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“A SUITABLE SOLOIST FOR MY PIANO CONCERTO”: TERESA CARREÑO AS A PROMOTER OF EDVARD GRIEG’S MUSIC

BY ANNA E. KIJAS

INTRODUCTION

Teresa Carreño (1853–1917), Venezuelan pianist and composer, is often most remembered in reference works and literature as Edward MacDowell’s (1860–1908) early piano teacher, and more importantly as an early promoter of his piano music. Carreño’s early biographer, Marta Milinowski, placed great emphasis on her interaction with the MacDowell family, especially his mother Frances “Fanny” MacDowell, as well as Carreño’s performances of MacDowell’s compositions in the United States and abroad.1 Although her interaction and relationship with Edward and his mother is well established, the majority of correspondence between Carreño and the MacDowell family, as well as other prominent musicians or figures, remains under-analyzed and unpublished. This neglect can be attributed partly to the geographical dispersion of the Carreño collection following its donation to Vassar College in 1931, the location of primary sources in inaccessible archival or private collections, as well as the general character of Carreño scholarship.2

1. Marta Milinowski, Teresa Carreno, “By the Grace of God” (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1940). Milinowski’s title may have been drawn from a review printed in the Burlington Hawk-Eye on 4 March 1882 of Carreño’s concert in Burlington, Vermont, in which a reviewer called her “an artist by the grace of God.”
2. By 1951 Carreño’s papers and personal possessions were moved to Vassar and eventually purchased in 1941. See “Guide to the Teresa Carreño Papers, 1862–1991,” located in Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries (hereinafter, Carreño Collection at Vassar), http://specialcollections.vassar.edu/findingaids/carreno_teresa.html. See also: Brian Mann, “The Carreño Collection at Vassar College,” Notes 47, no. 4 (June 1991): 1064–83; and Ronald D. Patkus, “Musical Migrations: A Case Study of the Teresa Carreño Papers,” RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage 6, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 26–33. The physical migration of Carreño’s documents and personal materials, following her death in 1917, poses a great problem for scholars. The Carreño Collection at Vassar College was purchased on 21 August 1941 by the Music Department from the estate of Teresa Carreño, and originally included correspondence, diaries, photographs, scores, scrapbooks, medals, concert gowns, and various other items. Unfortunately, in the mid-1950s, some of these items (there is no complete inventory) were
One significantly overlooked aspect of her career that emerges from her correspondence is her association with Edvard Grieg (1843–1907). Between the years 1880 and 1914, Carreño was an avid promoter of Grieg’s music. Her efforts on his behalf, as well as the friendship that developed between them, can be viewed through correspondence, as well as concert programs, reviews, and detailed discussion of performances of his works. Primary source materials, more readily accessible due to their recent digitization, demonstrate not only a friendship between Carreño and Grieg, but also collegial support for one another. This relationship between the two musicians has thus far remained largely overlooked by Carreño scholars. Fortunately, archives with collections containing materials relevant to both Carreño and Grieg have created more access points through online finding aids, catalogs, as well as digitization of primary sources. One such archive, the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek in Bergen, Norway, which houses the Edvard Grieg Collection, has made correspondence and other sources, previously accessible only with a visit to their archives, now available as digitized content. These sources can provide greater insight not only into Grieg and Carreño’s professional relationship, but can also be used by scholars as the basis for the creation of a more accurate chronology, as well as provide context for concerts, repertoire, and other information dealing with concert planning.

This article will examine the relationship between Carreño and Grieg as revealed in letters and concert programs for corresponding performances housed in the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek and the Teresa

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3. See the following letters in the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek (Bergen Public Library), Bergen, Norway: Brev 1899 10.10, New York, til Edvard Grieg, 2s. Nr. 0319242; Brev 1899 12.13, New York, til Edvard Grieg, 2s. Nr. 0319243; Brev 1901 02.25, New York, til Edvard Grieg, 2 s. Nr. 0519246. Unless noted otherwise, all programs and letters referred to in this article are located in the Edvard Grieg Collection at the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek.

4. Following the publication of Milinowski’s biography of Carreño—still the only extant monograph-length biography in English—Carreño scholarship benefited largely from the work of the late musicologist Mario Milanca Guzman, who wrote extensively about Latin American music, and disputed much of the information written by Milinowski as fictitious or novelesque. Guzman’s publications all appear in Spanish. See especially: “Dislates en la obra Teresa Carreno, de Marta Milinowski,” Revista de música latinoamericana/Latin American Music Review 8, no. 2 (1987): 185–215; and “La novela de Marta Milinowski,” Revista nacional de cultura (Caracas, Venezuela), no. 275 (1989): 295–50. Scholars, including Brian Mann (“The Carreño Collection at Vassar College”), and Robert Murrell Stevenson (“Carreño’s 1875 California Appearances,” Inter-American Music Review 5, no. 2 [Spring–Summer 1983]: 9–15) have pointed to other errors and gaps that are prevalent in Carreno scholarship. More recently, Laura Pita Parra’s “Presencia de la obra de Edward MacDowell en el repertorio de Teresa Carreno: Revision de programas de concierto, correspondencia, resenas de prensa y otros documentos pertenecientes al Archivo historicó de Teresa Carreno en Caracas” (Thesis [licentiate], Universidad central de Venezuela, 1999) examined primary sources found in the Archivo historicó de Teresa Carreno in Caracas, shedding further light on Carreño’s performances of MacDowell’s piano music. Unfortunately, Parra’s thesis is available in only one U.S. library, at Vassar College, making it difficult for researchers to access.
Carreño Collection (1862–1991) located in Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries. In addition to the correspondence between Grieg and Carreño, the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek also houses letters written between Grieg and his friends and managers. These letters to his friend and Danish composer August Winding (1835–1899); Alexander Rajchmann, director of the Warsaw Philharmonic; and Albert Gutmann (1852–1915), Viennese music publisher and concert agent, will be discussed in relation to the main documents, and can provide scholars with rich details regarding concerts featuring works by Grieg between 1894 and 1902, in which the composer discussed prospective performances by Carreño.

