this can be considered the beginning of a new phase in her life.

2.4 Back to the United States - MacDowell

Besides playing the piano during this concert tour, she also was very active as a mezzosoprano, substituting for singers in various concerts. During this time, her marriage to Sauret started disintegrating, and as the concert tour ended they separated and she left for New York.\textsuperscript{37}

Soon thereafter she decided to move to Boston to make a fresh start, and this was her most active period as a singer. Perhaps her most important appearance was as Zerlina in Mozart’s opera \textit{Don Giovanni} at the Academy of Music of New York, and the following critic reveals her talent as a vocalist:

\begin{quote}
The debutante of the evening, the beautiful Mme. Carreño-Sauret, in the part of Zerlina acted with grace and spirit (...) showing herself possessor of a clear, rich, telling voice which seems to promise a career.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

Nevertheless, she felt that although her voice was powerful, it would not reach the kind of perfection, effortlessness and naturalness that her piano playing had. Following an

\textsuperscript{36} Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 8.

\textsuperscript{37} Millinowski, \textit{By the Grace of God}, 116-117.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 120.
engagement from Mr. Weber, owner of the Weber Piano Company, as the company’s representative (which lasted 14 years), she decided to move back to New York in 1876.39

It was then that she met the MacDowell family, with whom she became lifelong friends. The family’s son, Edward, received piano lessons from Carreño and went to become an acclaimed pianist and composer, and he always attributed part of his success to her. He would send her his compositions for advice, and she would often include them in her concert programs. This undoubtedly helped spread MacDowell’s fame, particularly in Europe. The most notorious token of his appreciation towards Carreño can be found in his dedication of his Piano Concerto No. 2 in D minor to her, which she premiered in Germany.40

In 1876 she married the Italian baritone Giovanni Tagliapietra, whom she met during her appearances as a singer in Boston. This marriage lasted six years and resulted in three children, one of whom died shortly after birth. During this time, Carreño founded the Carreño Concert Company and the Carreño-Donaldi Operatic Gem Company, the latter together with the Italian prima donna Emma Donaldi, playing various concerts throughout the United States as a soloist as well as an accompanist.41

In 1885 she received a personal invitation from the President of Venezuela to give a series of concerts. These were so successful that she was conferred with various distinctions and honors. She was also entrusted with the conceptualization of a Conservatory for Music and Theater, a project that was never fulfilled. However, a year

39 Ibid., 121.
41 Millinowski, By the Grace of God, 130-131.
later, she received an offer to direct an opera company in Caracas. For this project, Carreño and her husband recruited artists and personnel from the United States and Europe. In spite of its original success, the project eventually became a financial catastrophe, partly due to the surging political discontent and subsequent unrest against Venezuela’s president, who was the main backer of Carreño’s enterprise. Thus, in 1887, Carreño moved back to New York, where she and her husband separated.

She played many concerts with the Redpath Lyceum Circuit Company, with the following comment from the newspapers:

Her huge popularity makes her an educator of the audiences, and it has been calculated that she has done over 150 performances per year, which amounts to 1650 concerts in eleven years.42

2.5 **Berlin Debut – D’Albert**

The father of one of her students urged her to return to Europe and reestablish herself there as an artist, and gave her a loan with which she moved to Germany. There she was helped by an old acquaintance, the famous conductor Hans von Bülow, who said she was “the most interesting pianoforte player of the present age.”43

Berlin had become one of the most culturally prominent cities in Europe, so she contacted the city’s most influential impresario, Hermann Wolf, who helped her organize her debut in November of 1889 and became her agent for the rest of her life. The audiences

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42 Rojo, *Teresa Carreño*, 69. Original quote: “Su gran popularidad hace de ella una educadora del público, se calcula haber alcanzado un promedio de más de 150 conciertos por año, lo que suma alrededor de 1650 conciertos en once años.” (author’s translation).

marveled at her endurance and daring individuality, albeit not without reservation about her erratic tempi and the extremes in her playing that went beyond tradition. Nevertheless, she earned the epithets of “lioness of the keyboard” and “Brünnhilde, the Walküre”, this last one accompanying her through the rest of her life.44

In the following years she gave various concerts throughout Germany, Europe and Russia. She played Edward Grieg’s Piano Concerto op. 16 in Leipzig, with the composer present in the audience. Grieg’s correspondence with his agent demonstrates that the composer preferred Carreño as a soloist for his Concerto, but he was also critical of some of her playing, as can be seen in one of his letters:

In the first part of the concerto she [Carreño] decided to play slower in the brilliant passages, thus disrupting the flow, and in the Finale she suddenly decided to take the second theme much slower (...) There should be punishment for things like that. And the worst part of it was that she bragged about doing it. 45

However, Carreño and Grieg became good friends, and reportedly he told her, after one of her performances, that he was not aware that his concerto could sound so beautiful.46

In 1891 she met again with Anton Rubinstein, after a 20-year hiatus. That same year, she met perhaps the most famous German pianist of the time, Eugene D’Albert, who was also managed by Hermann Wolff. They married the following year, in spite of his being 11 years younger. Under his influence, she expanded her repertoire, somewhat

44 Millinowski, By the Grace of God, 191-194.
abandoning the flashy Salon music that was an extensive part of her concert programs. Her tone took subtler shades and she studied to find deeper values in music.\textsuperscript{47}

D’Albert fathered two of Carreño’s daughters, and the family moved to a house in Coswig/Saxony, which was named \textit{Villa Teresa}. Here they lived until 1894, when they separated.\textsuperscript{48} Nowadays, the \textit{Teresa Carreño Gesellschaft} (society) is located in this house, which also serves as a concert hall.

\section*{2.6 Final Years – Moving back to USA}

The following years up to 1900 were filled with concerts in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia and the USA. Carreño played an average of 80 concerts per season and became a Steinway & Sons artist. Simultaneously, she established herself as a sought after teacher, and also wrote her Quartet for Strings.\textsuperscript{49}

In 1901 Arturo Tagliapietra, her former brother-in-law, came to Germany to work as her secretary. A year later, they married and, although many of her friends and relatives strongly disagreed about her marrying again at the age of 49, this became the happiest of her marriages, lasting until her death.\textsuperscript{50}

In the following years, she recorded rolls for the Piano Player companies Welte-Mignon, Ampico and Duo Art. In 1912 she celebrated 50 years as an artist, with more than two hundred friends attending the celebration in Berlin. However, in 1914 she decided once more to move with her whole family back to the United States, since the outbreak of World

\textsuperscript{47} Millinowski, \textit{By the Grace of God}, 222.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 218-233.

\textsuperscript{49} Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 15.

\textsuperscript{50} Millinowski, \textit{By the Grace of God}, 287-288.
War I led to political suspicions of her family.\textsuperscript{51} During this time Carreño began working on her book “Possibilities of Tone Color by Artistic Use of the Pedals”, which she wasn’t able to finish before her death. She had to suspend her last concerts in New York due to problems with her eyesight, which developed into paralysis of the optic nerve, leading to her death on June 12, 1917.\textsuperscript{52}

Her remains were returned in 1938 to her homeland Venezuela, where she is remembered until today as one of the greatest artists who ever lived.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{51} Millinowski, \textit{By the Grace of God}, 353-355.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 383.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 387-389.
CHAPTER 3. TERESA CARREÑO AS A PIANIST

3.1 Piano Playing in the 19th Century

The onset of the industrial revolution in the 19th Century had many positive consequences for the piano. Advancements in manufacturing processes greatly impacted the production of instruments, making them more accessible to a much larger number of people, who could now afford a piano and learn how to play it. The world’s fair became a stage where piano manufacturers competed with each other, which brought many improvements to the mechanics of the instrument and expanded its range.

Furthermore, piano manufacturers started forming relationships with performers in order to promote sales. This, in turn, fostered the development of the piano recital, with companies like Pleyel and Erard opening concert halls with the express purpose of showcasing their instruments being played by the best performers of the time, since, until then, pianists had performed in multipurpose spaces like churches and theaters. Memorable is a performance in 1837 organized by the Italian princess Christina Belgiojoso, inviting patrons, for a fee, to listen to a simultaneous concert by two of the largest rivals of the musical world of the time: Liszt and Thalberg.54

At the same time, the development of music publishing had a great impact in piano playing. There was no way for people to listen to music at home other than playing it themselves, which led to transcriptions (from operas, choral works, songs, sacred and secular music, dances, and so forth) being composed and published for this purpose.

All of these circumstances had a great impact on piano playing in general. The more renowned a pianist was, the better venues were available to him/her. Furthermore, writing and performing own transcriptions could result in potential publishing deals and additional income. Pianists now endeavored to become famous for their feats: the fastest scales, the most impressive octaves, and so forth. This brought upon a new aesthetic that valued virtuosity above everything else, and where interpretative liberties were encouraged. In other words, the performers became more important than the composers and compositions being played.

It is also relevant to briefly discuss the role of women as performers at the time. Even though piano lessons were an important part of a woman’s education, there was great prejudice against their becoming professional performers, and they participated in music-making mostly as amateurs. Carreño fought against this stereotype, including several of the biggest staple virtuoso works in her repertory, including Tchaikovsky’s and Grieg’s piano concertos, something which was not always well received. For example, Ignace Paderewski reportedly said that she was perhaps too strong for a female pianist.

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3.2 Critics and Reviews

There is a large amount of written criticism about Carreño’s concerts from the newspapers and magazines of the time, which provide a good picture on how her playing was and the effect it had on the audiences. The most frequent comments describe her masculine power when playing loud chords and octaves, and the delicacy and grace of her soft passages. The poetic and expressive quality of her playing could be traced back to Gottschalk and Matthias, and the bravura element to Rubinstein, all of whom were her teachers.