**TERESA CARREÑO & EDVARD GRIEG: NEW INSIGHTS**

Following several years of studies and performances in Europe and England, Carreño returned to the United States for a brief tour in September 1872 to March 1873, after which she again resumed performances in Europe. In September 1874 she finally settled in the New York City area and set off on a series of biannual tours with various performers, including Ilma de Murska (1834–1889), Clara Louise Kellogg (1842–1916), Emile Sauret (1852–1920), Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894), and Henryk Wieniawski (1835–1880); and managers, including Maurice Strakosch (1825–1887), Max Maretzek (1821–1897), Rudolph Aronson (1856–1919), and Colonel James Henry Mapleson (1830–1901). These tours required lengthy travel by railcar, and were extremely taxing on the musicians; Carreño and other artists would often arrive at their destinations within hours, sometimes minutes, prior to their scheduled performances.

Over the next fifteen years (1874–89) during which Carreño resided in and toured the United States, she experienced numerous difficulties: failed relationships, financial hardships, spousal abuse, and the death of her child. Soon after the dissolution of her first marriage to Emile Sauret, but before the divorce was finalized, Carreño met and began a

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5. Ilma de Murska was a Croatian soprano and a member of the Mapleson Company until 1873. Clara Louise Kellogg was an American soprano and impresario; she was a member of an opera troupe managed by Maretzek before founding the Kellogg Grand English Opera Company. Emile Sauret was a French violinist and composer; he was married to Teresa Carreño between 1872 and 1875. Anton Rubinstein was a Russian pianist, composer, conductor, and pedagogue. Henryk Wieniawski was a Polish violinist and composer. Maurice Strakosch was an American impresario of Czech descent, who founded the Strakosch Company in 1856, merged to form the Ullman and Strakosch Opera Company in 1857, and eventually founded the Max Strakosch English Opera Company in 1877. Max Maretzek was an American conductor, impresario, and composer of Czech descent. Rudolph Aronson was an American impresario, conductor, and composer. Colonel James Henry Mapleson was an English impresario and violinist who led the Mapleson Company in London and New York during the late 1870s through the 1880s.
new life with Italian baritone Giovanni Tagliapietra (1845–1921). This relationship, which produced three children (Louisa, 1878–1881; Teresita, 1882–1951; Giovanni, 1885–1965), lasted through 1886. Unfortunately, during her relationship with Tagliapietra, she was physically abused on more than one occasion. It is apparent that some members of her circle were aware of the abuse, as Fanny MacDowell, writing to her almost twenty years later stated: “At any rate, Tag[liapietra] was more generous in that case to you than the university was to him. He decorated you with black eyes and bloody nose more than once!”

During this period, Carreño’s concerts were frequently scheduled in cities close to her home in New Rochelle, New York, possibly due to circumstances, such as the great railroad strike of 1877, or simply to avoid spending too much time away from her children. Throughout their relationship, Carreño and Tagliapietra led active careers as musicians, occasionally performing on the same program. Following their separation, Carreño relocated with her children to New York City before her eventual departure for Germany in 1889. During these years, she made her living primarily as a concert pianist, appearing occasionally as a featured soloist with conductors such as Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) or Leopold Damrosch (1832–1885). More regularly than not, her concerts were shared with three to four artists, and featured a popular opera singer, such as Clara Louise Kellogg, the featured prima donna’s name always advertised in the largest font. As can be seen from an 1882 concert advertisement, Carreño’s name occasionally appeared in a greater font than the names of the supporting artists (fig. 1).

The U.S. tours were undertaken with the hopes of making a profit; managers, such as Strakosch or Aronson, knew that one way to accomplish this was to feature a famous opera singer, as well as varied repertoire and instrumentation on each program. Therefore, the concerts in which Carreño performed featured varied programs with vocalists, string players, and occasionally another piano accompanist on the same bill. While this type of arrangement did not offer Carreño many opportunities in which to perform concertos for piano with orchestra, on occasion she did perform with highly respected conductors and orchestras, as soloist in various piano concertos, such as Felix Mendelssohn’s G Minor or Saint-Saëns’s C Minor. Although she was known for her technique and brilliant performances in the U.S., it was not until 1889 after appearing

6. Letter from Fanny MacDowell to Carreño, 6 September 1901, Carreño Collection at Vassar, folder 8.11.
with the Berlin Philharmonic that she began to gain recognition as a virtuoso capable of attracting a large audience without an associated prima donna or other smaller acts.

Several years into the U.S. concert tours, Carreño began programing Grieg’s music. The earliest references to his works in her repertoire, primarily his *Pictures from Folk Life*, op. 19 (*Folkelivsbilleder*, 1869–71), appeared during her 1880–81 tour. Various newspapers printed reviews and descriptions of her performances of this work, often listed under variant titles, including *Norwegian Folk-Life*, *Norwegian Folkscenes*, *Norwegian Melody*, or occasionally as individual pieces from the larger work: “Bridal Procession” or “Norwegian Wedding March.” Often, reviews, such as the one dated 20 October 1880 from the *Baltimore Sun*, simply stated that several works by Grieg were performed without acknowledging the specific compositions.8 Between 1880 and 1884, in addition to piano works by Liszt, Beethoven, Rubinstein, or Chopin, Grieg’s *Pictures from Folk Life* in its entirety or selections from it was frequently featured on Carreño’s programs.