The following review appeared in the Gazette Musicale regarding a Carreño concert:

(…) regarding the fantasies that she played afterwards, it would be hard to imagine there could be a more powerful touch, or a clearer articulation.57

An article from the newspaper L’Entre’Acte about a concert Carreño gave for Princess Mathilde, the cousin of Napoleon III, states:

Last Sunday, in Princess Mathilde’s Hall, Miss Teresa Carreño, a young south American pianist, achieved an enthusiastic success. She was presented by Monsieur Gounod. It would be be impossible to couple more grace and delicacy to such stupendous precision and vigorous interpretation.58

57 Rojo, Teresa Carreño, 36. Original quote: “En cuanto a las fantasías que luego toca, sería difícil imaginar un tono más poderoso o una articulación más clara.” (author’s translation).
58 Ibid., 39. Original quote: “El domingo pasado, en el salón de la Princesa Mathilde, la señorita Teresa Carreño, una joven pianista hispano-americana, logró un éxito entusiasta. Fue presentada por Monsieur Gounod. Resultaría imposible acoplar mayor gracias y delicadeza a tan estupenda precisión, y a una interpretación vigorosa.” (author’s translation).
Carreño was also greatly renowned for her technique, as the *Allgemeine Zeitung* informed:

A perfect technique, complete and dazzling, with the power of two pianists, and with a deeply rooted sense of rhythm; Frau Carreño adds spiritual liberty to the independency of her interpretation, which places her far above ordinary pianists, into the kingdom of true art.\(^\text{59}\)

She was also known for her flawless performances of works like Liszt’s Sixth Hungarian Rhapsody, which a young Rachmaninoff witnessed in one of her concerts, and which he said he would never forget (she also played Grieg’s Piano Concerto in that concert, another of her championed works).\(^\text{60}\)

Not everyone agreed with her temperamental and energetic playing, and some negative criticism can also be found, as in the *Musical Times*:

Mendelssohn’s B minor Rondo was tempestuously approached by Madame Carreño with a brilliancy and energy that appealed more to the common public than to the few musically educated ones.\(^\text{61}\)

Bela Bartók also attended one of her concerts, and related the following to his mother:

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\(^\text{59}\) Rojo, *Teresa Carreño*, 75. Original quote: “Una perfecta técnica, completa y deslumbrante, con la fuerza de dos pianistas, y con un sentido del ritmo fuertemente arraigado en ella; Frau Carreño une a la libertad espiritual la independencia de interpretación, que la colocan muy por encima del simple pianista en el reino del verdadero arte” (author’s translation).


\(^\text{61}\) Rojo, *Teresa Carreño*, 44. Original quote: “El Rondó en si menor de Mendelssohn fue atacado tempestuosamente con una brillantez de ejecución y una energía por Mme. Carreño-Sauret que agradaron más al público grueso que a los pocos entendidos” (author’s translation).
Now I want to refer to the Carreño’s concert, of which I have lots to say. Her power and technique are grandiose, simply worthy of admiration, but her musical discourse less so.\(^{62}\)

German audiences seemed to have more difficulty accepting Carreño. Although they were still fascinated by her playing, they preferred a more controlled and disciplined style of playing, and in this regard she might have seemed to them somewhat tasteless. The following was written about one of her concerts in Berlin:

It is impossible to evaluate her. Even the most indifferent ones are pulled by the current(…) But from the German point of view, there would be a lot to change.\(^{63}\)

Carreño’s playing changed during the time that she spent together with D’Albert. He was considered by many as the greatest Beethoven interpreter of all time, characterized by his absolute clarity\(^{64}\). Her playing became more refined and controlled through his influence, which is reflected in the following review that appeared in the New York Times about her Carnegie Hall debut:

Her performance revealed a most excellent development of her technique, which is now far smoother and more certain that it used to be. Her tone is masculine in its breadth and power. Her dynamic range extends from a pianissimo, which is unaffected in that it does not try to be a whisper, to a thundering fortissimo, and her palette of colors is full of exquisite tints. (…) Her style is authoritative, dashing, brilliant, yet not without those points of fine repose without which there is no symmetry. Her rhythm is beautiful, and her tempo rubato judicious (…) The

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\(^{63}\) Ibid., 75

\(^{64}\) Marciano, *Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga*, 32-33.
pianist’s splendid temperament is now under the control of a trained will and the direction of a fine intelligence.\footnote{Music Lovers Pleased. New York Times, January 9, 1897.}

Towards the very end of her career, she lost some of the characteristic energy of her playing, most likely due to her illness, which in turn was in part the result of her non-stop concerting schedule. The following review describes her last concert in Carnegie Hall in 1916:

Mme. Teresa Carreño, for long years repeatedly a visitor to New York as an artist, reappeared here last evening in a pianoforte recital in Carnegie Hall for the first time in several seasons. She was warmly greeted by an audience not large in numbers, but highly appreciative of her playing. Time was when Mme. Carreño was considered a Valkyrie of the pianoforte; when tempestuous power was the distinguishing mark of her playing. It is no longer so; her art has mellowed and gained refinement in these later years.\footnote{Mme. Carreno Here After Long Absence. New York Times, October 28, 1916.}

3.3 The Welte-Mignon recordings

It is very fortunate that Carreño managed to record some works for the player piano – a nascent technology at the time. These recordings make it possible to have a glimpse into her manner of playing and they reveal some of her abilities. Although they are not sufficient to demonstrate the true scope of Carreño’s piano playing, they do offer insight into the interpretative aesthetics of the time.

Carreño recorded for the Welte-Mignon company in 1905. The rolls were re-recorded in 2004 by the Pierian Recording Society company, and released in CD format.
under the catalog number PIR0022. About the recording process, Kenneth Caswell (the recording engineer) had the following to say:

The recordings on this CD were made following Edwin Welte’s preferences (…). I have chosen not to computerize these recordings. They were made the ‘old fashioned’ way (…) over a period of several years, using the paper Welte Mignon reproducing rolls played on a very carefully restored 1923 Feurich Welte piano (…) I believe this recording method (direct from the Welte roll played on a Welte piano) to be the best way to achieve accurate reproductions of each artist’s playing (…)

It is important to note that Carreño was very satisfied with the quality of the recordings. In her own words:

The ‘Welte-Mignon’ has played over to me Liszt’s Sixth Rhapsody, which I played for this wonderful instrument. The rendering was so exactly as I play it, that I should like to express once again my admiration for this incredible invention.

Fortunately, this Hungarian rhapsody is one of the pieces that was re-recorded, and thus the most interesting one to analyze. From the very beginning, her use of rubato, somewhat exaggerated at times, is very evident. Although the character is very powerful, the rhythms aren’t quite precise, and she often arpeggiates chords that only span an octave, so presumably it was a musical choice, rather than a technical necessity. In the small cadenza at the end of the first tempo giusto section, she repeats ad libitum a small section of the fast passage in the right hand, and the passage work itself is very impressive both in its speed and clarity. The presto section also seems somewhat unstable rhythmically and

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68 Ibid., 13.
the syncopations are not quite clear. The tempo for this section is proportionally a lot faster than what is heard nowadays (although piano rolls can be played at different speeds and the recorded tempo is not always an accurate representation), and therefore the staccatti are not as short as one would expect for this section’s character. In the following Andante section, she also takes some interpretative liberties, adding some fermatas throughout, as well as unwritten trills, and in the cadenza at the end of this section she once again repeats ad libitum a small section of the fast passage in the right hand.

But perhaps the most notorious aspect of this recording is the final allegro section with its repeated octaves. Carreño’s left hand seems quite irregular rhythmically, and at times the octaves in the right hand seem to barely keep up with the tempo, occasionally falling slightly behind, and having an inconsistent sound quality.

Considering that Rachmaninoff himself was thoroughly impressed with Carreño’s rendering of this Hungarian rhapsody, one might question of whether the (still rather new) piano player technology was not in fact perfected, and partially responsible for some of the rhythmical inaccuracies and unevenness. Even though Carreño herself seemed impressed with the fidelity of the recording, it must be noted that she had nothing as a basis of comparison, and indeed it must have seemed impressive at that time to have an instrument that could reproduce what a pianist had just played. Additionally, she was one of the first artists to record in this medium, and many of the pieces where being recorded for the first time in history.⁶⁹ These comments are only speculative and cannot be proved either way. Nevertheless, it can be said that, although Carreño’s rendition is extremely accurate, the

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octave passage work is less than impressive, specially when comparing it to a female virtuoso of the 20th century like Martha Argerich.

It isn’t in the scope of this dissertation to analyze each of the recorded works, but, in general, the same aspects are recurrent:

- remarkable note accuracy, with very few wrong notes throughout
- relative excessive use of *rubato* (for today’s standard practice) and irregular rhythms
- a technique that is definitely impressive at times, but occasionally inferior to that of today’s pianists in terms of evenness and consistency
- some very unusual phrasing choices, which results in an extremely personal and unique style of interpretation

In conclusion, Carreño’s recordings reaffirm that it traditional performance practice at the end of the 19th Century to take great interpretative liberties with the music. Whether the inconsistencies in her technique were related to problems of reproduction or not, the undeniable strength of her performance and her uniqueness as an artist are certainly capable of being measured. One cannot but wish that time travel would make it possible, so as to listen to her live performances, or even to have audiences of her time listen to one of today’s virtuosos. But even if it is impossible to do such a comparison in real life, it is undeniable that piano playing has undergone great changes in the last one hundred years.
CHAPTER 4. TERESA CARREÑO AS A COMPOSER

The entire output of Teresa Carreño as a composer encompasses 39 published works for piano, 6 additional works for piano without opus number, a string quartet, a serenade for string orchestra, 2 songs, a string quartet and a choral work. Most of these can be found at Vassar College’s Carreño collection.70

4.1 Influence of Salon Music in Carreño’s works

The Salon was a French cultural institution that consisted of a weekly social gathering at a private aristocratic house, where social, artistic and scientific questions where discussed, and which became popular from the early 18th Century into the late 19th Century.71 Similarly, in the early 19th Century the musical salon became an important venue for performances in a domestic context, rather than a concert hall or theater. These would consist mostly of solo performances and small chamber ensembles, and is sometimes considered to represent what court chamber music was in the 17th Century. The music was geared towards entertainment and consequently had a more lightweight character. The term Salon Music came to have a rather negative connotation, since its role was to please rather than to be profound.72

70 An entire list of her compositions can be seen on appendix n. 3.
Toward the middle of the 19th century, Salon Music also became a genre within piano music, consisting mostly of operatic transcriptions and societal dances. It also came to include poetic and programmatic works that tell a story or aim to create a specific atmosphere. The main objective of this kind of music was to get the audience’s admiration through various firework-like pianistic effects and exaggerated emotions, and Robert Schumann, amongst many others, heavily criticized this genre, dubbing it as Kitsch.73

It was within this environment that Carreño, as a little girl in a rich and influential family in Venezuela, started improvising her first melodies, which her father wrote down. Later, Gottschalk had an important influence in the development of her style. He had a distinguished and elegant personality, was aristocratic and as a young man was often compared to Chopin. However, he developed his own style, with an elegant harmony less intricate than Chopin’s. His works were often inspired by folklike themes from north and south America (similar to Liszt’s treatment of Hungarian and gypsy music), and the virtuosity of his salon music is finely conceived. His influence was decisive on Carreño, and her creative style would always be centered around virtuosity as well.74

Many of Carreño’s works were written in her early years. At that time, her style was relatively derivative, and some of her compositions imitate the style of music she was learning at the time. For example, her Fantasie-Valse Op. 39 La Fausse Note has a very similar name to Rubinstein’s C Major Etude Sur des notes fausses, and her Ballade Op. 15 clearly quotes Chopin’s Etude Op. 10 N. 10, as can be seen in Figure 4.1.

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74 Marciano, Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga, 43-45.
Other compositions are dedicated to places, personalities, or events that impressed her, as in her Esquisses Italiennes, Op. 33 and 34, or her Caprice Souvenir d’Écosse, Op. 38. After her father’s death, her compositions began to show more depth. Her first Elégie Op. 17 Plaînte has an underlying sentiment of pain and sadness that “reach the soul with its simplicity”\textsuperscript{75}. Rubinstein’s influence can be observed in her operatic transcriptions Reminiscences de Norma Op. 14 and Fantasie sur l’Africaine de Meyerbeer Op. 24, filled with brilliant scale runs of single and double notes, trills, big chordal spans and wide leaps in both hands, amongst other difficulties.\textsuperscript{76}

### 4.2 Carreño’s compositional style

Perhaps the most important element in Carreño’s compositional style is the brilliant character of her compositions. In most of her works, indications like Fortissimo, Accelerando, Agitato and Strepitoso abound. Contrastingly, however, there are compositions with a completely opposite character, with indications like Una Corda

\textsuperscript{75} Marciano, Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga, 46.

\textsuperscript{76} It must be said that Rubinstein was not just a composer of Salon Music, with an output that includes twelve operas, six symphonies, five piano concertos and also concertos for cello and violin.
together with *Con Sentimento, Legatissimo, Dolce ma ben sentito*, and so forth. But this stark contrast is, once more, a typical characteristic of Salon Music. Prominent in her music are very detailed indications on interpretation, dynamics, articulation, and pedaling.

As mentioned earlier, she utilized folkloric rhythms in her compositions, and her use of the complicated 5/8 meter of the Venezuelan dance *Merengue* is quite prominent. However, perhaps the dance she used the most throughout all her piano works is the Viennese Waltz. Her first published work, *Gottschalk Waltz*, sold out three editions within one year, while her *Teresita Waltzer* was acclaimed all over Europe and was immensely popular.

Her specific harmonic language is consistent throughout her output, with prevalent use of chromaticism and enharmonic transitions to modulate to various related and unrelated keys. Very noticeable is also her use of median relationships to connect contrasting sections. Regarding form, the majority of her works are character pieces in ABA’ form, with brilliant introductions and codas; she did not employ larger scaled structures such as Sonata-allegro form in any of her piano works.

In conclusion, it can be said that Carreño’s career as a composer was strongly curbed by her many engagements as a pianist (not unusual with composers that were pianists), so that her output is relatively limited and almost entirely consisting of piano pieces. According to Marco Gurman, there is not much stylistic evolution in Carreño’s piano compositions, and some of her best compositions were written at the age of 11.79

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Nevertheless, her works constitute a good representation of a style that was significant in the 19th Century, and as such comprises a part of music history which deserves to be explored.
CHAPTER 5. TERESA CARREÑO AS A PEDAGOGUE

In order to better understand a discussion of piano technique and its teaching during Carreño’s time, it is useful to briefly study its development in previous centuries.

5.1 The development of the pedagogy of keyboard instruments

In the period between the late Renaissance and the early Baroque there were several schools on playing keyboard instruments in Italy, France, England and Germany, but the first treatise on this subject came from Italy. Between 1593 and 1609, Girolano Diruta wrote a method on playing organ and clavichord entitled *Primo parte del Transilvano, dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, ad istumenti da penna*\(^{80}\), where he discusses the hand position, use of fingers and body posture that are required in order to play correctly and elegantly. According to his descriptions, the arm should lead the hand, although neither should be higher than the other, which could be achieved through the correct positioning of the wrist. The fingers should be slightly curved and the hand should be relaxed and light. For Diruta, the thumbs were not considered as adequate for playing.\(^{81}\)

\(^{80}\) Translates as *Conversations between Diruta and Transilvano on the true way of playing organ and clavichord*

\(^{81}\) John Love Norman, *A historical study of the changes in attitudes toward the teaching of piano technique from 1800 to the present time* (Michigan State University, 1968), 29-31.
Later, in 1717, the French cembalist François Couperin wrote his method on playing the Cembalo (L’art de toucher du clavecin). For him, the elbows, wrist and finger had to be at the same level, and the body should be in a calm position, without any grimacing showing on the face. Couperin also recommended the massaging of stiff fingers, and the practicing of trills to strengthen weak fingers. For him, the thumb was only to be used when playing large intervals.\(^82\)

It was Carl Phillipp Emanuel Bach who in 1753 published the most comprehensive resource on piano technique up to that date: Versuch über die Wahre Art Clavier zu spielen\(^83\). There he talks about three fundamental and interrelated principles: correct fingerings, correct ornamentation and correct playing. For him, technique and expression cannot be separated from each other.\(^84\)

Some years later, Daniel Gottlob Türk wrote the Klavierschule oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende.\(^85\) His most important contributions are about interpretative elements like expression, feeling and passion, as well as tempo and rhythmic precision, the last one being mentioned for the first time in a treatise.\(^86\)

\(^{82}\) Norman, *A historical study of the changes in attitudes toward the teaching of piano technique from 1800 to the present time*, 31-33.

\(^{83}\) Translates as *Essay on the True Way of Playing the Piano*.


\(^{85}\) Translates as *Piano Method or Instructions on Playing the Piano for Teachers and Students*.

\(^{86}\) Letnanova, *Piano Interpretation in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 66-68.
5.2 Development of piano methodology at the beginning of the 19th Century

As the piano developed, there was growing interest in exploring how to use it to its full potential. This can be observed primarily in the evolution of the writing styles of composers. Many of them were also performers primarily trying to showcase their own talents. In addition, the instruments themselves were rapidly evolving to adjust to the advanced requirements of a new repertoire: new mechanics for faster note repetition, bigger and more resistant strings, cast-iron resonance bodies and felt linings for a fuller and more refined sound, and the expansion of the instrument’s range in both directions.

The evolution of both instruments and literature allowed for new possibilities of sounds. This, in turn, required better and more precise teaching methods, in order for the students to learn a technique that encompassed these new possibilities. Therefore, more pianists began writing about their own ideas and strategies, which lead to several differentiated schools on how to play the piano. Thus, the Italian virtuoso Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) had the idea of placing a coin on his students’ wrists, in order to avoid its movement. The German pianist Johann Bernhard Logiers (1777-1846) invented the Chiroplast, a machine meant to guide the hands and fingers while playing the piano, “optimizing” the student’s hand and wrist position. Such famous contemporary pianists as Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849) and Johan Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), recommended the use of the Chiroplast.