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8. Other reviews of Carreño’s performances of Grieg’s *Pictures from Folk Life*, op. 19, include: the *Baltimore Gazette*, 11 January 1881; *Dwight’s Journal of Music*, 26 February 1881; *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean*, 10 February 1881; *Chicago Tribune*, 13 May 1881; *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 31 October 1883; *Buffalo (NY) Express*, 15 May 1883; *Chicago Sunday Herald*, 20 May 1883; *Chicago Inter-Ocean* and *Chicago Morning News*, both 7 March 1884.
Grieg’s compositions began to gain exposure and public acclaim in U.S. cities, such as Boston, New York, and Chicago during the 1870s. Beginning around 1874, newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Inter-Ocean, the New York Times, and Dwight’s Journal of Music advertised and printed reviews of performances of Grieg’s Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 16 (1872, rev. 1907). Only a few years earlier, the concerto had been premiered in Copenhagen (1869) by Norwegian pianist Edmund Neupert; performances in Leipzig (1872), Brussels (1874), London (1874), and New York (1874) soon followed.9 While several foreign performances of Grieg’s concerto received mixed or negative reviews, some critics called the work “unequal, but full of promise,” of “great merit and very remarkable originality,” or simply wrote: “the public did not like the Pianoforte Concerto.”10 Some of these reactions may seem ironic. Although the distinct Norwegian folk elements may have sounded foreign to the critics and audience, thus eliciting mixed reactions to the work, the concerto became extremely famous in Europe, and a popular repertoire choice for first-rate pianists.

Over the next decade, pianists such as Frederic Boscovitz, William A. Sherwood, Solly Liebling, as well as Teresa Carreño, became the leading soloists who received positive acclaim for performing Grieg’s compositions in the United States, specifically his concerto. In May 1874, the Chicago Tribune reprinted a review from an unidentified London newspaper, which praised Grieg’s Piano Concerto as “perhaps the best, and is certainly the most important, of Greig’s [sic] productions; in most of which there is a strong individuality, and a distinct northern tone, which possess much charm when contrasted with the imitative conventionalism that characterizes so much of the music of the day. . . .” Several months later, the concerto was performed in New York with Theodore Thomas conducting. Dwight’s Journal of Music printed a favorable review of this work and performance by the soloist, Frederic Boscovitz: “The Grieg concerto is quite new and seems to be full of beautiful and original ideas. It is long indeed since anything so fresh and charming in the way of pianoforte composition has been presented here. Mr. Boscovitz played the concerto from memory with taste and feeling; although some of the most delicate passages were a trifle blurred by his nervousness.”11

Grieg’s Piano Concerto became one of his most frequently performed compositions throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and well into

9. Grieg’s Piano Concerto was also premiered in Florence, 1872 (The Musical World 50, no. 10 [1872]: 155); Turin, 1874 (The Musical World 52, no. 15 [1874]: 230); and New York, 1874 (“Music in New York,” Chicago Daily Tribune, 15 November 1874): 11.
10. Ibid.
the twentieth century. Performances in the United States throughout the 1870s–1880s also featured many of his other compositions, including Foran sydens kloster for women’s voices and orchestra, op. 20; Ballade for piano, op. 24; String Quartet in G Minor, op. 27; Humoresker for piano, op. 6; Folkelivsbilleder for piano, op. 19; and selected songs from cycles, such as Sex digte (Ibsen), op. 25, and Romancer og. Sange, op. 18.12

While the majority of reviews of Grieg’s compositions were favorable, the Piano Concerto itself, or performance of it, was occasionally met with criticism. For example, in October 1876, a critic for the Dwight’s Journal of Music reviewed a Scandinavian Night concert in Philadelphia, in which he called Grieg’s Piano Concerto “disjointed” and “spasmodic.” The critic also made an observation regarding the lack of virtuosity in Mr. Boscovitz’s performance.13 In the case of Carreño, her performances were highly praised, though her repertoire selections were sometimes criticized. For example, after a performance in Chicago with Clara Louise Kellogg’s troupe on 30 October 1883, a critic for the Chicago Herald, (possibly) sarcastically declared, “Grieg is not a pianist,” in disapproval of his unsatisfactory transcription for piano of the orchestral Norwegian Folkscenen. Carreño’s performance of the work, however, was described as “superb,” a sentiment that would be repeated throughout her career.14

After a series of concerts in October and November of 1882 at Chicago’s Central Music Hall, Carreño took a short hiatus in order to prepare for the birth of her daughter, Teresita, born 24 December 1882. A month later, her performances resumed in Chicago and New York City, followed by a longer tour with one of the finest conductors in the United States, Leopold Damrosch. For these performances Carreño added Grieg’s Piano Concerto in A Minor to her repertoire, a work that she would perform during her U.S. and international tours throughout

12. See especially: Dwight’s Journal of Music, 19 January 1878, 13 April 1878, 15 March 1879, 15 January 1881, and 26 February 1881, for articles or programs that discussed or listed these compositions.

13. Dwight’s Journal of Music, 14 October 1876: “The Concerto of Edward Grieg is a very disjointed, spasmodic composition. The composer evidently placed more reliance on the orchestra than he did on the pianist, as far as the artistic results of the performance of the work are concerned; yet he has imposed all the greater burden on the pianist, to assert individuality and predominance, qualities dear to every artist. Mr. Boscovitz does not possess much power or delicacy; his touch, style and technique are not those of a virtuoso, and as a pianist he is much beneath Mad. Schiller.” Facsimile reprint at http://www.archive.org/details/dwightsjournalof3536dwig.

14. “Teresa Carreno’s [sic] magnificent piano playing and Master Rhodes’s wonderful violin performances were artistic features of the concert. The first selection for the piano, however, was not good. Grieg is not a pianist and his ‘Norwegian Folkscenen’ was written for orchestra, wherein repetitions of the same theme on different instruments do not become so monotonous as they do when transcribed for the piano. Carreno’s [sic] performance, however, was superb.” Chicago Herald, October 1883 [See folder 12.1 scrapbook II in the Carreño Collection at Vassar. The scrapbook does not provide a date for this review]. The Chicago Daily Tribune printed several ads 26–30 October 1883 for what was advertised as the only performance in Chicago this season by Kellogg, Carreño, and several other artists.
the remainder of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is unclear when Carreño may have learned Grieg’s Piano Concerto, whether it was a work she knew but did not perform until 1883, or one that she rehearsed in a matter of months prior to her scheduled performances. It is evident, however, from several reviews in early 1883 that not only the work, but Carreño’s performance of it, was viewed as spectacular. A critic in the 31 January 1883 edition of the *Chicago Tribune* overzealously claimed that hers was the first performance of this work in Chicago. This claim was untrue, because the concerto had been performed a few years earlier in 1880 in Chicago, and as early as 1874 in New York and other U.S. cities.16 The critic wrote:

Teresa Carreno [sic], whose hold on the good will of our musical people increases rather than diminishes as time goes by. Her first number was Grieg’s Concerto in A minor, with orchestra, a composition we do not now recall having heard before. It is certainly a remarkable work, and one of the best of the many concertos by modern composers since Schuman [sic]. If there be such a thing as a distinctively Norwegian characteristic in music, we should certainly apply it to the quaint, weird, peculiar style of this work. It was superbly played, with remarkable power, precision, and fire; an accuracy unfailing and a technical skill too well known to require farther consideration.

During her performances of the concerto, especially in the New England states, it was noted that Dr. Damrosch conducted the orchestral works on these programs without a score. As can be witnessed in a review printed in the *Hartford (CT) Courant*, 17 March 1883, Carreño continued to receive high praise for her performances:

Mme. Carreno [sic], who is an old and well-known favorite here, surprised even those who knew her best by her brilliant and masterly rendition of the pianoforte concerto by Grieg. The work is itself of great merit, and Mme. Carreno’s [sic] conception and execution of it was one of the finest ever listened to in Hartford. She was recalled enthusiastically as were the other soloists and the conductor upon nearly every appearance. No repetitions of encores were given, owing, probably to the length of the programme.

15. Other reviews of Carreño’s performance of Grieg’s Piano Concerto include: *Chicago Times*, 31 January 1883; *Chicago Sunday Herald*, 20 May 1883; *New Haven (CT) Journal and Courier*, 13 March 1883; *New Haven (CT) Palladium*, 13 March 1883; *Providence (RI) Morning Star*, 14 March 1883; *Worcester (MA) Daily Spy*, 14 March 1883; *Providence (RI) Journal*, 14 March 1883. All listed Carreño as the soloist for Grieg’s concerto under the direction of Leopold Damrosch. Milinowski (pp. 137–38) mistakenly wrote that Carreño’s first performance of Grieg’s Piano Concerto in A Minor was under Leopold Damrosch in New Haven, Connecticut, during spring 1883.

16. According to the *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean*, Grieg’s Piano Concerto was performed by Mr. Frederic Boscovitz [sic] at the First M. E. Church on 11 November 1880. As early as 7 November 1874, the same Mr. F. Boscovitz performed this concerto in New York City’s Steinway Hall, according to the *New York Herald*, 30 October 1874.
At least one reviewer, for the *Springfield (MA) Republican*, noted on 14 March 1883 that Carreño performed Grieg’s concerto without a score:

The performance of Mme Teresa Carreno [sic] showed the same marvelous memory and justified confidence that are her traits; it was a great task to play the Grieg concerto as she did without notes, and with such power, spirit and proportion as to lead without disparting the piano from the orchestra. The lady plays with the same ease, force and ostentatious carelessness of demeanor that she always had; she is a remarkable performer, and ought to be a great artist.

Over the next decade, Carrenõ would add other piano concertos to her repertoire, including Robert Schumann’s A-Minor Concerto, op. 54; Brahms’s Concerto no. 1 in D-Minor, op. 15; Rubinstein’s Concerto no. 4 in D-Minor, op. 70; and Liszt’s Concerto no. 1 in E-flat, while still performing Grieg’s works.

For over a quarter of her life, Carreño toured with other troupes and popular performers. It was not until after her grand debut at the Singakademie in Berlin (1889), that she became a highly sought-after virtuoso soloist. Carreño’s debut with the Berlin Philharmonic under the direction of Gustav F. Kogel featured several works on a Bechstein piano, including Schumann’s *Zwölf symphonische Etüden*, op. 13; Weber-Liszt’s *Polonaise brillante*; with the pièce de résistance being Grieg’s Piano Concerto, which she first performed during her U.S. tours in 1883.17 Over a twenty-year period, the concerto was often performed and continued to gain an audience after a notable performance by the composer himself in London in May 1888, followed by a performance in March 1889 by Norwegian pianist and composer Agathe Backer Grøndahl (1847–1907) at the Royal Philharmonic Society’s second concert at St. James’s Hall.18

Several months following her Berlin début, Carreño met Edvard Grieg after her 29 March 1890 performance of his Piano Concerto at the

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18. Agathe Backer Grøndahl was a close friend to Grieg and interpreter of his music. She briefly studied at Theodor Kullak’s Akademie der Tonkunst in Berlin before debuting at one of Grieg’s subscription concerts in Kristiania, Norway, on 17 March 1868. She was also a pupil of Franz Liszt. She performed Grieg’s concerto during a period of ten years from 1888 until 1898 at the music festival in Bergen, Norway. I would like to thank Dr. Ryan Weber for bringing Backer Grøndahl to my attention, as well as pointing me toward the following papers: Camilla Hambro, “Were Agathe Backer Grøndahl’s Performative Strength Wasted upon ‘Scrappy Works like Edvard Grieg’s?,” paper presented at the International Edvard Grieg Society Conference in Bergen, Norway, 2 June 2007, http://www.griegsociety.org/filer/1259.pdf; and Mária Eckhardt, “Liszt’s Relations with the Scandinavian Composers of His Time,” paper presented at the International Edvard Grieg Society Conference in Rome, Italy, 7 June 2004, http://www.griegsociety.org/filer/1123.doc.
Centralhalle in Leipzig. At this meeting, the composer signed and gave her his carte de visite (fig. 2a–b). Shortly after this meeting, Grieg requested that Carreño be engaged during his concerts in London in the summer of 1891. In a letter dated 4 February 1891, Francesco Berger (1834–1933), secretary of The Royal Philharmonic Society of London, informed Grieg, that Carreño was engaged to perform his concerto under his direction on 6 June. Unfortunately, this concert did not occur as planned.