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87 Norman, A historical study of the changes in attitudes toward the teaching of piano technique from 1800 to the present time, 1-3.
Carl Czerny (1791-1857), who was a disciple of Ludwig van Beethoven, was one of the most influential pianists/composers to occupy himself with the pedagogy of technique, writing over one thousand published piano studies in such collections as The Art of Finger Dexterity (opus 740) and The School of Velocity (opus 299). The main goal of these studies was to create specific exercises for a great variety of technical difficulties, developing the movements of the fingers until they became automatic.\textsuperscript{88}

As the concept of virtuosity became more popular towards the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century, pianists became famous for their specific technical feats. Ignaz Moscheles’ (1794–1870) specialty was fast repeated notes, while the bohemian pianist Alexander Dreyschock (1818 – 1869) impressed audiences with his fast octaves.\textsuperscript{89} Theodor Kullak (1818 – 1882) introduced his School of Octave Playing, following the principle of consistency and evenness in the hand’s up and down movements, by making it independent from the arm. Kullak also wrote a very extensive treaty on playing the piano titled \textit{Die Aesthetik des Klavierspiels}.\textsuperscript{90} In this book he sums the entire history and development of the keyboard instrument until his own time, reviews various books, documents and methods on keyboard instruments, describes the technical groundwork for piano playing, and also discusses various issues related to interpretation and style.\textsuperscript{91} One of the highlights

\begin{flushright}
88 Norman, \textit{A historical study of the changes in attitudes toward the teaching of piano technique from 1800 to the present time}, 125.
89 Ibid., 126-127.
90 Title translates as \textit{The Aesthetics of piano playing}.
91 Letnanova, \textit{Piano Interpretation in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries}, 141-143.
\end{flushright}
of this book are the exercises with tied-up hands, with the goal of training each finger’s attack individually.\footnote{Adolph Kullak, \textit{Die Ästhetik des Klavierspiels}. (Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt, 1922), 156.}

The Swiss pianist Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) was famous for playing a melody alternating between both hand’s thumbs, while playing arpeggios and fast passages with the other fingers. He wrote a series of opera aria arrangements as instructive pieces titled \textit{L’art du chant appliqué au piano}\footnote{Title translates as \textit{The Art of Singing Applied to the Piano}.}, where he describes how the upper arm, wrist and finger should all be flexible and supple, like the voice of a great singer. Thalberg cites eleven rules to enlighten pianists about how literally to “sing at the piano”, which was a new attitude towards technique, setting a goal that was not merely physical but also musical.\footnote{Neal Peres da Costa, \textit{Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing} (Oxford University Press, 2012), 53-54.}

Adolf Marx (1799 – 1866) founded the Berliner Musikschule together with Kullak, and he also encouraged fingers’ independence and individuality. However he opposed “attacking” the keys, stating that delicate passages require the keys to be touched with “the tenderest feeling”.\footnote{Adolf Bernhard Marx, \textit{Introduction to the interpretation of the Beethoven piano works}. (Chicago: Clayton F. Summy CO, 1895), 49.}

The polish pianist and composer Frederic Chopin (1810 – 1849) was himself a sought-after teacher and, although he didn’t write himself any books, much can be known about his teaching through his students, among whom Karol Mikuli (1819 - 1897) is perhaps the most notable. From him it is known that Chopin cared particularly about the suppleness and lightness of the wrists and arms (he often used the French word \textit{souplesse}),
as well as the right hand position. Next to this, the production of a good tone quality was the main focus in his teaching.\(^{96}\) This approach showed a deep connection between music and technique, to which his own Etudes Op. 10 and 25 attest, as opposed to the relatively mechanical exercises by Czerny, Kullak, Moscheles, Heller, Tausig, and Thalberg.

Franz Liszt (1811 – 1886) is considered by many to have been the greatest pianist of the 19\(^{th}\) Century. He also wrote purely mechanical exercises in his twelve volumes of *Technische Studien* (S. 146). However, his *Etudes d’exécution Trascendante* (S. 139) are truly an archetype of pianistic poetry accomplished through extremely complex technical elements. Whereas each of Chopin’s etudes do have a recognizable focus on specific technical aspects (arpeggios, thirds, sixths, octaves), Liszt’s etudes each feature a wide array of various technical difficulties that cannot be isolated.

It is known that Liszt instructed his students to avoid exaggerated and unnecessary movements when playing, and taught the unity of fingers, hands and arm all the way to the spine. However, it appears that Liszt rejected the methodical approach, or “Conservatorium Dogma”, and he says in one of his letters that he is “more disposed to turn away from than towards methods and pedagogics.”\(^{97}\)

### 5.3 Piano methodology at the end of the 19\(^{th}\) Century

One of the most popular methods at this time was Ludwig Stark’s and Sigmund Lebert’s *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Klavierschule*\(^{98}\), which became known as the

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\(^{96}\) Letnanova, *Piano Interpretation in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 104-115.

\(^{97}\) Arne Jo Steinberg, *Franz Liszt’s approach to Piano Playing* (University of Maryland, 1971), 145.

\(^{98}\) Title translates as *Grand Theoretical-practical Piano School*
Stuttgart Finger Technique. The basis of this school was the isolation of each finger’s motion, attempting to train each finger to be equally strong.\(^99\) The repetition and/or false execution of the various exercises supposedly designed to strengthen the fingers resulted in tension that often developed into strain of the joints and tendons.\(^{100}\)

It is in this context that the German pedagogue Rudolf Maria Breithaupt (1873 – 1945) wrote his book *Die Natürliche Klaviertechnik*, which was published in 1912. In this book, divided in 3 volumes, he spoke about relaxation of the muscles. This could only be achieved, according to him, through the use of the natural weight of the arm. This became known as *Gewichtstechnik*, which translates as *weight technique*. In his own words:

I will say it again, because it is the most important thing. One does not play with the fingers, but with weight. Fingers and Hands are nothing more than carriers of this weight, nothing more. Weight is everything!\(^{102}\)

Breithaupt admired Carreño and considered her use of arm weight to be ideal, dedicating his book to her. In the preface, he wrote following:

The idea of ‘moving mass as a function’ as a technique is the core derived from Carreño’s technique. Even without considering the pianistic-aesthetic benefits of this technique (completely round passagework, shimmering staccati, brazen octaves), her movements seemed to be the easiest, most effortless and natural that one could imagine. Here, the problem of technique was so effortlessly solved, that

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\(^{101}\) Title translates as *The Natural Piano Technique*.

the ‘secret’ of loosening and relaxing, never a secret to begin with, was obvious to anyone who could hear her tone quality and see her movements.\textsuperscript{103}

The English pianist Tobias Matthay (1858 – 1945) also wrote several books about this topic. He worked in the same direction as Breithaupt, mainly using weight as a sound generator, and with relaxation as a key element in avoiding stiff hands, arms and fingers. However, for him the fingers were still to remain active and work independently of each other, while always transferring the weight of the arm (or only of the hand, a difference with Breithaupt).\textsuperscript{104}

A big contrast to this methodology came from Elizabeth Caland. She was a student of Ludwig Deppe, a relatively unknown teacher who became relatively famous for his specialty in working with students who had suffered instrument-related injuries. He had the intention of publishing his own treatise on the subject, but was unable to. However, shortly before his death, he gave all his materials to Caland, who later published the books \textit{Die Deppesche Lehre des Klavierspiels} and \textit{Das Künstlerische Klavierspiel in seinen physiologischen – physikalischen Vorgängen nebst Versuch einer praktischen Anleitung zur Ausnützung seiner Kraftquellen}.\textsuperscript{105}


\textsuperscript{104} John Love Norman, \textit{A historical study of the changes in attitudes toward the teaching of piano technique from 1800 to the present time}, 139.

\textsuperscript{105} Titles translates as \textit{Deppe’s School of Piano Playing and Artistic piano playing in its physiologic-physical process, with an essay on practical guidance for the use of its energy sources}.
One of the main concepts in Caland’s writings is the “elastic fixation”. She argues that the muscles are always tense, regardless of the activity. Thus, she rejected the idea of playing the piano with completely relaxed and loose muscles, since the speed with which the fingers press the keys would not be controlled precisely, which would affect the tone quality. She advocated a controlled use of the muscle tension, according to the desired intensity. She was however careful to differentiate this from extreme tension in the muscles and joints. In order to avoid unnecessary muscular tension, Caland spoke of a metaphorical “purposeless playing”.

5.4 Carreño’s views on teaching piano

5.4.1 General considerations about technique

Although Carreño didn’t write any books specifically on technique, most of her principles, thoughts and ideas about teaching can be known through letters that she exchanged with her students while she was traveling, interviews that she gave throughout her life, and books and articles that her students wrote after her death.

She started to teach at a very early age. In 1868, in the Parisian newspaper Menestrel, Manuel Antonio and Teresa Carreño offer piano instruction. Her students in Paris at that time were at a low level and had no intention of becoming concert pianists.

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107 Ibid., 25. The original term is Absichtslose Spiel, and there is no literal equivalent in English.
108 Marciano, Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga, 53.
109 Millinowski, By the Grace of God, 93-94.
At this time, Carreño taught according to the methods she had learnt from her father: imitation and repetition. In an interview, she related the following:

At six and a half I began to study seriously, so that when I was nine I was playing such pieces as Chopin's Ballade in A flat. (...) He [her father] was passionately fond of music (...) He developed a wonderful system for teaching the piano, and the work he did with me I now do with my pupils. For one thing he invented a series of stretching and gymnastic exercises which are splendid; they did wonders for me, and I use them constantly in my teaching. But, like everything else, they must be done in the right way, or they are not beneficial.  

Her father wrote 580 technical exercises, some of which were passages taken out of major works. If the original passages were only for one hand, he arranged them for both hands, so that each would do an equal amount of work - Carreño said later in her life that she felt no difference between her hands. She had to work through all these exercises in a span of three days, playing them in all keys, using various types of touch, articulation and dynamics, and spent an entire year dedicated solely to building technique. Later, she expressed her gratitude towards her father for helping her build such a solid technique:

In these days we hear of so many 'short cuts,' so many new methods, mechanical and otherwise, of studying the piano; but I fail to see that they arrive at the goal any quicker, or make any more thorough musicians than those who come by the royal road of intelligent, well-directed hard work.