For Carreño, the 1890s were a period of growth both in her repertoire and in her reputation as an internationally acclaimed pianist. She was briefly married to the pianist Eugen d’Albert (1864–1932) during 1892–94 (1895 divorce granted). By the mid-1890s, Carreño’s concert seasons featured solo appearances with orchestras across Europe, with as many as

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19. A review of this concert can be found in “Tagesgeschichte Musikbrief,” Musikalisches Wochenblatt 21, no. 16 (10 April 1890): 198.
seventy concerts in a season. Other pianists, such as Claudio Arrau, considered her a first-rate artist and admired her strength and technical abilities. In 1913, the author and critic, Walter Niemann, composed a tribute to Carreño, describing her performances during the 1880s–1890s in these words:

The playing of Carreño combines extreme exploitation of force, of masculine sculpting of the tone, with the utmost lightness and elasticity of the entire playing mechanism. Hence her unbelievable endurance and joy in playing, her enormous, inexhaustible strength. Hence her thundering octaves, which she shakes out of her sleeve; her staccato filed to the sharpest point; the sheen, the intensity, and the evenness of her passages; the iron heaviness of her chordal effects (introduction of the B-flat minor Concerto of Tchaikovsky), inspired by the most fiery of temperaments. . . .

It is evident from correspondence with his agents, friends, and Carreño that Grieg selected and engaged only those soloists he considered of the

21. Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 83. This was quoted by Horowitz from Dr. Walter Niemann’s “Teresa Carreño: An Article in Honor of Carreño’s Sixtieth Birthday,” *Reclams Universum* (1 December 1913), which was reprinted in English translation in Milinowski, 391–94.
highest caliber. Carreño was often one of these soloists, and it should be noted that during this period, in addition to Backer Grøndahl, she was one of the few female pianists whom Grieg personally requested to perform his concerto.22

In 1893, several years following her premiere in Berlin, Carreño performed in several Scandinavian countries, including Denmark, where in Copenhagen, on 28 October, she performed Grieg’s Piano Concerto under the composer’s direction. A concert program from this performance provides details about the five works, all by Grieg (fig. 3). First on the program, was the premiere of *Tre orkesterstykker fra “Sigurd Jorsalfar,”* op. 56 [Three Orchestral Pieces from “Sigurd Jorsalfar,” 1892], followed by *Bergliot,* op. 42 (1871, orchestrated 1885), for voice and orchestra, set to words by B. Bjørnson, and on this occasion recited by actress Laura Gundersen (1832–1898). The Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 16, was performed next by Teresa Carreño, followed by several songs from two song collections performed by Swedish-Norwegian singer Ellen Nordgren Gulbranson (1863–1947).23 The accompanist for these vocal works was unlisted, but it was most likely Grieg, as he commonly performed the piano part for vocal works at concerts in which he also conducted.24 The last work on the program was *To elegiske melodier,* op. 34 [Two Elegaic Melodies, 1880], for string orchestra, which consists of two pieces: “Hjertesår” [The Wounded Heart] and “Våren” [Last Spring]. The piano contracted for this performance was a Bechstein. The final page of this program also showed an advertisement for an upcoming performance, in the same concert hall, on 1 November 1893, by Teresa d’Albert-Carreño with Ellen Gulbranson.25

Letters written several years apart, during 1894 and 1906, by the Viennese agent Albert J. Gutmann and Grieg reveal plans for upcoming concerts in which the composer provided wish lists of pianists he would consider engaging as soloists. In a letter dated 28 November 1894, Grieg suggested three pianists who he would consider as a “suitable soloist for my Piano Concerto.” His three choices included, Raoul Pugno (1852–
Teresa Carreño as a Promoter of Edvard Grieg’s Music

26. Grieg, letter to Albert J. Gutmann, 28 November 1894, in his Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 318–20. Original letter is preserved in Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo (National Library of Norway, Oslo Division). Raoul Pugno was a French pianist and composer; Arthur de Greef was a Belgian pianist and composer.
apparent in a letter from 6 December 1906, in which he lists suitable pianists in preferential order:

It is most likely that you will be turned down by all the virtuosos who do not have my *Piano Concerto* in their repertoires, for it is almost unthinkable that they will learn a large work while they are on the road in the middle of the concert season. I take the liberty, therefore, of mentioning the following first-class artists who might be considered: 1) Carreño, 2) Pugno, 3) Arthur de Greef (Brussels), 4) L. Borwick (London), 5) Busoni.

Please use this order when you send your inquiry. I think very well of Dohnányi, but he does not play my concerto. . . . The first condition when it comes to choosing a performing artist is that the person in question have an understanding of my music. With respect to the artists listed above, with whom I am personally acquainted, I know that this is the case.27

A few weeks after his first letter, Grieg again informed Gutmann of his wishes that Carreño commit to this concert. He also made it clear that any artist selected must play his solo pieces in addition to the concerto, again pointing out that Carreño, De Greef, and Borwick all met this requirement.28

Although he held Carreño in high regard, Grieg did not hold back his criticism when he felt it necessary. On 13 December 1895, following a performance by Carreño, Grieg wrote a letter to his friend August Winding in which he analyzed her performance of Chopin’s *Piano Concerto in E Minor* and Liszt’s *Hungarian Fantasy* with orchestra, conducted by Arthur Nikisch (1855–1922) at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig.29

In the same letter Grieg expressed his frustration, writing “damn these virtuosos with their *Bessermachen* [attempt to improve on what the composer has written].” He described how “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.” He further demonstrated his abhorrence of excessive liberties taken by virtuosos stating, “There should be punishment for things like that. And the worst part of it was that she bragged about doing it. But then I told her what I thought and added, ‘Well, at

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27. Letter to Albert J. Gutmann, 6 December 1906, in ibid., 323–24. Original letter is preserved at the Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo. Leonard Borwick (1868–1925) was an English pianist; Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) was an Italian composer and pianist; Ernst von Dohnányi (1877–1960) was a Hungarian pianist, composer, conductor, and teacher.


29. Ibid., 683–85, contains a proper translation of the entire letter to August Winding, Leipzig, 13 December 1895. Original is preserved in Det kgl. Bibliotek (The Royal Library), Copenhagen. Milinowski (pp. 204–5) provided a partial translation of this letter without noting the date, and incorrectly listing the recipient of the letter as Andreas Winding.
least Chopin is dead so he didn’t hear it! What [Felix] Weingartner says about tempo-rubato conductors applies with equal force to the performing artists: They all suffer from virtuoso- or inflated-ego sickness. And still, Mrs. Carreño is such a sweet person that it irritates me that she is also infected.”

Despite these critical remarks, Grieg admired her as a performer and enjoyed her company. After this concert both he and Leipzig music publisher E. W. Fritzsche (1840–1902) had dinner with Carreño at the Hotel de Prusse, and parted only at midnight. A reviewer writing for the *Monthly Musical Record* described Carreño’s performance at a London concert of 12 December 1903 as a vehicle for “displaying her dazzling technique. Whether Grieg himself would have approved of her treatment of his work, which is the embodiment of dreamy and romantic tenderness, is open to doubt, but the audience seemed to like it.”

Although Grieg expressed to Winding his criticism of her performance in Leipzig, he did not seem to take issue with her interpretation of his own concerto, otherwise why would he continue to request her as a soloist?

Grieg would attempt to secure Carreño for another concert on 24 March 1896 in Vienna, but as can be seen from his correspondence with both his agent Gutmann and with Carreño, she was unable to commit due to a previously scheduled performance in Zürich, Switzerland.

In early 1902, Carreño and her brother-in-law and soon-to-be fourth husband Arturo Tagliapietra (1858–1937) set off on a tour through several countries in Europe. One of these concerts included a performance of Grieg’s Piano Concerto under his baton with the Warsaw Philharmonic on 22 April 1902. This concert was briefly mentioned at the end of Milinowski’s summary of that year’s concert season, which was described as “the usual fifty concerts or so through Germany, through Holland, through Germany again, through England, Scotland, and back again to

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32. In several of Grieg’s diary entries published in his *Diaries, Articles, Speeches*, the composer voices complaint with performances of his works by other musicians, but no complaints are found regarding Carreño’s interpretation of his piano works. For examples of his criticism of other performers, see entries dated: 15 February 1906 (p. 111), 11 January, 1907 (p. 159), 12 April 1907 (pp. 179–81).
Zürich d. 11ten Marz 1896/Hotel Victoria
Verehnte Meister
Ihre, verehrterin, [signed] Teresa Carreño
Germany with a touch of Poland, Carreño played her way in a radiant haze that gave a delicious aura to her concerts. The climax of the tour was one devoted to compositions by Grieg with the master himself presiding over the ‘Grieg Concerto’ in Warsaw.” Details pertaining to the concert date, repertoire, piano preferences, concert venue, or performers for this and other concerts on this tour were absent from her remarks. The narrative did, however, include letters from Grieg to Carreño written on 1 and 10 April 1902, in which the composer discussed his repertoire choices for the Warsaw concert. In the first letter, Grieg informed Carreño of his wish to have his Ballade in G Minor, op. 24 (1875–76), performed alongside the concerto, but also provided her with an opportunity to suggest a different piece. The Ballade is considered one of Grieg’s most important solo piano works, as well as a deeply personal piece linked to tragic events in his life. It is unclear whether Grieg and Carreño discussed the events that caused both musicians great sadness and grief, but it is more than possible, especially since they each experienced the death of a child. Whether or not Carreño knew about Grieg’s sentimental attachment to the Ballade, she chose not to perform the work. In a letter dated 8 April 1902, she wrote:

Kopenhagen 1/4/02, Hotel Fönix
Hochverehrte Mad. Carreño!

Die Nachricht, dass Sie am 22 April in Warschau mir wieder einmal die Ehre erweisen werden, unter meiner Leitung mein A moll Koncert zu spielen, hat mich Kolossal gefreut. Auf dem Programm steht aber ausser dem Klavier-Koncert noch mein Ballade in G moll (op. 24). Sollten Sie aber, was sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dieses lange und komplizirte Stück weder kennen noch spielen, dann verzichte ich selbstverständlich gern darauf, hoffe aber für diesen Fall, dass Sie so liebenswürdig sind, statt dessen einige meiner Klavierstücke, welche Sie Ihrem Repertoire einverleibt haben, vorzuschlagen.

Für eine baldige entscheidende Antwort wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Meine Frau freut sich herzlich Sie wiederzusehen und zu hören. Dasselbe thut
Ihr alter Verehrer
[signed] Edvard Grieg

Kopenhagen 10/4/02, Hotel Fönix
Hochverehrte Madame Carreño!

Herzlichen Dank! Mit den drei Stücken “Aus dem Volksleben” bin ich sehr einverstanden.
Sie nennen das Koncert ein Fest. Ja, wenn Sie dabei sind und ganz besonders wenn Sie das Klavier Koncert ebenso herrlich spielen, wie Sie es in Kopenhagen gethan haben—(sehen Sie: wie infam ich bin!)—allerdings, dann wird es ein Fest:
Mit verehrungswollem Gruss, auch von meiner Frau
Ihr sehr ergebener
[signed] Edvard Grieg
Wir steigen in Warschau in Hotel Bristol ab.