Accordingly, her students had to dedicate several weeks at the beginning of their studies solely to technical development. They would practice all major and minor scales in

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111 Ibid., 164.
all possible combinations of staccato and legato, crescendo and decrescendo. To this Carreño added some of the exercises from her father’s compendium. After these first weeks of training, they would start working on repertoire. Carreño would also have them learn etudes, using the following chronology: first Bertini, then Czerny, Cramer, Clementi, Heller and Henselt, and finally Chopin.\textsuperscript{112}

Carreño would also work intensively with her students on the meaning and intention of the music they played, and their own critical listening:

Part of my training consisted in being shown how to criticize myself. I learned to listen, to be critical, and to judge my own work; for if it was not up to the mark I must see what the matter was and correct it myself. The earlier this can be learned the better. I attribute much of my subsequent success to this ability.\textsuperscript{113}

Her approach to each student was individualized, based on their specific abilities and shortcomings. Carreño often compared a teacher to a doctor:

A pupil should come to a teacher to show his weaknesses, not his advantages. Then the teacher can properly prescribe for him.\textsuperscript{114}

She considered each student’s hand to offer different possibilities. Additionally, the intellectual capacity varied greatly between students, and thus she aimed to conserve and cultivate their individuality, which required her to adapt herself as a teacher with each case.

\textsuperscript{112} Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 45.
\textsuperscript{113} Brower, Piano Mastery. Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers, 162.
\textsuperscript{114} Yetta Dorothea Geffen, “Wisdom and Wit from the lips of Teresa Carreño”. Musical Courier 8 (March 1917), 37.
She didn’t want to be simply imitated, and expected each student’s originality and personality to come through.\textsuperscript{115}

According to her, anyone could generate noise at the instrument, but what she wanted from her students is to make the piano “talk”. To reach this goal, she could show them the path, but they would have to walk it themselves.\textsuperscript{116}

Further development as a pianist was certainly dependent on having adequate practice strategies. She warned about too much practicing, and preferred shorter practice sessions with short pauses in between; she would also recommend a short stroll to get some fresh air. In her own words:

For the development of a great talent, it is essential always to exercise restraint, for after all, it is the quality of the work and not the quantity that counts.\textsuperscript{117}

\section*{5.4.2 Relaxation, free fall and arm’s weight technique}

As a pianist, Carreño’s foremost principle was relaxation, and this is what she sought to inculcate in her students. As mentioned in section 3.3, current methods like the \textit{Stuttgart Finger Technique} would attempt to isolate each finger to train the motions, but this kind of training would often lead to hand positions with very low wrists, which eventually caused tension in the hands and forearms, as well as producing a percussive sound. Therefore, Carreño always emphasized that a beautiful sound rich with colors was only possible through a relaxed arm, instead of “fingers coming down upon the keys like

\textsuperscript{115}Marciano, \textit{Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga}, 57.
\textsuperscript{116}Brower, \textit{Piano Mastery. Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers}, 163.
\textsuperscript{117}Albuquerque, “Teresa Carreño: Pianist, Teacher and Composer”, 47.
the triggers of an old-fashioned flint-lock gun, and a hand bobbing up and down like a butcher’s cleaver.”

For Carreño, true technique was inseparable from relaxation, and the “first object was to attain the musical end by the technical means that would offer the least resistance”, which, again, could only be achieved with a loose and relaxed arm. However, she was also quick to note that relaxation didn’t meant to limply sit at the piano, which was an often recurring misunderstanding:

You tell pupils to relax, and if they do not understand how and when they get nowhere. Relaxation does not mean to flop all over the piano; it means, rather, to loosen just where it is needed and nowhere else.

She also maintained that sometimes stiffness is necessary, the same way that some kinds of art require angularity, and it would be silly to play “the Schubert-Tausig Marche Militaire with a relaxed arm of a certain kind as it would be to play a dreamy Chopin nocturne”.

Therefore, she sought to maintain the utmost control over arms, wrist and fingers, staying as relaxed as possible while doing so. Such a controlled relaxation would result, according to Carreño, in a special quality of sound. Unfortunately, her exact approach towards this simultaneous kind of control and relaxation is unknown, partly owing to her individualized approach toward each student. However, as mentioned previously, Rudolf

119 Ibid., 369.
120 Brower, Piano Mastery. Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers, 164.
Maria Breithaupt, who considered her use of arm weight ideal, describes the arm’s weight technique as letting the arm hang from the shoulder so that it could oscillate freely, letting the shoulders carry the entire weight. According to Breithaupt “the origin of every attacking motion is the free centrifugal throw of the arm from the shoulder”.¹²³

5.4.3 Posture and movement

Carreño encouraged her students to sit relatively high at the keyboard, since she considered that sitting too low could cause stiff wrists. Breithaupt commented further on this, explaining that Carreño’s higher sitting position was categorically necessary for the shoulders to work properly without becoming raised and stiffened.¹²⁴

Regarding movement, she considered that freedom of movement was inseparable from economy of movement, and every gesture should have a musical intention. Furthermore, movements that were not organically integrated into the overall motion at any specific point would cause muscle groups to work isolated from each other, causing tension in the joints and leading to further unnecessary movements, creating a vicious circle.¹²⁵

5.4.4 Hand position

Carreño taught her students to adopt hand in a natural and simple hand position that would allow for the weight of the entire arm to be transferred to the fingertips. The wrist

¹²⁴ Ibid., 164.
¹²⁵ Marciano, Teresa Carreño, Compositora y Pedagoga, 42-43.
was to be kept completely motionless and only the fingers would move. According to her, this way the students could feel like they were “squeezing” the keys instead of vertically attacking them, which would produce the best possible sound from the instrument.¹²⁶

It may be that Carreño was only trying to avoid exaggerated motions of the wrist, but the description of holding it motionless so that only the fingers would move would be criticized by Elizabeth Caland, who wrote that the wrist should be supple and move in an arc-shape motion according to the intended phrasing, which would allow the fingers to also move freely¹²⁷.

5.4.5 Tone

Beyond every technical consideration, for Carreño the ultimate goal and the most important guideline was the sound. She compared the shades of tone quality to the different colors in an artist palette, and “the painter cannot always paint red, or green, or blue. He must have a palate full of colors”¹²⁸.

As mentioned in the previous section, she used the term “squeezing” of the keys, which was also later criticized by Caland, who instead used the German term bewussten Herausnehmen der Töne, which can be translated roughly as the conscious “extracting” or “pulling out” of the tone. With this terminology, Caland wished as well to avoid the fingers

attacking the keys, and spoke instead of a free fall of the fingers with an awareness of the fingertips.\textsuperscript{129}

5.4.6 Brilliance

Carreño maintained that the root of all brilliant piano playing lies in accuracy. For her, a lack in accuracy, or carelessness, was often confused by many musicians with abandon, which she defined as the unconsciousness of technical effort which only comes after years of practice. The fact that even the great virtuosos miss notes every now and then was not an excuse to be careless when playing. To correct this, she simply recommended to her students a great amount of slow practice, taking great pains in seeing that they were playing everything exactly as it should be before attempting to move on.\textsuperscript{130}

5.4.7 On music education

The topic of music education interested Carreño, and she was part of a group of musicians that discussed ways of giving students the best possible musical education.\textsuperscript{131}

Some of her views may be considered somewhat polemic. Specifically, she was against teaching music to every child, without any sort of selecting process. According to her, one could not expect every child to become a poet, painter or architect. Since musical instinct cannot be forced, children should not be required to study music. Instead, she was

\textsuperscript{129} Elisabeth Caland. \textit{Die Deppe'sche Lehre des Klavierspiels erklärt und erläutert von Elisabeth Caland} (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen Verlag, 5. Auflage, 1921), 44.

\textsuperscript{130} James Francis Cooke. \textit{A series of personal educational conferences with renowned masters of the keyboard, presenting the most modern ideas upon the subjects of technic, interpretation, style and expression} (Philadelphia: Theo Presser Co, 1913) 159-160.

\textsuperscript{131} Inés Meissner, \textit{Vida, Labor y Obra de la Pianista venezolana María Teresa Carreño} (Venezuela: Instituto Latinoamericano, 1989), 103.
of the opinion that it is relatively easy to detect and recognize the born musical talents of a child. Therefore, children should be surrounded by various artistic influences, so that their musical tendencies would reveal themselves. By listening to good music, a child’s affinity towards music would be aroused, which would reveal a musical instinct, but if the child would not react to it, then he/she should be left alone.\footnote{Rosario Marciano, Teresa Carreño (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1990), 54.} It must be clarified that, although nowadays it is considered normal for general music education to be a part of a school’s curriculum, in the 19th Century music lessons carried with them indeed the expectation of children becoming professional musicians.\footnote{Michael Roske. Sozialgeschichte des privaten Musiklehrers vom 17. zum 19. Jahrhundert (Forschung und Lehrer Band 22, Schott Verlag, 1985), 224-227.}

Furthermore, Carreño was against a music education system that interfered with and impaired the student’s individuality, and maintained that instruction should adapt to each student. For her, it was the teacher’s duty to conserve and foster such individuality. She pointed out that good intentions were not enough, and teachers had the obligation of immersing themselves in the psyche of their students, in order to establish the right expectations and give the right indications.\footnote{Cooke. A series of personal educational conferences with renowned masters of the keyboard, presenting the most modern ideas upon the subjects of technic, interpretation, style and expression, 153-155.}

Another important point for Carreño was that of a well-rounded education. According to her, in order to understand the beauty of music, one should also be able to appreciate the beauty in other forms of art. Thus, students should expose themselves to nature, history, architecture, science, machinery, sculpture, poetry and literature. Particularly important for her was the study of music history, in order to understand the
contexts and situations of the composers, which would help to understand their works better and find the most appropriate styles of interpretation.\textsuperscript{135}

Once a child prodigy herself, Carreño explained that many wunderkinder would disappear after having a short career because they had been exploited by their parents. According to her, parents were often too eager, proud, and lacking the patience to understand that physical development should go hand in hand with mental development, as nature requires.\textsuperscript{136}

5.4.8 Pedaling

More can be known first-hand about Carreño’s views on pedaling than any of the previous subjects, since she started working on a book about this topic. Even though she passed away before its completion, she managed to write seven full chapter which offer various points of particular interest, with observations that go beyond just pedaling and into interpretation and style.