34. Milinowski, 292.
35. Letters from Edvard Grieg to Teresa Carreño, 1 and 10 April 1902, Carreño Collection at Vassar, folder 8.5.
36. Grieg’s only child, Alexandra, died in 1869 from meningitis, followed by the death of both his parents, Alexander and Gesine, in 1875. Carreño also experienced several family deaths early on in her life; her mother Clorinda died in 1866, her father Manuel died in 1876, and her second child, Louisa, died at the age of three in 1881.
Highly esteemed Master!

Heartfelt thanks for the charming letter! The honor and pleasure to play your Concerto under your direction are entirely mine and I cannot tell you how happy I am about the concert on the 22nd. Your beautiful Ballade, I have unfortunately, not played in a long time and there is now not enough time for me to bring it back into my fingers and memory. Would you be in agreement if I played your “Drei Humoresken” [Folkelivsbilleder] which I often play, on the 22nd? The news that your dear wife will be in Warsaw gave me great pleasure. The festival will be complete for me if she is also there. Please give her my best wishes, and to you, dear great master, the same, from your great admirer

[signed] Teresa Carreño

It is possible that Carreño chose not to perform the Ballade because she may not have played it since her marriage (1892–94) to German pianist and composer Eugen d’Albert, who had this work in his repertoire and performed it in public. On 10 April Grieg acknowledged her response and decision to substitute for the Ballade. He also wrote that any concert in which Carreño takes part truly becomes a festival, noting specifically her successful performance of the concerto in Copenhagen, almost nine years earlier. According to the concert program (22 April 1902), she substituted To Elegiske Melodier for the Ballade; and Folkelivsbilleder, which included “Fjeldslåt” [In the Mountains], “Brudefølget drager forbi” [Bridal Procession], and “Fra karnevalet” [From the Carnival]. The program was printed in Cyrillic and Polish, and provided information about her repertory, piano selection, and performers on the program.


38. Six months before Grieg’s death, Eugen d’Albert performed the composer’s Ballade. Unfortunately, there is no correspondence between Grieg and d’Albert in the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek. There is only a program from 8 March 1907 including this work: Stockholm, 1907 03.08, Program vid Eugen d’Alberts konsert, Nr. 0346852, reproduced in facsimile at http://www.bergen.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-grieg?tnr=346852.

39. Filharmonja Warszawska. Konsertprogram—Warszawa, 1902 04.22 23-ci wieczór filharmonijny. Nr. 0342216. Reproduced in facsimile at http://bergenbibliotek.no/cgi-bin/websok-grieg?tnr=342216. At this time, Poland was under Russian occupation, and it was common to find publications in both Cyrillic and Polish. In addition, dates were often printed according to both the Julian and Gregorian calendars, as was the case for this concert: the Cyrillic text printed the date as 9 April 1902 (Julian) while in the Polish text the date appeared as 22 April 1902 (Gregorian).
This performance represented the twenty-third Philharmonic evening concert during the 1901–2 season with the Warsaw Philharmonic, and featured Teresa Carreño, Norwegian soprano Elisa Wiborg (1862–1938), and Edvard Grieg as conductor. The program consisted entirely of works by Grieg. The first half opened with the “Hyldningsmarsj” [Homage March] from the incidental music for Sigurd Jorsalfar [Sigurd the Crusader], op. 22 (Bjørnson, 1872), performed by the orchestra. Next followed three songs performed by Elisa Wiborg: “En svane” [A Swan] from Sex digte af Henrik Ibsen [Six Songs, 1876], “Solveigs vuggevise” [Solveig’s Cradle Song] from act 5 of Peer Gynt, op. 23 (Ibsen, 1876), and “Fra Monte Pincio” [From Monte Pincio] (Bjørnson) from Romancer (aeldre og nyere) [Six Songs (Older and Newer), 1869–84]. Closing the first half was the Piano Concerto in A Minor performed by Carreño with orchestra. The second half commenced with To Elegiske Melodier (1880) for string orchestra: “Hjertstar,” and “Varen”; followed by Pictures from Folk Life performed by Carreño. Several songs were then performed by Wiborg, from Fire digte fra B. Bjørnsons “Fiskerjenten,” op. 21—“Det første møde” [The First Meeting], “God morgen” [Good Morning], “Jeg giver mit digt til våren” [To Springtime my Song I’m Singing], “Tak for dit råd” [Say What You Will]—and the concert concluded with the Peer Gynt Suite no.1, op. 46 (1887–88).

As in Carreño’s performances of 1889 and 1893, the piano used in this concert was a Bechstein, a popular choice for Carreño during her European tours. Several works performed in 1893 also appeared on the 1902 program. As is evident from the 1902 letters between Carreño and Grieg, the composer asked for Carreño’s input when selecting the repertoire—an act that demonstrates his admiration of her as a musician as well as respect for her musical choices. During the Copenhagen appearance in 1893, she performed only his concerto, while in the 1902 performance she played both the concerto and Pictures from Folk Life (fig. 4). This may reflect the change in her status from a supporting artist to a virtuoso soloist, an achievement that by the early 1900s did not go unnoticed by conductors and musicians, earning her recognition as one of the great living pianists.

Letters between Grieg and the director of the Warsaw Philharmonic, Alexander Rajchmann, written in the month prior to the 22 April 1902 performance, discuss concert plans with details pertaining to the repertoire, performers Carreño and Wiborg, accommodations, and financial agreements.40 In a letter dated 5 March 1902, Rajchmann proposed...
Teresa Carreño as a Promoter of Edvard Grieg’s Music

Fig. 4. Concert program, 22 April 1902: Filharmonja Warszawska, 1902 04.22 23-ci wieczór filharmonijny. Nr. 0342216
PROGRAM

CZĘŚĆ I:

1. Marsz pokłonnły z dramatu Björnsena „Sigurd Krzyżowiec” wykonana orkiestrą pod dyrekcją kompozytora.
2. a) „Kołysanka Solvejga” (do słów Henryka Ibsena),
   b) „Z Monte-Picco” (do słów Björnsena)
   c) „Łąbek” (do słów II. Ibsena).
odspiewa panna Eliza Wiborg z towarzyszeniem orkiestry.
3. Koncert fortepianowy a-moll op. 16,
   a) Allegro moderato,
   b) Adagio,
   c) Allegro marcato—presto maestoso,
odspiewa p. Teresa Carreno z towarzyszeniem orkiestry.

CZĘŚĆ II:

4. Dwie melodie elegijne na orkiestrę smyczkową według poematu norweskiego Vinje,
   a) „Rany serca“,
   b) „Ostatnia wiosna“.
5. Z życia ludu:
   a) „W górach“,
   b) „Początek wiosny norweski“,
   c) „Z karawany“
odspiewa p. Teresa Carreno.
6. a) „Wiosna piosenkę mą wydzwoni“, b) „Na dzień dobry“ z nowelli,
   c) „Pierwsze spotkanie” „Rybacka“,
   d) „Twa rada jest dobrą“ Björnsena.
odspiewa p. Eliza Wiborg z towarzyszeniem kompozytora.
7. Pierwsza suita orkiestrowa z poematu dramatycznego Ibsena „Peer Gynt”
   a) „Następ” poranny “,
   b) „Śmierć Azy” (matki Peer Gynta),
   c) „Taniec Anity“,
   d) „W grocie króla gór“, wykonana orkiestra pod dyr. kompozytora.

Fortepian koncertowy C. BECHSTEINA.

Fig. 4 continued
several works for the upcoming program, including “Hyldningsmarsj” from Sigurd Jorsalfar incidental music, and Ballade for piano. A few weeks later, their discussion turned to the makeup of the string orchestra for the 22 April concert, which according to Rajchmann included fourteen violins I, ten violins II, eight violas, seven cellos, and seven contrabasses. Evidently, Grieg preferred a different distribution, for in his response on 20 March he added two each additional violin I, violin II, and viola, as well as one each additional cello and bass. Rajchmann accepted his request and on 22 April 1902, the string orchestra performed To Elegiske Melodier. In correspondence with Carreño several weeks prior to the April performance, the repertoire for this concert was finalized with the Pictures from Folk Life replacing the Ballade. According to Benestad and Halverson, in their edition of Grieg’s letters, the 1902 Warsaw concert was “an enormous success” for Grieg, allowing him to return to Warsaw again the following year for two concerts in April with French pianist Raoul Pugno as soloist in the Piano Concerto, and Finnish singer Ida Ekman (1875–1942). Plans for another Warsaw concert in the spring of 1906 were unfortunately abandoned due to Grieg’s medical issues and Poland’s uncertain political climate. Unfortunately, Grieg and Carreño’s friendship ended with the composer’s death in September 1907. Following his death, Carreño continued to occasionally perform Grieg’s Piano Concerto or Pictures from Folk Life. Until more research is done, however, it is unclear how many times Carreño performed under Grieg’s baton or in his presence.

Carreño scholarship has had and still displays a variety of shortcomings, some of which can now be addressed as international archives become more accessible. The relationship between Carreño and Grieg, as seen through the correspondence discussed in this article, demonstrates her role as advocate for composers other than MacDowell, as well as Grieg’s support for her as an artist. Correspondence between Grieg and his agents provide insight into the composer’s attention to detail: from financial aspects, to artist and repertoire selection, as well as accommodations for him and his wife Nina, demonstrating that Grieg played an active role in concert planning.

The digitization project of the Edvard Grieg Collection at the Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek has created access points to primary sources, and will allow scholars to explore previously overlooked interactions between Carreño and Grieg. The Grieg Collection at Bergen, Teresa Carreño

41. Letter from Grieg to Rajchmann, 25 March 1902, written on the back of a letter from Rajchmann to Grieg dated 17 March 1902 (nr. 0356585).
42. Grieg, Letters to Colleagues and Friends, 573.
Collection at Vassar College, as well as other archives that house materials related to her life, can provide rich details about her performances, repertoire and program selections, specific tour locations, as well as relationships with other musicians. Examination of primary source materials, such as programs or concert reviews, will allow scholars to acquire a better understanding of Carreño as a performer, and her reception by audiences and critics, both in the United States and abroad. In addition to programs and reviews, her correspondence can further our knowledge of her choices in repertoire, as well as perspectives about performance practice.

Furthermore, the contributions of Benestad and Halverson in Grieg scholarship, primary sources held at Vassar, Bergen, and other archives may provide scholars with a greater understanding of Grieg reception via performances by Carreño and other musicians. With greater availability of online finding aids and digitized collections, materials previously considered hidden throughout the greater part of the twentieth century, are or will become discoverable, and can provide further insights and perspectives about Carreño. In order to continue to move Carreño scholarship forward, it is absolutely necessary for scholars to re-examine primary sources that may unveil previously unknown aspects about her career and personal life.

**ABSTRACT**

Teresa Carreño (1853–1917) first performed Edvard Grieg’s (1843–1907) *Pictures from Folk Life*, op. 19 [*Folkelivsbilleder*] and Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 16, during her tours in the United States in the early 1880s. She continued to perform his works in the United States and abroad through 1914. Previously overlooked correspondence, reviews, and other primary sources, such as concert programs, housed in the Edvard Grieg Collection in the Bergen Offentlige Bibliothek, and the Teresa Carreño Collection in Archives and Special Collections of the Vassar College Libraries, are examined in this article in order to provide fresh insight and historical context of Carreño’s performance reception, as well as both her personal and professional relationship with Edvard Grieg. In addition to the correspondence between Carreño and Grieg, letters to the Viennese agent Albert J. Gutmann are also examined, and demonstrate Grieg’s preference for Carreño as soloist—despite his access to other great pianists—as well as their friendship and collegiality, choices in repertoire selection, concert preparations, and other important events in their lives.