The book was published in 1919, two years after her death. It was probably edited by Adelaide Okell, one of Carreño’s devoted pupils, who wrote the foreword.\textsuperscript{137} In 2003, the book was reprinted, together with Anton Rubinstein’s book on the same subject.

This new reprint includes a very short biography on Carreño, written by Brian Mann, where he mentions that it is unclear whether she was acquainted with other books

\textsuperscript{135} Cooke. \textit{A series of personal educational conferences with renowned masters of the keyboard, presenting the most modern ideas upon the subjects of technic, interpretation, style and expression}, 156-157.

\textsuperscript{136} Mario Milanca Guzmán. \textit{Quien fue Teresa Carreño} (Caracas: Alfadil Ediciones, 1990), 19-20.

written on the subject. Therefore, it would be relevant to briefly study the history of pedaling into the end of the 19th Century.

5.4.8.1 Piano pedaling in the 19th Century

Since the piano was still an evolving instrument, until 1850 it wasn’t uncommon for most German, Austrian and French instruments to have up to five pedals: the damper pedal, the una corda pedal, one or two moderators (which inserted a felt strip between the hammers and the strings) and a bassoon pedal (connected to a parchment roll that could sit on the strings and alter the timbre). In contrast, most English pianos since 1772 were built with just two pedals: damper and una corda, although in some cases the dampers of the low and high registers could be controlled independently thanks to two different sostenuto pedals. Therefore, until the beginning of the 19th century, the opinions on how to use the pedals were very diverse, subject to change, and depending on the location. However, there were three relatively general strategies for using the pedals: to imitate the sound of other instruments, to overcome the limitations of the piano (like its dryness, for example), and to produce specific effects and/or contrasts at strategic points in the music. Additionally, it was often considered that the natural state of the instrument was with the dampers raised.\footnote{David Rowland, \textit{A History of Pianoforte Pedaling} (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29-30.}

Around 1800, it became a mode in France to accentuate the effect of the damper pedal by pressing it in a tremolando manner. However, the French pianist Louis Adam (1758-1848) was opposed to the indiscriminate and exaggerated use of pedals just to achieve effects, which he described as “disguising a mediocre talent.” Nevertheless, he was also against the old rule of forbidding the use of pedal altogether (Carl Czerny had
suggested not to use any pedal in the works of Mozart and C.P.E. Bach), since it should still be used to hold melodies and harmonies when necessary. According to Friedrich Kalkbrenner, the Viennese school’s posture towards pedaling was almost non-existent, while Johann Nepomuk Hummel felt that sound effect devices like the bassoon pedal were completely useless.\(^{139}\)

Until 1820, it could be said that there were only three sources that included a more or less detailed chapter about pedaling – mostly focused on the damper pedal. These are: *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen* by Johann Peter Milchmeyer, *Méthode de piano du Conservatoire* by Louis Adam, and *Méthode de piano* by Daniel Steibelt. Milchmeyer gave a detailed list of possible effects to be achieved through pedaling: little bells, human voice, sunrise and sunset, Spanish guitar, and so forth. For Adam, the damper pedal’s main importance was in overcoming the inherent dryness of the instrument, by connecting bass lines (without allowing harmonies to mix). Steibelt’s contribution was the use of pedal in accompanying figures where the bass note has to be held.\(^{140}\)

In time, more authors began incorporating chapters on piano pedaling in their books, with an increasing amount of detail. For example, Louis Köhler’s book *Systematische Lehrmethode* (published in 1857) describes what happens when the pedal is pressed at the same time as the fingers press the keys:

\[(...) \text{ when the hammers reach the strings, these should be surrounded by a calm layer of air; this would however be disturbed by the lifting of the dampers, which}\]


\(^{140}\) Ibid., 42-48.
– with the hammer having just hit the strings – produces a somewhat distorted sound effect (specially when playing loud chords).  

This argument based on “layers of air” is followed by the explanation that the pedal should be pressed after the key has struck, or our current syncopated pedaling.

The first book devoted in its entirety to pedaling is Hans Schmitt’s “Das Pedal des Claviers”. This book is actually a textualization of four lectures that the author gave on this topic at the Vienna Conservatory of Music. He introduced an interesting notation for his examples, by adding a pedal line with note and rest values that indicate its use (see Figure 5.1 below).

![Figure 5.1 Pedaling notation with an added line](image)

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Another interesting novelty introduced by Schmitt is the use of the pedal to create sophisticated after-tone effects, taking advantage of overtone resonance by silently pressing chords and then changing the pedal.\textsuperscript{143}

Furthermore, he discusses the validity of pedaling indications given by composers, arguing that they often omit indications because they assumed the intelligence of the performer. Moreover, they were often not careful about the exact placing of the indications, since the notation itself is imprecise, and thus performers should not just follow blindly such indications.\textsuperscript{144}

Schmitt’s book is dedicated to Anton Rubinstein, who later also wrote his own book: “Guide to the proper use of the Pianoforte Pedals with examples out of the historical concerts of Anton Rubinstein” (reprinted together with Carreño’s book in 2003). Rubinstein asserts in the foreword that the importance of correct pedaling was not sufficiently stressed. Therefore he took it upon himself to define the pedaling principles used by great artists, (according to him, these principles had only been satisfactorily explained by Köhler and Schmitt).\textsuperscript{145}

Rubinstein’s book is essentially a list of 16 possible uses of the damper pedal, including numerous illustrated examples from the piano literature (many from Rubinstein’s own works), each example including the author’s recommended pedaling. Additionally, there is one short chapter dedicated to the use of the $\textit{una corda}$ pedal, mentioning three possible uses: to obtain a tender pianissimo of special color; to achieve great contrast

\begin{itemize}
  \item Schmitt, \textit{Das Pedal des Claviers: seine Beziehung zum Clavierspiel und Unterricht zur Composition und Akustik}, 51.
  \item Ibid., 105.
  \item Carreño and Rubinstein, \textit{The Art of Piano Pedaling: two classic guides}, 3.
\end{itemize}
between a main voice that is played *forte* and an accompanying voice that plays *piano*, and to play the closing notes of a phrase or movement.

Finally, it is interesting to quickly mention Albert Venino’s book “A Pedal Method for the Piano”, published in 1897. Of specific interest is a chapter dedicated to the use of the *sostenuto* pedal, where the author explains that this pedal will be relevant for pianists and composers of the future, since at the time it was only built on few instruments. Therefore, its use would be irrelevant for most of the existing literature, although he did give some examples where it could potentially be used, as in the beginning of Saint Säenz’s second piano concerto in G minor.\(^{146}\)

### 5.4.8.2 Carreño’s Book: Possibilities of Tone Color by Artistic Use of Pedals

The book comprises eight chapters, although the last chapter only contains a few lines, since, as mentioned previously, Carreño passed away before completing it.

The first chapter, entitled *General Observations on the Mechanism and Action of the Pedals*, begins with the statement that the chief purpose of the pedals is to produce tone effects. Carreño employs the terminology of right and left pedals, and after a short explanation of their use (the right one amplifies the resonance of the strings, and the left one muffles the sound), she proceeds to talk about the most common general misuses:

- Using the right pedal as an exclusive means for playing *fortissimo*. According to Carreño, this is one of the greatest dangers, because not taking into account the harmonic combinations and the relationship between chords results in a confusion of tones that ruins even great piano playing.

• Correspondingly, using the left pedal automatically when playing pianissimo. She states that although no confusion of tone can arise by its overuse, it would still be detrimental to the artistic and pianistic effect, because it “thins” the quality of the sound.

• Pressing the right pedal to hide memory failures and/or technical problems. Carreño advocates the opposite strategy: since the right pedal amplifies the sound, then it would also amplify the mistakes, and therefore it should be used less when said problems occur.

It could be argued that the most common use of the right pedal is to hold notes or chords that could not be held with the fingers, but Carreño does not mention this. Instead, she reiterates that the most important factor in its use is the musical meaning of the piece, and its main goal is to enhance the beauty of tone.

The second chapter, entitled The use of the Right Pedal in chords, begins by asserting the importance of legato playing. According to Carreño, legato should be produced with the fingers, hands and arms, and the pedal should only be used as an aid. With chords that must be played legato, the pedal does have a very important role, but it should be used with great care to avoid blurring or confusion of sound. Two examples of the same chord progression, but in different tempi, show Carreño’s different pedaling strategies, as can be seen in Figure 5.2 below. In the left example, the pedal changes with the harmony, whereas in the allegro example, only the chords belonging to C Major are pedaled. For this second example, Carreño adds that the fingers should stay as close to the keys as possible when moving between chords, in order to achieve a better legato.
Carreño also recommends that both feet should be in contact with the pedals at all times. However, using the *ff* chords at the beginning of Tchaikovsky’s Piano Concerto No. 1 in B flat major as an example, she explains that the upper part of the body needs to move from left to right following the movement of the chords, therefore requiring the left foot to leave the left pedal and be placed on the floor, helping the performer keep his/her balance, which would allow for the large tone effect required by that specific passage. But it seems that she exaggerates when she states that not doing so could result in the player falling from the bench.

In this chapter, Carreño also explained the importance of exact timing with pedaling, arguing that if the pressure on the pedal does not happen almost simultaneously with the striking of the chord, then a faint repetition of the chord occurs, due to the vibration of all the other strings. Even if this effect is very faint, Carreño feels that it would disturb the tonal effect.

The last part of this chapter is dedicated to chords that carry a melody. Once again, Carreño insisted that it is up to the fingers that play the notes of the melody to hold the keys down as long as possible. Therefore, in this cases, choosing the correct fingering was

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paramount to Carreño, and she presented the example that can be seen in Figure 5.3. She further discussed fingerling, explaining that optimal choices can vary between performers, since each hand has its own nature and form. Therefore, she spoke against old rules, like the one forbidding the use of the thumb on black keys.

![Figure 5.3 Suggested fingering and pedaling for the second theme of Brahms’ Piano Concerto Op. 15 N. 1 in D minor (first movement) 148](image)

The third chapter is entitled *The Pedal and its Use in Phrasing*. Once more, Carreño addressed the augmentation of tone that automatically happens when the strings vibrate freely after pressing the right pedal, explaining that this must agree with the phrase. In passages where the phrasing is different for each hand, the pedal should follow the chords where the tonality is most clearly represented, according to Carreño. If there are dissonances in one hand, while the other hand holds chords, she asks for the holding hand to act as a pedal while the right pedal is changed, always striving to avoid blurring of harmonies and confusion of sound.

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Additionally, she explains that the pedal can be used to help accentuate chords where the composer asked for emphasis, and/or to enhance phrase’s rhythmical character, whereas chords of weaker character should be played without pedal.

In this chapter, Carreño also addresses *staccato* chords and their pedaling, which, according to her, would depend on the desired character. If there is an orchestral intention, then the required warmth and volume can be better achieved using the pedal, whereas if the *staccato* requires a sudden break in the sound, then there should be no pedal.

The next chapter is entitled *The Action and Effect of the Pedal on Rests of Pauses.* Using the cadenza at the re-exposition in Beethoven’s Piano Concerto Op. 73 N. 5 in E Flat Major as an example of music with a triumphant character, she explained that the required volume and tone imply that the pedal must be kept pressed during the entire duration of the passage, even after the rest that follows the last chord (marked with the letter D in Figure 5.4).

![Figure 5.4 Pedaling in the re-exposition of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto Op. 73 N. 5 in E Flat Major (first movement)](image)

The same applies, according to Carreño, to passages that lead to or are themselves a climax. Even if there are rests written in between the chords, these should not be articulated by lifting the pedal, as the effect would be lost.

In the fifth chapter, entitled *The Action of the Pedal in Extended Chords*, Carreño addresses the problem that commonly arises when playing chords that have an interval larger than a tenth between the lowest and the highest note (this is, according to her, the largest interval that the average hand can play). In this cases, either the lowest note cannot be held by the pedal, or the chords cannot be sustained in their entire written duration, since the pedal has to be changed somewhat earlier in order to catch the lowest note of the next chord.

In these cases, Carreño asserts that such chords with large intervals have to be arpeggiated. The root of the harmony (usually in the lowest note of the chord) represents said harmony, and thus should be held during the entire written duration of the chord.

Another situation occurs when these large chords also have melodic importance, whether in the upper or lower notes. Again, she indicated that the pedaling must sustain the root notes of the harmonies for their entire duration.

Chapter six follows, *The Management of the Pedals in Passages of Thirds*, is a very short chapter, only indicating that thirds generally have a melodic significance, and pedaling should be managed the same way as with chords: following the harmonies that usually are in the left hand.

In the seventh chapter, *The Different Degrees in Pressing the Right Pedal*, Carreño explains that the pedal can be pressed just enough to slightly lift the dampers, which helps in achieving a slurring effect in passages with runs or chords, without blurring the sound.
Carreño defines four degrees of pedal depth. For example, in fast passages with chords that follow each other in fast tempo and with changing harmonies, the pedal should be pressed one fourth of the way down. Moreover, if the passage has a crescendo dynamic, gradually pressing the pedal further would add to the variety of tone color by increasing the resonance of the piano as the volume increases. Similarly, with slow phrases that end in a fermata, slowly releasing the pedal, while holding the keys with the fingers, would create an added diminuendo effect as the strings are progressively damped. As an example, Carreño uses the beginning of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata Op. 31 N. 2 in D minor. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, between letters A and B, and between C and D, the right pedal is slowly depressed.

**Figure 5.5** Pedaling at the beginning of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 51 N. 2 in D minor (first movement)\(^{150}\)

Carreño also mentions that this pedaling effects would only work when playing in the middle register of the piano.

\(^{150}\) Carreño and Rubinstein, *The Art of Piano Pedaling: two classic guides*, 76.
Finally, the last chapter is entitled *The Use of the Pedal in Chord Passages, Chromatic and Otherwise*. Unfortunately, this chapter only contains a few lines where Carreño talked about trying to avoid blurring and confusion by pressing and releasing the pedal as often as necessary with the chromatically changing tones.

In conclusion, it can be said that Carreño’s book contains interesting viewpoints on pedaling, but many of her indications and strategies apply to very specific cases, and it would require a very large book, or even several books, to attempt to address every possible case. Even if this book was left unfinished due to her untimely death, it can be inferred from her approach that it was not her intention to cover every possible situation, but only to present some general ideas and thoughts, some more subtle than others. Out of all her ideas, the one that resonates through the entire book is that the main purpose of pedaling is to achieve tonal and color effects.
CONCLUSION

Teresa Carreño was, without a doubt, one of the great artistic personalities of the late 19th Century. The artists she interacted with and the scope of her career as a performing pianist attest to the great influence that she had during her life, and this has been thoroughly stated in the existing literature. While the rolls that she recorded for the Welte- Mignon Company may have had some limitations, not only do they attest for her pianistic prowess, but they also provide an insight into the aesthetics of piano playing at the end of the 19th Century.

Although as a creative artist her work is much less appreciated and largely unknown, it must be considered that the salon music style in which she wrote most of her music was in high demand during her lifetime. This style is representative of a specific historical context, and as such it deserves to be acknowledged.

As a pedagogue, it can be inferred from what is known about her teachings that she truly understood the basic principles of piano playing. At a time where many pedagogues used a physical approach that would cause injuries to aspiring pianists, her approach, based on the use or arm weight, was ahead of her time, and led to one of the most important treatises on the subject. But, above any technical consideration, Carreño’s book on pedaling reveals the importance she gave to the beauty of tone, as she maintained that the sound that is produced at the piano is the defining factor.
We must commend the fact that, as a South American woman pianist, Carreño became such an important figure, especially in an era where men dominated the artistic scene and women performers were scarce. Unaffected by the fact that it was scandalous at that time for a woman to divorce and remarry several times, she was accepted on an equal basis to any male artist, with an international career that also encompassed forays into opera singing and management. Therefore, and in spite of her somewhat tumultuous personal life, her achievements make her an important role model for modern women.

It is for all the aforementioned reasons that the country of Venezuela holds Teresa Carreño in such high esteem and considers her to be one of the greatest artists who ever lived.
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APPENDIX A: LIST OF TERESA CARREÑO’S PUBLISHED WORKS PIANO

Op. 1 – Gottschalk Waltz
Op. 2 – Caprice – Polka
Op. 9 – La Corbeille de Fleurs “Valse”
Op. 13 – Polka de Concert
Op. 15 – Ballade
Op. 17 – 1er Elégie “Plainte”
Op. 18 – 2e Elégie “Partie”
Op. 24 – Fantasie sur l’Africaine de Meyerbeer
Op. 25 - Le Printemps “Valse de Salon”
Op. 27 – Un Revue à Prague “Caprice de Concert”
Op. 28 – Un Rêve en Mer “Etude-Meditation”
Op. 29 – Le Ruisseau “1er Etude de Salon”
Op. 30 – Mazurka de Salon
Op. 31 – Scherzo – Caprice
Op. 35 – Le Someil de l’Enfant “Berceuse”
Op. 35 – Polonaise
Op. 36 – Scherzino
Op. 38 – Highland “Souvenir d’Ecosse” Caprice
Op. 38 – Valse Gayo
Op. 39 – La Fausse Note “Fantaisie – Valse”
Works without Opus number:

Kleiner Walzes
Danse de Gnome
Etude- Mazurka
La petite foiteuse “Caprice”
Petite Berceuse
Preludio
Mi Teresita
Notturno
Petite dans Tzigane
Sailing in the Twilight
Marche Funébre
APPENDIX B: TERESA CARREÑOS ANECDOTE ON MEETING PRESIDENT LINCOLN\textsuperscript{151}

The President and his family received us so informally, they were all so very nice to me that I almost forgot to be cranky under the spell of their friendly welcome. My self-consciousness all returned, however, when Mrs. Lincoln asked me if I would like to try the White House piano [this was a newly purchased Schomaker grand piano]. At once I assumed the most critical attitude toward everything – the stool was unsuitable, the pedals were beyond reach, and when I had run my fingers over the keyboard, the action was too hard. My poor father suggested a Bach Invention would make me more familiar with the action.

That was quite enough to inspire me to instant rebellion. Without another word, I struck out into Gottschalk’s funeral Last hope, and ended with the Dying Poet. I knew my father was in despair, and it stimulated me to extra effort. I think I never played with more sentiment. Then what do you think I did? I jumped off the piano stool and declared that I would play no more / that the piano was too badly out of tune to be used.

My unhappy father looked as if he would swoon. But Mr. Lincoln patted me on the cheek and asked me if I could play The Mocking Bird with variations. The whim to do it seized me and I returned to the piano, gave out the theme, and then went off in a series of

\textsuperscript{151} “Living Stage Folk Who Knew and Cheered Lincoln”, New York Times, 12 February 1911, sec. 5, p. 4
impromptu variations that threatened to go on forever. When I stopped it was from sheer exhaustion.

Mr. Lincoln declared it was excellent, but my father thought I had disgraced myself, and he never ceased to apologize in his broken English until we were out of hearing.
APPENDIX C : OPEN LETTER TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE, BY LOUIS MOREAU GOTTSCHALK

The number of child music prodigies has multiplied in such a fashion in the last couple of years, that if every one of them had followed through with the expectations at the dawn of their careers, then the musical world would be filled with freaks comparable to two-headed calves and seals that speak the words “momma” and “papa”. When one sees those poor creatures exhausted, victims most of them of the greed of speculators, I feel a sensation of pity and disgust. As exotic fruits, which were cultivated with artificial means until they reach a false ripeness, they seem like regular vegetation to the eye; but taste the fruits, and the lack of flavor, the tastelessness of the pulp will make you see that they are not more than an abortion that will dry out without ever reaching true ripeness.

Fortunately, Teresita Carreño doesn’t belong to the kind of little prodigies that we have been judging for the last 25 years. Teresita is a genius, let’s say it right away. She is barely nine years old, she is a child and truly charming, filled with that easygoing and laughing grace of her age. With her one needn’t fear anything; what she inspires is not even closely related to pity. When you hear her, you see and feel that Teresa plays the piano the way the bird sings, the way the flower opens its bud.

She was born a musician; has the instinct of beauty; she divines it. Her compositions denote a sensibility, grace and art that seemed to be the exclusive privilege

152 Rojo, Teresa Carreño, 30-31.
of hard work and mature age. Without a doubt these are still trials, certainly an avid and severe musician who tries to analyze her would discover inexperience; but a smart and impartial judge won’t fail to see as well the jewel that the future promises. Teresa Carreño plays already with overwhelming feeling, and her performance, regardless of her tiny and delicate hands, is clean and brilliant. I have but given her six to eight lessons, and it has been enough for her to overcome barriers that would have been insurmountable. She belongs to a special class of people privileged by Providence and I don’t harbor the slightest doubt that she will be one of the greatest artist of our time.

The people of La Habana, as elegant and liberal regarding true merit, won’t miss the opportunity of making her their idol.

Original quote:

El número de niños prodigio musicales se ha multiplicado de tal manera de algunos años a acá, que si todos hubieran correspondido a lo que prometían en la aurora de su carrera las medianías musicales habrían llegado a ser una especie de fenómenos dignos de figurar al lado de los becerros de dos cabezas y de esas focas que dicen “papá” y “mamá”. Al ver esas pobres criaturas agotadas, víctimas la mayor parte de la avidez de los especuladores, experimento un sentimiento de compasión y de repugnancia. Como frutas exóticas que cultivadas por medios artificiales alcanzan una madurez ficticia, presentan a la vista toda la apariencia de una vegetación normal; pero probad el fruto, y la falta de sabor, la insipidez de la pulpa vegetal os harán ver que no son más que un aborto que se secará sin llegar jamás a la madurez perfecta.
Afortunadamente, Teresita Carreño no pertenece al género de los pequeños prodigios que venimos juzgando hace veinticinco años. Teresita es un genio, digámoslo de una vez. No tiene más que nueve años, es una verdadera niña y es encantadora, llena de esa gracia indolente y a la vez risueña de su edad. Con respecto a ella no hay que abrigar temor alguno; nada parecido a lástima inspira. Al oírla, se ve, se siente, que teresa toca el piano como canta el pájaro, como abre la flor su capullo.

Nació música; tiene el instinto de lo bello; lo adivina. Sus composiciones denotan una sensibilidad, una gracia y un arte tales como los que aparecen ser el privilegio exclusivo del trabajo y la madurez de la edad. Sin duda que ellos no son sino ensayos, ciertamente que el músico celoso y severo que intentara analizarlo, descubriría en ella la inexperiencia; pero el juez inteligente e imparcial no dejará de ver en las mismas la prenda irrecusable de lo que le promete el porvenir. Teresa Carreño toca ya con un sentimiento arrebatador, y su ejecución, a despecho de sus diminutas y delicadas manos, es limpia y brillante. Yo no le he dado aún más que seis u ocho lecciones, y sin embargo le han bastado para vencer obstáculos que para otros hubieran sido barreras insuperables. Ella pertenece a la clase de privilegiados de la Providencia y no abrigo la más leve duda de que será una de las más grandes artistas de nuestra época.

La Habana, tan galante y liberal cuando se trata del verdadero mérito, no dejará de hacerla su ídolo.
To encourage a little girl who would understandably feel nervous and not very inclined to play, he [Liszt] turned to me with a loving smile, saying ‘Now I will play something for you, and then you can play something for me”. The way he said that to me was very warm. Sitting at the piano, he played an Adagio from a Beethoven’s Sonata – I can’t remember which – but I have never forgotten the tone with which he did. I wasn’t ready to admit back in those days that he could possibly be an equal to my teacher, Gottschalk. Gottschalk was my idol back then and I rejected the simple thought that anyone could even presume to play as well as he did. When it was my turn, I was determined to make Liszt aware of Gottschalk, which is why I played The Last Hope. I can say that it was wise to do so, because he didn’t know the music, and had I attempted to play a Mozart’s Rondo or a Beethoven’s Adagio, I would have exposed myself to an unflattering comparison.

Allow me not to be modest when I say that, at the end of my performance, Liszt, who was standing behind me, came close and put his hands on my head. “This girl will be one of us”, he said.

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\footnote{153 Rojo, Teresa Carreño, 36-37.}
Original quote:

Para alentar a una niña que razonablemente debía sentirse nerviosa y poco inclinada a tocar, él [Liszt] se volteó a mí con una amorosa sonrisa, diciéndome “Ahora voy a tocar algo para ti, y luego tú puedes tocar algo para mí”. Fue muy cálida la manera en que me lo dijo. Sentado ante el piano, tocó un adagio de una sonata de Beethoven – no puedo recordar cual- pero nunca he olvidado el tono con el cual lo hizo. Yo no estaba lista aún para admitir en esos días que él posiblemente podía igualar a mi profesor, Gottschalk. Gottschalk era mi ídolo en esos tiempos y yo rechazaba la simple idea que alguien pudiera presumir siquiera de tocar igual de bien como él. Cuando mi turno llegó, determine que debía hacer de Liszt un conocedor de Gottschalk, por lo que toqué The Last Hope. Puedo decir que fui sabia en lo que hice, porque él no conocía esa música, y si yo hubiera intentado tocar un rondó de Mozart o un adagio de Beethoven, me hubiera expuesto a una desalentadora comparación.

Déjame no ser modesta al decirte que, al final de mi ejecución, Liszt, quien estaba parado tras de mí, se acercó y posó sus manos sobre mi cabeza. “Esta niña va a ser una de nosotros”, dijo.
APPENDIX E: PROGRAM FOR TERESA CARREÑO’S DEBUT RECITAL AT IRVING HALL IN NEW YORK IN 1862

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.
1. Rondo Brilliant...Hummel
   With accompaniments of two Violins—Viola, Violincello and double bass.
   MISS TERESA CARRENO.
2. Romance, “Una furia benigna” (Elliot d’Amore)...........Ducretti
   MR. WM. CASTLE.
3. Fantasia, “Louis”............................................Vihentempy
   MR. THEODORE THOMAS.
4. Cavatina, “Semiramide”.......................................Rossini
   MADAME ELENA D’ANGRI.
5. Fantasia, “Molié”...............................................Thalberg
   MISS TERESA CARRENO.

PART SECOND.
6. Duettino, “Il Trovatore”...
   MADAME ELENA D’ANGRI and MR. WM. CASTLE.
7. Nocturne.........................................................Rossini
   MISS TERESA CARRENO.
8. Fantasia, “Romantica”.........................................Vihentempy
   MR. THEODORE THOMAS.
9. Aria, “No un, no!” (Huguenot).............................Meyerbeer
   MADAME ELENA D'ANGRI.
    MISS TERESA CARRENO.

MISS TERESA CARRENO,
Will give her
SECOND GRAND CONCERT,
On Saturday Evening, Nov. 29th.

IRVING HALL
Tuesday, Nov. 25th., 1862.
First appearance, in public of
MISS TERESA CARRENO
The Child Pianist 8 years of age.
Who on the occasion of her First Grand Concert will be assisted by the following distinguished Artists,
MADAME ELENA D’ANGRI,
MR. WILLIAM CASTLE,
Pupil of
SIGNOR ABEll A
MR. THEODORE THOMAS,
MR. MOSENTHAL,
MR. MATZKA,
MR. BERGNER,
And MR. PREUSser.
SIGNOR ABELLA,
Will preside at the Piano.

The Cover Plate on this specimen is from the celebrated lithograph of MESSRS. CRICHERED & BROWN, Merchants, corner of Broadway and French street.

Doors open at 7. Concert will commence at 8 o’clock.
APPENDIX F: COVER PAGE FOR TERESA CARREÑO’S GOTTschalk Waltz Op. 1
APPENDIX G: MISCELLANEOUS PICTURES OF TERESA CARREÑO